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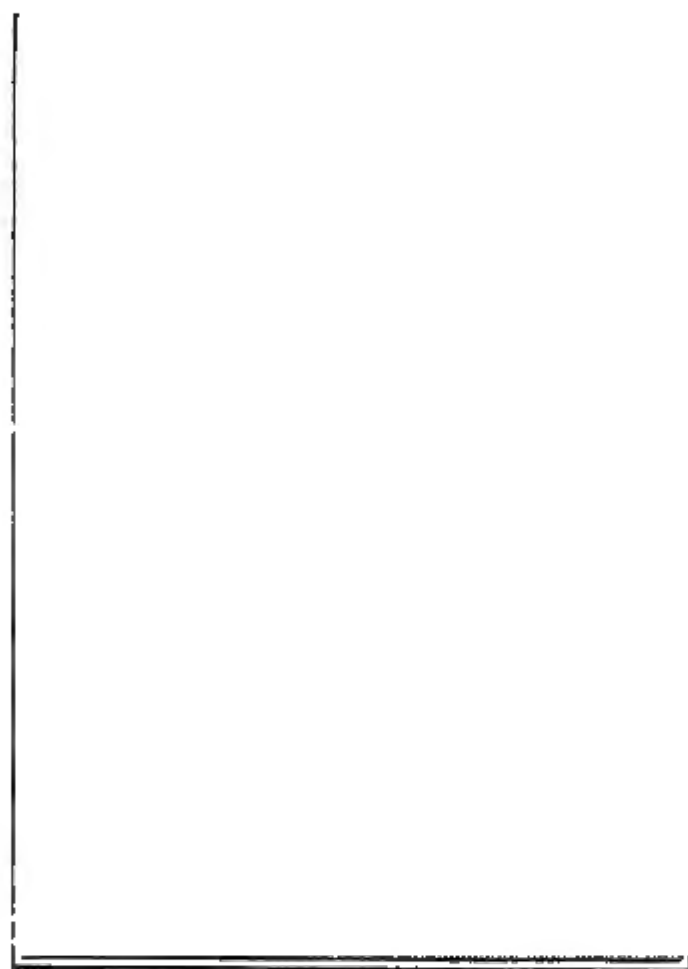
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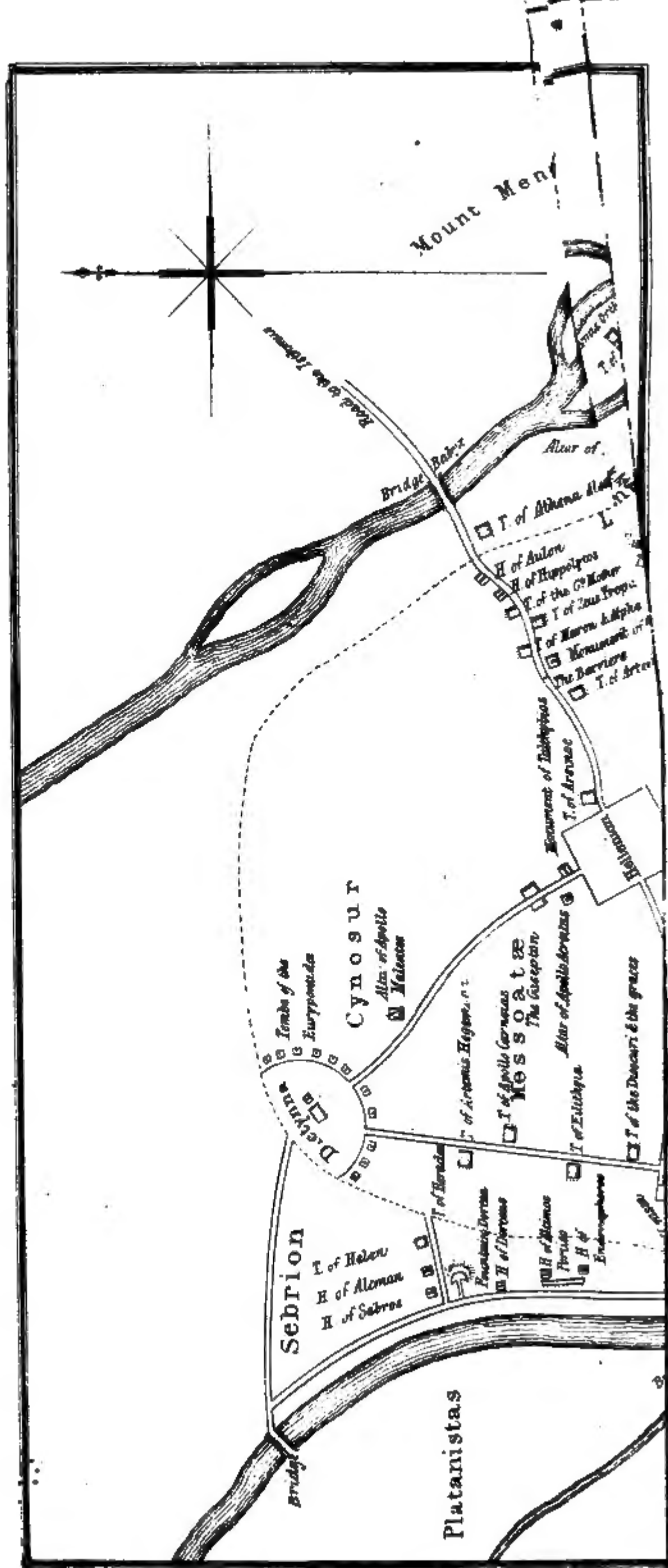
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THEHELLENES:
THE HISTORY OF THE MANNERS
OF THE
ANCIENT GREEKS.

BY J. A. ST. JOHN.

NEW EDITION.

THREE VOLUMES IN ONE.

LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,
Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.
1844.

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14

14

DEDICATION.

TO BAYLE ST. JOHN.

I DEDICATE the following work to you, my dear Son, as a token of my gratitude for the cheerful patience with which you have aided me in completing it, despite the calamity that overtook me in the midst of my labours. Whatever may be the fate of the publication it will always recall to me some of the happiest hours of my life, rendered so chiefly by beholding the contented serenity with which you subdued the irksomeness of studies so little suited to your years. At length, however, you are delivered from lexicographers and scholiasts. The final page has been written, the last proof read. I escape from a task commenced before you were born, and you from a four years' apprenticeship to the craft and mystery of authorship. All that now remains is to watch the reception which the fruit of our toil may meet with in the world. It has been produced and has grown up under very peculiar circumstances. Whithersoever we have travelled, the wrecks of Grecian litera-

ture have accompanied us, and the studies to which these pages owe their existence have been pursued under the influence of almost every climate in Europe. Nay, if I pushed my researches still further and visited the portion of Africa commonly supposed to have been the cradle of Hellenic civilisation, it was solely in the hope of qualifying myself to speak with some degree of confidence on the subject of those arts which represent to the Modern World so much of the grandeur and genius of Greece. Here, probably, the action of pestilential winds, and of the sands and burning glare of the desert commenced that dimming of the "visual ray," which, in all likelihood, will wrap me gradually in complete darkness, and veil for ever from my sight those forms of the beautiful which have been incarnated, if I may so speak, in marble. This is a language which neither you nor your sister can read to me. All that sweet Olympian brood which used to smile upon me with kindly recognition when I was a solitary wayfarer in lands not my own, will, as far as I am concerned, be annihilated. Those twelve mystical transformations of Aphrodite into stone, which may be beheld all together at Naples, and appeared to me more lovely than its vaunted bay, or even the sky that hangs enamoured over it, will, I conjecture, be seen of me no more, or seen obscurely as through a mist. Homer, however, and Æschylus, with Plato and Thucydides and Demosthenes, will be able still through the voices of my children — voices more cheerful and willing than ministered to the old

age and blindness of Milton — to project their beauty into my soul. I will not, therefore, repine; but, imitating the example of wiser and better men, submit uncomplainingly to the will of God. Had things been otherwise ordered, I might have continued these researches. As it is, I take leave of them here. Our friend, Mr. Keightley, who has visited Italy for the purpose, will perform for the Romans what I have endeavoured to accomplish for the Greeks; and his extensive and varied learning, the excellence of his method, and the pleasing vivacity of his style, will, probably, ensure for his work a still greater degree of popularity even than that which his very successful productions already enjoy.

Believe me, my dear son,

Ever affectionately yours,

J. A. ST. JOHN.

London,
October 13th, 1842.

INTRODUCTION.

MANY moral phenomena appear to baffle the sagacity of statesmen, because, confiding too implicitly in experience, they omit to widen the range of their contemplation so as to embrace the whole circle of the people's existence whose fortunes and character they desire to comprehend. To be successful in such an inquiry it is requisite to lay open, as far as possible, the influence on that people of climate and geographical position, to break through the husk and shell of customs, manners, laws, religions, that we may come to the kernel of its moral nature, to that inner organization, intellectual and physical, of which the external circumstances of its civil and political life are but so many fluctuating symbols.

To accomplish this, however, even in the case of a contemporary nation, among whom we may behold in full activity all the material movements of society, is no easy task. But the difficulty must be very much augmented, when, in addition to the obstacles which necessarily under the most favourable circumstances beset every avenue to a people's inner life, those are added arising out of the distance on the track of time at which the nation

we are considering happens to stand, the scantiness and contradictory nature of the reports that reach us, and more, perhaps, than all, the atmosphere of prejudice through which we are apt to view whatever in any degree differs from our own manners and institutions. But this consideration, though it should bespeak indulgence for the unavoidable errors even of the most diligent investigator, can certainly be no reason for abstaining from all further investigation. For, notwithstanding the disadvantages under which we labour, it is still possible to extract from the fragments remaining of ancient literature materials for reconstructing something more than the skeleton of antiquity. We can invest the bones with sinews and muscles, clothe them with flesh and skin, spread over the whole colours that shall resemble life; and if we cannot steal from heaven celestial fire to kindle this image of surpassing beauty, that, at least, is the only thing which exceeds our power.

In saying this, I merely state my opinion of what is possible, not by any means what I conceive myself to have effected in the present work. I am but too sensible of how far the execution falls short of "the ample proposition that hope made," when, many years ago, the idea suggested itself to me at that ardent and flattering season of life in which we are apt to imagine all things within our reach. But as

Every action that hath gone before
Whereof we have record, trial did draw
Bias, and thwart; not answering the aim

And that unbodied figure of the thought
That gave 't surmised shape ;

so, no doubt, in my own case, the realisation will be found to be a very imperfect embodying of the ideal plan.

Few subjects, however, abound more in interest or instruction than the one I have here ventured to treat. The inquiry turns upon the institutions and moral condition of a people to whose fortunes history affords no parallel; of a people that, like the cloud no bigger than a man's hand, which the servant of the prophet saw from the top of Carmel, contained within itself the seeds of mightiest and most momentous events. The Hellenes can never, in fact, by any but the uninformed be regarded in the same light as ordinary political communities. Their power, vast and astonishing for the age in which they flourished, arose entirely out of their national character and the spirit of their institutions. It was the power of intellect. They were in reality the sun and soul of the ancient world, and darted far into the darkness around them those vivifying rays which, reflected from land to land, have since lighted up the world.

Athens, the wisest and noblest of Grecian states,

Mother of arts

And eloquence,

was the great preceptress of mankind. The spirit of her laws, transmitted through those of Rome, still pervades the whole civilized world. Her wisdom and her arts form, in all polished communi-

ties, a principal object of study; and to comprehend and to enjoy them is to be a gentleman. Sallust, therefore, notwithstanding his genius and sagacity, took but a commonplace view of national greatness, when he considered that of Athens to be chiefly based on the splendour shed around her achievements by historians. Her triumphs, it is true, were not effected by vast military masses, such as those which many barbarous nations in different ages have put in motion for the purpose of spoil or conquest. Athens built her glory on other foundations. She could not, indeed, lead countless armies into the field, but she knew how, with a little band, to defeat those who could. In the days of her freedom no human force could subdue her. To effect this, every man within the borders of Attica must have been exterminated; for so long as an Athenian was left, the indomitable spirit of democracy would have survived in him and sufficed to kindle up fresh contests.

But the energies of Athens, how great soever, did not, like those of most other states, develop themselves chiefly in war. It is the characteristic of barbarians to destroy, but to create nothing. The delight and glory of the people of Athens consisted, on the contrary, in the exercise of creative power, in calling into existence new arts, founding colonies, widening the circle of civilisation, covering the earth with beautiful structures, sacred and civil; in producing pictures, statues, vases, and sculptured gems, of conception and delicacy of workmanship inimitable. Wherever the

Athenian set his foot, the very earth appeared to grow more lovely beneath it. His genius beautified whatever it touched. His imagination vivified everything. He spread a rich mythological colouring over land and sea. Gods, at his bidding, entered the antique oak, sported in the waters of brook and fountain, scattered themselves in joyous groups over the uplands and through the umbrageous valleys, and their voices and odoriferous breath mingled with every breeze that blew.

In the distant colonies whither he betook himself, when poverty had relaxed the chain that bound him indissolubly to the Attic soil, a few years saw a new diminutive Athens springing up. The Pnyx, the Odeion, the Theatre of Bacchos, the Prytaneion, the Virgin's Fane, rose on a diminished scale around him, presenting an image, though faint, of his earlier home, the loveliest, undoubtedly, and, after Jerusalem, the most hallowed spot ever inhabited by man. Above all things, he was everywhere careful to enjoy the blessings of his ancestral institutions, and listened, as in the mother city, to those popular thunders which, thrice in every month, rolled from the bema over the assembled crowd, communicating pleasurable emotions to his mind, and rousing continually the passion for freedom.

It were needless to dwell at any considerable length on the naval and military achievements of the Athenians. The world is still full of the victories of Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea, and the soil, drenched in defence of liberty with Attic

blood, is to this day sacred in the eyes of the most phlegmatic. I appeal in proof of this to every man's daily experience: for does not the bare mention of any spot where the great Demos triumphed or suffered some national calamity, make the blood bound more rapidly and tingle in our veins? Even the grovelling and worldly-minded, who affect to consider nothing holy but Mammon, can have fire struck out of their cold natures by the spell of those glorious syllables; for virtue, and valour, and that religious link which binds the soul to the spot where a mother's dust reposes, are found, and will ever be found, to kindle warm admiration in every heart. And never since society began did these great qualities develope themselves more visibly than among the people of Athens. For this reason, who can visit Syracuse, or the shores of the Hellespont, or the site of Memphis's White Castle, without experiencing as he gazes on the scene an electrical thrill of mental anguish at the recollection of what Athenian citizens more than two thousand years ago suffered there? Even Thermopylæ, glorious as it is, scarcely stirs our nature so deeply as Marathon; for the coarser and more material genius and institutions of Sparta, the nurse of those heroes who fell at the Gates of Hellas inspire less of that fervent admiration which the great actions and great men of Athens awaken in every cultivated mind.

Of the political institutions which throughout Hellas influenced so powerfully the developement of the national character, it is not my design in the

present volumes to speak. I confine myself entirely to the other causes which rendered the ancient Greeks what they were; reserving the examination of their forms of government for a separate treatise. The subject here discussed possesses sufficient interest of itself. It has been my aim to open up as far as possible a prospect into the domestic economy of a Grecian family, the arts, comforts, conveniences, regulations affecting the condition of private life, and those customs and manners which communicated a peculiar character and colour to the daily intercourse of Greek citizens. For, in all my investigations about the nature and causes of those ancient institutions which, during so many ages constituted the glory and the happiness of the most highly gifted race known to history, I found my attention constantly directed to the circumstances of their private life, from which, as from a great fountain, all their public prosperity and grandeur seemed to spring.

Indeed, the great sources of a nation's happiness and power must always lie about the domestic hearth. There or nowhere are sown, and for many years cherished by culture, all those virtues which bloom afterwards in public, and form the best ornaments of the commonwealth. Men are everywhere exactly what their mothers make them. If these are slaves, narrow-minded, ignorant, unhappy, those in their turn will be so also. The domestic example, small and obscure though it be, will impress its image on the state; since that which individually is base and little, can never by congre-

gating with neighbouring littleness, become great, or lead to those heroic efforts, those noble self-sacrifices, which elevate human nature to a sphere in which it appears to touch upon and partake something of the divine.

By minutely studying, as far as practicable, those small obscure sanctuaries of Greek civilisation—the private dwellings of Attica—I hoped to discover the secret of that moral alchemy by which were formed

Those dead, but sceptred sovereigns who still rule
Our spirits from their urns.

In these haunts, little familiar to our imagination, lay concealed the germs of law, good government, philosophy, the arts, and whatever else has tended to soften and render beautiful the human clay. That this was the case is certain; why it should have been so, we may perhaps be unable satisfactorily to explain; but that is what we shall at least attempt in the present work, and for this purpose, it will at the first glance be apparent, that the most elaborate delineation of the political institutions of Athens must prove altogether insufficient. These were but one among many powerful causes. The principal lay deeper in a combination of numerous circumstances:—a peculiarly perfect and beautiful physical organization; a mind fraught with enthusiasm, force, flexibility, and unrivalled quickness; a buoyancy of temper which no calamity could long depress; consequent, probably, upon this, a strong religious feeling ineradicably

seated in the heart; an unerring perception of the beautiful in art and nature; and lastly, the enjoyment of a genial climate, and an atmosphere pure, brilliant, and full of sunshine as their minds.

Races of men, though not in precisely the same manner as individuals, yet exhibit, at particular periods of their history, a freshness, a vigour, a disinterestedness, like that of youth; and, because this state of feeling may more than once occur in the course of their career, they seem to spring, like *Æson*, out of convulsions and apparent dissolution to a state of perfect rejuvenescence. Calamity and suffering purify whole communities as they do individuals. In the boiling and commotion of revolutions the impurities of the national character bubble upwards and are skimmed away by the iron hand of misfortune. These political convulsions are, in fact, so many efforts of nature to expel some disease lurking in the constitution, and which, though the race be immortal, might, if suffered to remain in the frame, produce a lethargy worse than death. This truth we should bear constantly in mind; for among the characteristics of the Athenian constitution, not the least remarkable are the many efforts it made to right itself, and adapt its framework to the changing circumstances of the times.

In the present inquiry we must, as I have already said, discover, if we can, how much *Hellas* owed to its climate, to its position on the globe, and to the physical organization of its inhabitants. It would be absurd to infer with some writers,

that the influence of these circumstances is imaginary, because Greece seems to remain where it was of old, and the constitution and temperament of the people to be likewise unchanged. But this is not the case. Greece no longer occupies in the map of the world the position it occupied in antiquity. It has been lifted out of the centre of civilisation, to be cast upon its outskirts, or, which is the same thing, civilisation has shifted its seat. Nor are the Greeks any longer what they formerly were, though perhaps by a fortunate combination of circumstances they might still be rendered so. At present there is the same difference between them and their ancestors as between a jar of Falernian, and an empty jar. The clay, indeed, is there, beautifully moulded, and the purple hue of life is on the cheek; but tyranny from the battle of Cheronæa,

“ That dishonest victory
Fatal to liberty !”

until now has been draining out the soul. In the day when Hellas was itself its children walked in light, in the first beautiful light of the morning, which long seemed to shine only upon them; and now, perhaps, after the revolution of a cycle almost equal to the Great Year, they may, probably, be approaching another dawn.

Comparing the several states of Greece together, it is customary to bestow the palm of energy and military valour upon the Spartans, who made war their sole profession, and passed their lives as

it were in the camp from the cradle to the grave. But, in thus deciding, justice is scarcely done to the character of Athens; for, if the former excelled in discipline, to the latter belonged, indisputably, the superiority in native courage. Trained or not trained they faced whatever enemy presented himself, and won at least as many laurels from Sparta, on the ocean, as the Doric State, in all its wars, ever gathered on land. And, lastly, at Plataea, among which race, among Ionians or Dorians, was most activity manifested? In whose ranks was found the greatest ardour to engage? Who bore the first brunt of the Median horse, and broke the dreaded shock of that vaunted Asiatic chivalry which the Barbarian hoped would have trampled down with its innumerable hoofs the spirit of Grecian freedom? This was effected by the Athenians; by those gay and seemingly effeminate soldiers, who went forth from their beautiful city curled, perfumed, clad in purple, as to the mimic combats of the theatre. The spirit of their commonwealth, all splendour without and all energy within, urged them to the field. Their cry at the approach of the king was "Freedom or honourable graves!" — such as their countrymen had ever been wont to repose in.

In fact, the Athenians, under a free government, had learned what it was to live — had imbibed from their education the feeling, that if deprived of such a government, if reduced to bow beneath the yoke of despotism, to die, if the Apostle's words may without blame be thus applied, would

be gain. It will readily be conceived that the citizens of such a state felt an impassioned attachment to their country,—an attachment unintelligible to persons living under any other form of civil polity. Athens was the cradle of their freedom and their happiness. There was a religion in the love they bore it; they had, according to mythical traditions, which they believed, sprung on that spot from the bosom of the earth. It stood, therefore to them in the dearest of all relations, being, to sum up everything holy in one word,—their MOTHER; and they embodied their profound veneration for the sacred spot in every fond, every endearing, epithet their matchless language could supply. Even the gods, in their patriotic partiality, were believed to look on Athens as the most lovely, no less than the most glorious city on the broad earth,—an idea which they expressed by representing Poseidon and Athena contending for the honour of becoming their tutelar divinity.

To persons so thinking no calamity short of the entire extinction of their race could appear so intolerable as beholding that sacred city, with the tombs of their ancestors, the sanctuaries of their gods, the venerable but immoveable symbols of their faith and mythological history, delivered over to be trodden down or obliterated with sword and fire by barbarian slaves, strong only from their countless numbers. Yet even to this did the love of freedom reconcile the Athenian people. They abandoned their holy place, and, embarking on board the fleet with their wives and children, took

refuge in Troezen and Salamis. History has described in touching language the circumstances of this event, than which it has nothing more pathetic to record save, peradventure, the carrying away of Judea and her children into captivity. I will not disturb its archaic simplicity. No eloquence could heighten its effect. It goes at once to the heart and rouses our noblest sympathies. “The embarkation of the people of Athens was a very affecting scene. What pity, what admiration of the firmness of those men who, sending their parents and families to a distant place, unmoved with their cries and embraces, had the fortitude to leave the city and embark for Salamis! What greatly heightened the distress was the number of citizens whom, on account of their extreme old age, they were forced to leave behind. And some emotions of tenderness were due even to the tame domestic animals which, running to the shore with lamentable howlings, expressed their affection and regret for the persons by whom they had been fed. One of these, a dog belonging to Xanthippos, the father of Pericles, unwilling to be left, is said to have leaped into the sea and to have swam by the side of the galley till it reached Salamis, where, quite spent with toil, it immediately died. And they show, to this day, a place called Cynossema — ‘the dog’s grave’ — where they tell us it was buried.”¹

The Athenian people, on this and similar occa-

¹ Plutarch, Life of Themistocles, in Langhorne’s plain and vigorous translation.

sions, were enabled to resolve and perform boldly from the generous spirit inspired by their national system of education. Their institutions, also, were eminently calculated to bring into play the energies of every individual citizen, and to diffuse in consequence through the whole community a grandeur of sentiment and an heroic enthusiasm peculiar to free states. At Athens whoever possessed the means of serving his country could easily, whatever might be his rank, make those means known, and bring them into operation. If he were virtuous his virtue was remarked and placed him on the road to promotion. If genius constituted his title to distinction, if nature had gifted him with the power to serve the state, the state, without inquiry whether he were poor or rich, readily availed itself of his capacity, rewarded him during his life with political honours and authority, and, after his death, with imperishable glory. If in war he performed any act of superior conduct or courage, a general's name was his reward; if he received wounds that name, or the hope of it, healed them; if in the achieving of any heroic deed he perished, his country, he knew, would honour his ashes, watch over his memory, and, with words powerfully soothing because embodying a nation's sympathy, dry up the tears of his parents and beloved children. He knew that his glory, heightened by matchless masters of eloquence, would flash like lightning from the bema; that lovely bosoms would beat high at his name; that hands, the fairest in Greece, would yearly wreath his tomb with garlands; and that

tears would be shed for ever on the spot by the brave.

If children remained behind him, the state would become their parent; every Athenian would share with them his salt; would impart to them their best inheritance — the feeling of patriotism and an inextinguishable hatred of tyranny; would repeat to them with unenvious pride the eulogy of their father, and point daily to the laurels which kept his grave ever green. The Athenian was taught, from the cradle, to consider death beautiful when met on the red battle-field in defence of his home. And, according to the creed of his country, he believed that his spirit would in such an event be numbered among the objects of public worship. Hence the sublimity, the thrilling power of that oath in Demosthenes, who, in swearing by the souls of those that fell at Marathon, accomplished their apotheosis and placed them among the gods of Athens.

That such were the habitual feelings of this most gallant and generous-minded people appears even from the admission of their bitterest enemies. "They," observe, in Thucydides, the Corinthian ambassadors, when urging Sparta into the Peloponnesian war, — "they push victory to the utmost, "and are least of all men dejected by defeat; "exposing their bodies for their country as if they "had no interest in them, yet applying their minds "in the public service as if that and their private interest were one. Disappointment of a proposed acquisition they consider as a loss of what

“ already belonged to them ; success in any pur-
“ suit they esteem only as a step towards farther
“ advantages ; and, defeated in any attempt, they
“ turn immediately to some new project by which to
“ make themselves amends : insomuch, that, through
“ their celerity in executing whatever they propose,
“ they seem to have the peculiar faculty of at the
“ same time hoping and possessing. Thus they
“ continue ever amid labours and dangers, enjoy-
“ ing nothing through sedulity to acquire ; esteem-
“ ing that only a time of festival in which they
“ are prosecuting their projects ; and holding rest
“ as a greater evil than the most laborious busi-
“ ness. To sum up their character, it may be truly
“ said, that they were born neither to enjoy quiet
“ themselves, nor to suffer others to enjoy it.”¹

The feeling that what they fought for was their own, which accounts for the heroism of Hellenic armies, likewise led, particularly at Athens, to the beautifying and adorning of the city, and the perfection of public taste. The people saw among them no palaces devoted to the private luxuries of a despotic court, where persons maintained at the public expense learn to look with contempt on the honest hands that support them. There, whatever was magnificent belonged to the people at large, no private individuals, during the best ages of the commonwealth, presuming, how great soever might be their talents or their influence, to arrogate to themselves more than can be due

¹ Mitford, *History of Greece*, iii. 53.

to individuals, or to enshrine their perishable bodies in buildings suited only to the worship of God. Yet, in genuine grandeur, no monarch, with the wealth of half a world at the disposal of his caprice, ever rivalled the Athenian people. True taste, the genuine sense of the beautiful and the sublime, will, while the world endures, refuse to be the subject of a tyrant, or to inhabit the same city with him ; because no patronage, pensions, or lavish expenditure, can create in one state of society what belongs to another ; and pure taste being nothing more than the cultivated popular feeling spontaneously expanding, can nowhere exist but in a free state. A prince may, doubtless, know what pleases him ; but the people only can tell what pleases the people, which nothing certainly will unless it be produced expressly for them, without the slightest reference to any other person.

Such, in the best periods of Grecian history, were the Athenians. Among them Nature generally was allowed to make herself heard ; from the cradle upwards it was their guide. A pure religion they had not, or pure morality. Far from it ; they barely caught indistinct glimpses of what in faith and practice is true and beautiful. Nor could it be otherwise ; for the sun had not then risen, and men but felt their way uncertainly and timidly amid the obscurities of the dawn. Nevertheless, the light vouchsafed them they did not spurn. According to the best notions then prevailing, they were of all men the most pious ; and though of

this piety much, nay, the greater part, was superstition, yet, doubtless, God, according to the saying of the Apostle, accounted it unto them for righteousness, that, having not the law, they were a law unto themselves.

The Spartans, on the other hand, were mere monastic soldiers, brave, indeed, and true as their swords, but ungifted with those loftier and more exquisite sympathies which properly constitute the beauty of human character, and are alone the parents of love. Few, perhaps, were all things within their reach, would choose to be citizens of Sparta; while no one, for whom the poetry of life has any charms, would hesitate, after his own country, perhaps, to select Athens for his home. And that this is no scholastic fancy created by literary preferences is clear from the practice of antiquity. Every man possessing superior genius, whether sprung from Ionic or Doric race, betook himself to Athens, as to the Greece of Greece — the common country of letters, sciences, and arts. Thither, too, as now to London, fled the oppressed and persecuted of all lands, and there they found welcome and encouragement. It was the great asylum, the common city of refuge to all men. Strangers who could be content with hospitality and generous protection were never driven from thence. There every man might live as he pleased, think as he pleased, and utter freely what he thought. The recorded instances of persecution are barely sufficiently numerous to serve as exceptions to the general rule; and in Gorgias of Leontium, Polos, Protagoras,

Prodicos, Hippias, “and what the Cynic impudence “uttered,” we discover to how great an extent the spirit of toleration was carried at Athens. It would be absurd to object the examples of Anaxagoras, Aspasia, and Socrates; for these were merely instances of the rage of party spirit, from which, while men continue men, no state will ever be free, and can no more be imputed to the Athenian people, or to the spirit of their government, than the execution of Sir Thomas More, or Cranmer, or Fisher, can be laid to the charge of the English Constitution.

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THE HISTORY
OF THE
MANNERS AND CUSTOMS
OF
ANCIENT GREECE.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF HELLAS.

THE country of the Hellenes, which, in imitation of the Romans, we denominate Greece, was to its own inhabitants known by the name of Hellas. But the signification of this term was not fixed, being sometimes confined to Greece Proper, at others, comprehending likewise the possessions of the Hellenes in Asia ; that is, Hellas within and beyond the Ægean, as we now say, India within and beyond the Ganges.¹ The progress of the name seems to have been as follows : it designated, originally,² a city of Thessaly, built by Hellen son of Deucalion ; next, Phthiotis ; the whole of Thessaly ; all Greece, with the exception sometimes of Peloponnesos, sometimes of Macedonia,

¹ Paus. v. 21. 10. Palm. Desc. 297. Tauchnitz. with the authorities quoted by Palmerius,
Gr. Ant. p. 32. Exercit. p. 397.
² Il. β. 190. Strab. ix. 5. Græc. Ant. i. 3.

sometimes,—which is very remarkable, — of Thessaly itself; sometimes of Epeiros; then all Greece within the Ægæan; afterwards all countries inhabited by Greeks in whatever part of the world; and, lastly, it would appear to have been occasionally employed to signify Athens alone.¹ The most ancient name, Pelasgia, sprang from the race who first, perhaps, peopled that part of Europe.

Nearly all writers who treat of Grecian history or antiquities, have ventured more or less upon inquiries respecting the original inhabitants of the country, some contending that it was peopled by many independent races, while others content themselves with supposing one primary stock. To arrive at certainty in such investigations is scarcely to be hoped for, since, over the whole field, facts have moved in so close a conjunction with fables, “that the most which remaineth to be seen, is the show of dark and obscure steps where some part of the truth hath gone.”² It appears, however, to be a fact established, that the Hellenes were not the first who occupied Greece. They were preceded by a number of tribes all apparently of Pelasgian origin. But who and what the Pelasgians were, how and whence they came into the country, and by what gradations and influences they were ripened into Hellenes, or were by these expelled from the land, are questions to which no satisfactory answers have ever been given, but must still be discussed whatever the result of the investigation may be.

Even the name of this people has opened up an endless labyrinth of conjecture, at least among the moderns, for the ancients when such points were to be cleared up, easily removed the difficulty by inventing a hero or a demigod, with an appellation exactly suited to their purpose. Thus from Hellen they derived the name of the Hellenes, from Heracles that of

¹ Fisch. ad Theoph. Char. p. 5. ² Hooker, Ecc. Pol. i. p. 95.
L. Bos. Ant. Gr. Zeun. i. 1.

Heracleidæ, from Ion that of the Ionians, and from Pelasgos, the son sometimes of Zeus, sometimes of Poseidon, sometimes of Triops or Inachos or Lycaon or Palachthon or of the earth itself,¹ that of the Pelasgi. An Attic writer, familiar with this question, and hinting at a part of the theory which I have adopted, imagines the name of Pelasgi to have been at first bestowed on the race because they usually made their appearance on the shores of Hellas like migratory birds in spring.² But though conjecture in such matters may amuse, it is not likely, at this distance of time, to lead to truth.

The ancients had evidently formed no theory as to whence the Pelasgi came, but were satisfied with the notion of their autochthoneity,³ which we cannot adopt. It must be acknowledged, however, that we are little able to trace them with certainty beyond the limits of Greece, before their arrival in that country. My own opinion is, that when the migrations began from that vast and lofty table land of Central Asia, which formed the primitive abode of mankind, and where the mother language of the Sanskrit, the Greek, and many other dialects was first spoken, the illustrious race, afterwards known under the name of Pelasgi, moved westward by the Caspian, along the Caucasian range, through Armenia and Kourdistân, until they descended into the plains of Asia Minor. Here we seem to touch upon the obscurest verge of Grecian fable, for the tradition which sent Argo to Colchis, at the Eastern extremity of the Black Sea, evidently contemplated the people of the land as a kindred race, of similar faith, character, and manners. By what precise channel the stream of population rolled westward, cannot be determined: but here and there, on the southern shores of

¹ Paus. viii. 1. 6 ; ii. 14. 4 ; 22. Lyc. 177. 481. Natal. Com. p. 1. Herod. ii. 56. Æsch. Prom. 96. and conf. Palm. Græc. Ant. 859. Supp. 248. Nieb. Hist. of p. 41. sqq. Exercit. p. 527. with Rome, i. 24. Apollod. ii. 1. Serv. Buttm. Lexil. p. 155.
ad Æn. i. 628 ; ii. 83. Sch. ² Philochor. Siebel. p. 14.
Apol. Rhod. i. 580. Tzetz. ad ³ Marsh. Chron. Sec. ix. p. 130.

the Euxine, we discover some obscure footsteps of the parents of the Greeks, as they continued their journeyings towards the land which they were afterwards to encircle with glory. Moving through Pontos, Paphlagonia, and Bithynia, they appear everywhere to have made settlements on the coast, until they reached the narrow stream of the Bosporos, over which they threw themselves into Europe.

Up to this point we have little whereon to build our conclusions, save what is supplied by the general theory of ancient migrations, and what appear to be facts dimly seen within the extreme orbit of mythology. The ancients themselves seem to have obtained some uncertain glimpses of links connecting their ancestors with Asiatic Scythia, for there were those among them who represented the Caucons of Paphlagonia stretching along the banks of the Parthenios, and between the Maryandinians and the sea, as a nation of Scythian origin. Now the Caucons were undoubtedly Pelasgians, as were the Phrygians, the Carians, and the Leleges, who, united by the ties of blood, flocked to the defence of Troy.¹ In a much remoter age, the heroes of the traditional Argo were, it is said, confounded by night at Cyzicos,² in Mysia, with the warlike Pelasgi, even then masters of the sea, and accustomed with their galleys to vex the coast and plunder the settled inhabitants. I regard the working of the gold and silver mines on the southern shores of the Euxine, anterior to the Trojan war, as another proof of the settlement of the Pelasgi in that part of Asia Minor;³ and who but they, at a period beyond the

¹ Strab. viii. 3. p. 127.

² Apollod. i. 9. 18. The mythology describes the Pelasgi as driven out of Thessaly by the Æolians, and, under the guidance of Cyzicos, taking possession of the peninsula of that name previous to the Argonautic expedi-

tion. They fought with the Argonauts, and were afterwards expelled by the Tyrrhenians, who in their turn were driven out by the Milesians. Phot. Bib. p. 139. a. 25. Bekk.

³ Il. β. 857.

reach of tradition, could have opened those gold mines on the shores of Thrace, which on his conquest of the country Philip of Macedon found to have been long ago worked and abandoned by some unknown people?¹

Be this as it may, it was over the Bosporos and through Thrace that the Pelasgi seem to have made their earliest approaches towards Greece. The Thracians themselves were of Pelasgian origin. Thracians inhabited both sides of the Bosporos; traces of Pelasgian settlements and Pelasgian names are likewise found on both sides. The stream of knowledge unquestionably poured through Thrace into Greece; and it is highly probable that the stream of population had, at a remoter period, flowed in the same channel. Once in Macedonia, the adventurers would be tempted southward by the beauty of the climate and country; so that while some moved up the valley of the Haliacmon, others, perhaps, took possession of the ridge of Olympos, Ossa and Pelion, where they were known under the names of Centaurs and Lapithæ.² From these lofty ridges they looked down upon the great lake which in those ages covered the whole plain of Thessaly, and, following the ramifications of the mountains, peopled Pelasgian Argos, Phthiotis, and the roots of Œta, while the lowlands were still under water: thence, too, they crossed over into Eubœa, where they assumed the names of Macrones³ and Curetes. This latter tribe settling at Chalcis,⁴ and having been worsted in a contest for the Lalantian plain, fled across the Euripos, and traversing the whole of Bœotia, founded a new settlement about Pleuron in Ætolia, and gave the name of Curetis to the whole country. Hence, also, in process of time, they were

¹ Payne Knight, on the Worship of Priapus, p. 147.

² Λέλεγας γὰρ φασὶ πρότερον αὐτοὺς προσαγορευομένους, διὰ τὸ ἀποκεντῆσαι τοὺς ἵππους προσαγορευθῆναι Ἰπποκενταύρους. Sch.

Pind. Pyth. ii. 78. Cf. Schœll. Hist. de la Lit. Grecq. i. 4. seq.

³ Sch. Apoll. Rhod. i. 1024. Cf. Winkel. Hist. de l'Art. i. 317.

⁴ Strab. x. 3. p. 349.

driven by the Ætolians from Pisa in Elis, upon which they took refuge in Acarnania.¹

But the principal tribe, and that which subsequently spread throughout Greece, after filling with population the valley of the Haliacmon, traversing the Caulavian range, and descending along the course of the Aoös, seem on the banks of the Celydnos, to have turned their faces southward. Following that stream upwards towards its source, they found themselves in Epeiros, a land abounding with water brooks, with lovely mountains, and lovelier valleys, and at length settled, and erected themselves lasting habitations in the sacred neighbourhood of Dodona,² where the first oracle known to the Hellenes flourished under the protection of the Pelasgian Zeus.³

Up to this point we have been treading, with little or no light to guide us, over a soil shifting, unsure, and treacherous; but here we touch upon comparatively firm ground, while the light of poetry dawns around, and enables us to direct our footsteps towards the luminous terra firma of history.

It must not be denied that much of the foregoing theory is erected on inference and conjecture. Nevertheless, it rests in part on facts which an historian ought not to reject. For example, though it be nowhere, perhaps, distinctly stated that the Thracians were entirely of Pelasgian origin, we are compelled by various circumstances to believe that such was the case: first, Samothrace on the coast was undoubtedly peopled by Pelasgi;⁴ secondly, the Macedonians,

¹ Strab. x. 8. p. 349. Sch. Pind. Olymp. iii. 19. Pliny, iv. 2. Eustath. ad Il. β. 637. Certain ancient writers maintained that the Ætolians were called Curetes by Homer; and at a still earlier period Hyantes, and the country Hyantis.—Steph. Byzant. v. 'Αιτωλ. p. 71. a. Palm. G. Ant. p. 426.—Acarnania itself was formerly called Curetis.—Demet. ap.

Steph. v. 'Αθῆν. p. 45. a. Hard. ad Plin. iv. 2. p. 7.

² Strab. vii. 7. p. 124. seq. Hesiod. Frag. 54. et 124. Gœttl.—A second Dodona is supposed to have existed in Thessaly.—See Thirl. Hist. of Greece, i. 36.—Cf. Buttm. Diss. de orac. Dodon. Orat. Att. vii. 133. sqq.

³ Il. π. 233. ⁴ Herod. ii. 51.

plainly of the same stock with the Thracians, are acknowledged to have been Pelasgi; ¹ and since the Illyrians likewise were a kindred people, ² we have a line of Pelasgian settlements stretching along the whole northern frontier of Greece, the Ægean, the Hellespont, and the Propontis, from the Adriatic to the Black Sea. The chain of proofs, indeed, is not complete, but appears and disappears alternately, like the stream of the Alpheios, though little doubt can be entertained of the existence of the links which happen to lie out of sight. In nearly every part of Macedonia the footsteps of the Pelasgi are clearly discernible; at Crestona, ³ on the Echidoros in Pœonia; in Emathea, and Botticea; ⁴ and looking at the language of the country, we find it at all times to have been identical with that of Greece. That the same thing must be predicated of Thrace, even in the remotest ages, appears indisputably from this, that her bards, Thamyras and Orpheus traversed the whole of Hellas, and sang their wisdom to its inhabitants; while Olen coming from Lycia, a Pelasgian settlement, ⁵ likewise brought his kindred songs to the same tolerant and hospitable land.

But to follow the movements of the Pelasgi through Greece itself, where, though no chronology of events can be attempted, our views rest on a stable foundation. Much, however, of our reasoning will be confused or perhaps unintelligible, if it be not borne in mind that the name of the Pelasgi, like that of the Tartars or Arabs, was a general appellation applied to the whole race, while the several tribes bore separate denominations; as the Chaones, ⁶ the Dryopes, the Leleges, the Caucons, the Cranaans, with many

¹ Justin. vii. 1. Thucyd. ii. 99.

² Müller, Dor. i. 2.

³ Herod. i. 57.—On the situation of this city see Poppo, Proleg. ad Thucyd. ii. p. 383.

⁴ Justin. vii. 1. Æsch. Supp. p. 261. Cf. Thucyd. iv. 109.

⁵ Diod. v. p. 396. Wesseling.

⁶ Steph. Byz. v. Χαιονία, p. 753. g.

others,¹ precisely as among the Arabs, we find the Ababde, the Mahazi, the Beni Sakker, &c. The Pelasgian tribe which first made its appearance, and became powerful in Epeiros, a country not to be separated from Greece, was that of the Chaones, whose chief seat was Cheimera,² at the foot of the Ceraunian mountains. An obscure scholiast, indeed, denominates them barbarians;³ but as from the best authority we know them to have been Pelasgi, this shows the value of the term in the mouth of the later writers. Another class,—the Levites, perhaps, of those primitive people,—settled amid the oak forests which surrounded the lovely lake of Dodona, where under the name of Selli,⁴ they founded the most celebrated oracle of early antiquity. In their habits they remind us of the Sanyasis, and other religious anchorites of India, living from views of penance with unwashed feet, and sleeping on the bare ground. Other tribes renowned of old in Epeiros, and all Pelasgian,⁵ were the Thesprotians, the Molossians, the Perrhæbians, and the Dolopians, the last rough mountaineers inhabiting both the eastern and western slopes of Pindos.⁶

When Epeiros had been thus thickly sprinkled with settlements, an earthquake appears to have produced in the range of Pelion the narrow precipitous gap, afterwards known as Tempe, by which the waters of the Thessalian lake discharged themselves into the sea. This happened, we are told, while one Pelasigos⁷ reigned over the mountaineers in the district of

¹ Hermann, however, (Polit. Ant. p. 14,) imagines that the Caucons, Leleges, &c. were independent races, though less civilised and illustrious than the Pelasgi.

² Plin. iv. 1.

³ Schol. ad Aristoph. Eq. 78.

⁴ Aristot. Meteorol. i. 14. p. 39.—Il. π. 234. seq.

⁵ Steph. Byz. v. "Εφύρα, p. 367. c. Strab. vii. 7 p. 119.

See also Müll. Dor. i. 6. Plut. Pyrrh. 1. — See the authorities collected by Niebuhr, i. 26.

⁶ Dolops was the son of Hermes, and dying in the city of Magnesia in Thessaly, had there a tomb erected by the sea-shore. Sch. Apoll. Rhod. i. 587. 558.

⁷ Palmer. Exercit. p. 527.—Sch. Apoll. Rhod. i. 500.—Dion. Hal. i. 3. 1.

Hæmonia. They were celebrating a great feast, when a certain slave named Peloros, brought them tidings of what had come to pass, speaking with admiration of the vast plains which were appearing through the ebbing waters. In gratitude for the news he communicated, they caused the man to seat himself at table while both the king and his attendants, in the joy and fulness of their hearts ministered to him. This, it is said, was the origin of the Pelorian festival, afterwards, down to a very late period, celebrated with great pomp and magnificence in Thessaly, where, for the day, masters changed condition with their slaves, and became their servants.¹ The same festival in the Pelasgian settlements of Italy was known down to the latest times, under the name of Saturnalia.

On the interior of Thessaly becoming thus habitable, the Pelasgian tribes of Epeiros, beginning to be straitened for room, and feeling still the original wandering impulse, poured over the heights of Pindos into the valleys of Histiaëotis, and moved eastward along the foot of the Cambunian mountains, settling every where as they advanced. The tribe which took this direction bore the name of Perrhæbians, and left traces of their movements in the great Perrhæbian forest, stretching to the foot of Olympos, and in the name of the whole district extending from the Peneios to the northern limits of Thessaly. In this rich and fertile tract they became powerful, spreading their dominion along the banks of the Peneios, quite down to the sea. But the Lapithæ rising into consequence and overcoming the Perrhæbians in battle, reduced a portion of the tribes under their yoke, while the remainder, enamoured of independence, retreated inland, again crossed the Pindos, and established themselves in the upper valley of the Acheloös. About the same time, perhaps, a fragment of this tribe traversing the whole of Thessaly crossed over into Eubœa, where they subdued and took possession of Histiaëotis. It

¹ Athen. xiv. 45.

was possibly the entrance of these adventurers into the island, pushing fresh waves of population southward, that caused the contest for the Lalantian plain, and the emigration of the Curetes to the continent.

Other Pelasgian tribes established themselves, and became illustrious in Thessaly. The Centaurs, for example, a Lelegian clan inhabiting Mount Pelion, where they were, perhaps, the first tamers of the horse, whence the fable of their double form. Other sections of the Leleges were also found in Thessaly,¹ as were also the Dryopes. In this country,² notwithstanding that it must be regarded upon the whole as only the second stage of the Pelasgians in their migrations southward, we find more traces of their power and influence than anywhere else in Northern Greece. Here were two cities, called Larissa; here was Pelasgian Argos;³ here, too, was a great district known by the name of Pelasgiotis, while that of Pelasgia seems to have preceded Thessaly as the appellation of the whole province.⁴ This people, like most others, seem to have had a number of names, to which they were peculiarly attached, which we nearly always find re-appearing wherever they formed a settlement. Generally, too, it may be regarded as certain that the more northern were the most ancient: thus we find Pelagonia in the kingdom of Macedon and in Thessaly; Larissa⁵ on the Peneios; Larissa Cremaste near the shore. The Dryopes,⁶ again, appear first in Epeiros, not far from Dodona; next we find them in Thessaly, then in Doris, finally in Peloponnesos; and Strabo is

¹ Serv. ad. *Æn.* viii. 725.

² Paus. iv. 36. 1. Sch. Apoll. Rhod. ii. 1239.

³ Pliny, iv. 14.—Even Phthiotis itself, one of the earliest cradles of the Hellenes, is recorded to have been a Pelasgian settlement. Sch. Apoll. Rhod. i. 14.—Cf. ad. i. 40. 580.

⁴ Sch. Apoll. Rhod. iv. 26.; i. 906. 580.

⁵ Steph. Byzant. *v.* Λάρισσα. p. 511. b, c, d. Sch. Apoll. Rhod. i. 40.

⁶ That the Dryopes were Pelasgi, appears from this:—they received their national appellation from Dryops, son of Lycaon, (Sch. Apoll. Rhod. i. 1218,) who was himself the son of Pelasgos.—Suid. *v.* Δρυκ. Cf. Etym. Mag. 154, 7. 288, 32. Paus. viii. 2. 1.

careful to remark that the last-mentioned were an offshoot from those in the north.

From Thessaly the tide of population rolled southward;¹ different tribes of Pelasgi, under the name of Leleges, Hyantes, Aones, and Dryopes taking possession of the mountains and valleys of Doris, Locris, Phocis, and extending their migrations into the plains of Bœotia. From thence, across the isthmus, some few straggling hordes appear to have found their way into Peloponnesos, where, as shepherds, they gradually diffused themselves over its rich plains. All the Pelasgi in fact appear like the Arabs and Tartars to have been originally Nomades, different tribes of whom, as they were tempted by the beauty of particular regions, quitted their wandering life, as the Arabs have done in Egypt, Yemen, and elsewhere, and from shepherds became husbandmen. In process of time, the descendants of the settlers, accustomed to the easy and luxurious life of cities, learned to look back upon their wandering ancestors as a wretched and a barbarous race. Indeed, they sometimes speak of them² after their arrival in Peloponnesos as cannibals, naked, houseless, ignorant of the use of fire, on a level, in short, with the fiercest and most brutal savages existing in the islands of the Pacific. But these erroneous ideas evidently arose from the theory of

¹ Just. xiii. 4.—The Epicnemidian Locrians were anciently called Leleges, and by them the channel of the Cephissos was opened to the sea.—Pliny, iv. 12. Solin. vii. p. 55. Bipont. Hesiod. Frag. 25. Gœttl. Strab. vii. 7. p. 115; ix. 1. p. 248. Scymn. Chius, p. 24.—Phot. Bib. 321. b.

² Mnaseas of Patræ ap. Sch. Pind. Pyth. iv. 104.—Dion. Hal. (Ant. Rom. i. 31) is one of those writers who considers the Pelasgi miserable because they were

wanderers. Upon this notion Palmerius remarks judiciously: "Sed si tales migrationes miserræ sunt, miserrimi olim Galli majores nostri, qui usque in Asiam, post multas errores, armis victricibus penetrâsse historiæ omnes testantur, et hoc seculo miserrimi Tartari et Arabes, qui Nomadice vivunt, et sedes identidem mutant, non se miseros existimant, et id genus vitæ Attalicis conditionibus mutare recusarent."—Græc. Antiq. p. 60.

autochthoneity which supposes man to have gradually ripened out of a beast into a man ; whereas, the low savages discovered in various parts of the world, do not represent the original state of mankind, but are mere instances of extreme degeneracy. In fact, a different set of traditions also prevailed among the Greeks, which, referring evidently to the period when their ancestors were Nomades, spoke with rapture and enthusiasm of their happy and tranquil life, when, following their flocks from vale to vale and from stream to stream, they fed upon the spontaneous productions which nature spread before them. On this period the poets bestowed the name of the Golden Age, and, perhaps, if examined philosophically, there is no stage in the history of civilisation at which there is so much to enjoy and so little to suffer, as when the whole nation are shepherds, and happen to light upon a land where, as yet too few to inconvenience each other, they can live unmolested by foreign tribes.

It has now been shown how Hellas might have been entirely peopled from the north ; but certain traditions, prevailing from the earliest times, compel us to admit that some portion, at least, of its population reached it by a different route ; that is, through Asia Minor and the islands. I have already alluded briefly to the existence of a Pelasgian tribe in Paphlagonia,¹ that is to say, the Caucons, whose establishment in this region supplies a link in the chain of proofs by which we endeavour to connect the Pelasgi with the Scythians of Central Asia ; for the Caucons are admitted to have been of Pelasgian origin, and an opinion prevailed among the

¹ According to the reading of Callisthenes, Homer himself fixes their residence in Paphlagonia.— Cf. Strab. xiii. p. 16. viii. p. 157. Sch. Hom. γ. 329.—Unless we adopt this reading we

must suppose with the Scholiast, that they were not separately mentioned in the catalogue, because Homer confounded them with the Leleges, or because they arrived late in the war.

ancients that they were likewise Scythians.¹ Thus we find that certain Scythians settled in Paphlagonia, were called Caucons, that the Caucons were Pelasgi, and that the Pelasgi peopled Greece. The Greeks, therefore, by this account, traced their origin to Scythia. Circumstances connected with the geography of Asia Minor and of Hellas, seem to furnish traces of the route of the Pelasgi westward. It appears to have been among the primitive articles of their creed, that the deity delighted to abide on the summits of lofty and even of snowy mountains; and whenever in their settlements the features of the earth presented any such towering eminence, they seem to have bestowed on it the name of Olympos, or Celestial Mansion.² Immediately south of the Cauconian settlements, on the limits of Bithynia and Galacia, we accordingly find a mountain of this name; again, travelling westward, we have another Mount Olympos, on the northern confines of Phrygia; a third meets us in the island of Lesbos;³ a fourth in Cypros, a fifth in Arcadia,⁴ a sixth in Elis, and a seventh, best known of all, near the cradle of the Hellenes in Thessaly. In Mysia,⁵ the footsteps of the race are numerous; Pelasgian cities—Placia, Scylace, Cyzicos, Antandros—studded the coast; inland there was a Larissa;⁶ and the lovely-leaved evergreen, which shaded the slopes and crags of the Trojan Ida, was named the Pelasgian laurel.⁷

¹ Οἱ μὲν Σκύθας φασίν, οἱ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων τινὰς, οἱ δὲ τῶν Πελασγῶν. Strab. xiii. p. 16.—To the same tradition alludes the Scholiast: Ἔθνος Παφλαγονίας, οἱ δὲ Σκυθίας· οἱ δὲ τοὺς λεγομένους Καννίλους εἶπον. Il. κ. 429.

² In the dialect of the Dryopes, this mountain was known by the name of Βηλὸς, by which word the Chaldæans denoted the highest circle of the heavens.—*Etym. Mag.* 196. 19 seq.

³ Plin. v. 39.

⁴ Paus. viii. 38. 2. Sch. Apoll. Rhod. i. 599. Meura. Cypr. i. 28. p. 76. Steph. Byzant. v. Ὀλυμπ. p. 612. e.—Mention, moreover, is made of an eighth Olympos in Cilicia. (Sch. Apoll. ut sup.)—A ninth in Lycia. (Plin. xxi. 7.)

⁵ Phot. Bib. 139. a. 12. 25. Herod. vii. 42. cf. i. 57. Pomp. Mela. i. 19.

⁶ Sch. Apoll. Rhod. i. 40.

⁷ Pliny, xv. 39.

Other facts there are connecting the Trojans with the Pelasgian stock: thus the Caucons, whom we find among their allies in Homer, are called a Trojan tribe; the language of Troy was evidently a Pelasgian dialect, closely allied to the Greek,¹ which may likewise be predicated of the Phrygian, the Lydian, the Carian, the Lycian extending along the whole western coast of Asia Minor. The gods, oracles, rites, ceremonies of all these people appear in early times to have been identical with those of Hellas, and mythology represents the heroes of both continents as sprung from the same gods. Nay, positive testimony describes the Pelasgi as a great nation, holding the whole western coast of Asia Minor, from Mycale to the Hellespont;² and speaks of the Leleges as inhabiting a part of Caria, where their deserted fortifications, called Lelegia,³ apparently of Cyclopiian construction, were still found in the time of Strabo,⁴ together with their tombs, probably barrows, resembling those scattered through Peloponnesos, and called the "Tombs of the Phrygians."⁵ Similar sepulchral relics of Carian dominion were found and opened by the Athenians in the purification of Delos.⁶ Possibly, too, the tumuli, existing to this day in Tartary, and occasionally rifled by the Siberians, mark the original seat of the Pelasgi in Asia; though similar monuments are found in other parts of the East, as in Nubia, where I

¹ Plato, *Cratyl.* i. iv. p. 58.—See, likewise, Müller (*Dor.* i. 9—11), where, however, too much ingenuity by far is displayed. Another proof of relationship is supplied by Homer (*Il.* ρ. 288) who represents Hippothoös, a Pelasgian, insulting the body of Patroclos.—Strab. xiii. 3. p. 142.—Niebuhr (i. 28) conjectures that the Trojans were not a Phrygian, but a Pelasgian tribe; though,

in reality, both Phrygians and Trojans sprang from the same stock.

² Strab. xiii. 3. p. 144.

³ Paus. vii. 2. 8.

⁴ *W. f.* 7. p. 114.—The Carians themselves are said to have lived habitually amid inaccessible rocks.—Schol. Arist. *Av.* 292.

⁵ Athen. xiv. 21.

⁶ Thucyd. i. 8.

counted a cluster of ten or twelve, and nearly all over Europe. Homer speaks of one on the plains of Troy, and the Greeks themselves cast up barrows over their heroes, as Ajax, where

“Far by the solitary shore he sleeps.”

Not to omit any material facts, on which my view of Pelasgian history is founded, I shall proceed to mention in order the principal points on the Asiatic shore where the footsteps of the Pelasgi appear. We find, then, that they occupied the greater part of Lydia,¹ and at the time of the Ionian migration held the citadel of Ephesos. They, too, in conjunction with the Nymphs were the founders of the temple of Hera at Samos,² and crossing the Mæander they re-appear again at Miletos on the coast of Caria. Indeed this city³ was originally, from its inhabitants, called Lelegeis, though it afterwards was known under a variety of names, as Pitououssa from the surrounding pine woods, Anactoria, and lastly, Miletos. A little further southward was another Lelegian settlement at Pedasos on the Satneios.⁴ From a passage in Homer it has been supposed that the Carians and Lelegians were distinct races, but in reality the Carians were a Lelegian tribe;⁵ that is Pelasgi, who like the Hellenes in Greece, gradually acquired power and

¹ Paus. vii. 2. 8. Steph. Byzant, *v.* Ἀγύλλα, p. 30, d. Ed. Berkel.

² Athen. xv. 12. Thirl. Hist. of Greece, i. 43. - Sch. Apoll. Rhod. i. 14.

³ Pliny. ii. 31. Steph. de Urb. *v.* Μίλετ. p. 559. b. c. Eustath. in Dion. Perieg. 825. 456. Sch. Apoll. Rhod. i. 186.

⁴ Il. *φ.* 86. Cf. Sch. ad κ. 429.

⁵ A glimpse of this fact is ob-

tained from a tradition preserved by Hecataeos:—Τοὺς δὲ Λέλεγας τινὲς μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς Καρίων εἰκάζουσιν. Strab. vii. 7. p. 114. From other authorities we learn that the Carians were regarded as Pelasgians.—Habitator incertæ originis. Alii indigenas, sunt qui Pelasgos, quidam Cretas existimant. Pomp. Mela, i. 16.—See likewise Barnes ad Eurip. Heracl. 317. But the strongest testimony is that of Herodotus, i. 171.

dominion, and eclipsed their brethren. This they were enabled to do by applying themselves passionately to the use of arms, a circumstance which at a later period led them to make a traffic of their valour and hire their swords to the best bidder. In earlier and better times they achieved conquests for themselves, and rivalling the Phœnicians in maritime enterprise and success, reduced under their sway the greater number of the Ægæan islands,¹ and even some portion of the Hellenic continent itself.² Certain clans of this martial race sought an outlet for their restless daring by joining the Cilicians³ in their piratical enterprises, and probably it was in this character that they first obtained possession of some of the smaller isles. Positive historical testimony there seems to be none for fixing the Pelasgi in Cyprus,⁴ though we cannot doubt that it was included in their dominions, from the ruins of Cyclopiàn fortresses still found there, and the Olympian Mount already mentioned. In Rhodes, however, and Samos antiquity speaks of their settlements;⁵ they, too, were the earliest inhabitants of Chios,⁶ whence they sent forth a colony to Lesbos,⁷ which received from them the name of Pelasgia. They expelled the Minyans from Lemnos,⁸ which afterwards, through fear of Darius, their king ceded to the Athenians,⁹ and held Imbros¹⁰ and Samothrace¹¹ in the north; Scyros, too, was originally

¹ Strabo, xiv. 2. p. 208. Thucyd. i. 8.

² Strabo, viii. 6. p. 204.

³ Strab. ap. Palmer. Gr. Ant. i. 10, p. 65. Serv. ad Æn. viii. 725. We again find these two people united at Troy; but not mentioned in the catalogue, because their leader had fallen and there were few of them left to be ranged under Hector. Their leaders were Helicon and his sons. Their capital city "Thebes with lofty gates" had been sacked by Achilles. Strab. xiii. 3. p. 141.

⁴ Travels of Ali Bey.

⁵ Phot. Bib. 141. a.

⁶ According, however, to a tradition preserved by Ephoros, the city of Karides, in this island, was founded by those who escaped with Macar from the Deluge of Deucalion. Athen. iii. 66.

⁷ Plin. v. 39.

⁸ Paus. vii. 22.

⁹ Suid. v. Ἐρμῶνιος χῆρος. t. i. p. 1044.

¹⁰ Herm. Pol. Antiq. p. 13. Herod. vi. 138, 140. v. 26.

¹¹ Herod. ii. 51.

named Pelasgia.¹ Andros was peopled by one² of their colonies, and Delos, as we have already seen, held their bones until they were cast forth by the Athenians. But it is unnecessary to enumerate each separate point, since we know generally that all the *Ægean* isles were anciently in their possession,³ and that even the great island of Crete formed, in remote ages, a portion of their empire. Here under the names of Curetes, Corybantes, Telchines and Dactyli,⁴ they flourished in the mythical times, and were the reputed preservers and nurses of the infant Zeus, a god pre-eminently Pelasgian, so that wherever his worship was found I regard it as a proof that the Pelasgi had settled there.

Passing thus from island to island in the very infancy of navigation, the Pelasgi appear by way of the Sporades and Cycladæ, to have migrated into Peloponnesos, first landing at Argos. Probably on their arrival they found there some few inhabitants who by the isthmus had entered and scattered themselves at leisure over the peninsula. But whether this was so or not, certain it is that the oldest legends of Hellenic mythology allude to the peopling of Argos by sea, representing Inachos, its first ruler, as a son of the ocean.⁵ From this chief, whether historical or fabulous, the principal river of Argos received its appellation, and members of his family bestowed their names on Argolis first, and afterwards on the whole of Peloponnesos, which from Apis was denominated Apia;⁶ from Pelasgos, Pelasgia;⁷ and from another prince so called, it received the name of

¹ Thucyd. i. 98. cum not. Wass.

² Phot. Bib. 139. a.

³ Phot. Bib. 141. a. Both the island of Lesbos, and its city Himera were called Pelasgia. Pliny, v. 39.

⁴ Serv. ad *Æn.* iii. 131. Strabo, x. 3. Pelasgic remains are

still found in the island. Pashley, Trav. in Crete, i. 152.

⁵ Apollod. ii. 1. Keightley, Mythol. 405.

⁶ Cf. Athen. xiv. 63.

⁷ Tzet. ad Lyc. 177. Plin. iv. 5. Sch. Apoll. Rhod. i. 1024. Nic. Damasc. in Exc. p. 492.

Argos.¹ In this division of Hellas, which the rays of poetry and mythology unite to render luminous, the Pelasgi² seem early to have struck deep root, and made a rapid progress in civilisation. Here, accordingly, in historical times were found the most numerous monuments of their power and grandeur; and here, in the treasury of Atreus and the walls of Tiryns denominated Cyclopiæ, we still may contemplate proofs of their opulence and progress in the arts. Among them would appear to have existed a class or caste named Cyclops, addicted extremely to handicrafts, particularly building. These it was who erected the walls and citadel of Argos,³ on which they bestowed the name of Larissa, together with certain labyrinths, said to have existed in the neighbourhood of Nauplia. Mycenæ appears to have been the most ancient capital of the country, built while the site of Argos was yet a marsh,⁴ or perhaps under water; then came Tiryns, and lastly Argos. Other early seats of the Pelasgi were at Epidaurus and Hermione.⁵

But the province of Peloponnesos which the Pelasgi most delighted to consider their home, was the rough, wild, and elevated table land of Arcadia,⁶ resembling on a small scale their original seat in central Asia; belted round by mountains with many streams and rivers pouring down their sides: here long shut out from commerce with the rest of mankind they multiplied in ease and security, and became a great nation,⁷ who, to express the idea of their own extreme antiquity, professed themselves to be older than the moon.⁸ Having lost all tradition of their arrival in the country, they looked upon themselves as autoch-

¹ Sch. Eurip. Orest. 1245.

² Æsch. Supp. 642. 919.

³ Strab. viii. 6. p. 202. Müll. Dor. i. 90. Frag. Incert. Pind. p. 660. Diss.

⁴ Aristot. Meteorol. i. 14. p. 38.

⁵ Strab. viii. 6. p. 204.

⁶ Which Strabo (viii. 3, 157,) says was the original seat of the Caucons.

⁷ Sch. Apoll. Rhod. iv. 264.

⁸ Clem. Alex. i. 6.

thons, and regarded their mountain-girt land as the great reservoir of Pelasgian population,¹ whence its colonies like streams, flowed outwards, and peopled the rest of Hellas; and probably it was thence that the first emigrants descended into the valley of the Eurotas, spread themselves through Laconia, and found a mountain on which they bestowed the holy name of Olympos. In this province one of the most famous of the Pelasgian tribes, is by some traditions said to have had its origin; for Lelex,² who gave his name to the Leleges, they fabled to have been an autochthon of Laconia, and down even to the times of Pausanias an heroum was shown at Sparta erected in honour of his name. Undoubtedly a mythical legend connected with this hero was deeply interwoven with the fabulous history of Laconia. His son Eurotas was the father of Sparta, wife of Lacedæmon, who gave his name to the country. He had two daughters, Amycla and Eurydice, the latter of whom became the wife of Acrisios.³ The Acarnanians, however, had among them a tradition which made Lelex an autochthon of Leucadia,⁴ and the people of Megara spoke of one Lelex⁵ who arrived in their country by sea from Egypt.

To proceed, however, with the traces of the Pelasgi in Peloponnesos. It has sometimes been supposed that no proof exists of their having held any part of this peninsula excepting Argos, Achaia and Arcadia;⁶ but erroneously, for we have seen the Leleges, a Pelasgian tribe, in Laconia; and we find a settlement of the Pelasgi in Messenia. Here also at Andania flourished the Pelasgian worship of the Dii Kabyri

¹ Herod. i. 146. Pliny. iv. 10.
Nic. Damasc. in Exc. p. 494.
Paus. viii. 1. 4

² Paus. iii. 12. 5.—i. 1. The country, moreover, obtained the name of Lelegia, iv. i. 1.

³ Apollod. iii. 10. 3.

⁴ Strab. vii. 7. p. 115.

⁵ From whom the people were called Leleges. Paus. i. 39. 6. He was said to be the son of Poseidon and Libya, and his tomb was shown near the sea-shore, 44. 3.

⁶ Thirl. Hist. of Greece, i. 38.

from Samothrace;¹ a colony of Leleges, under Pylos, son of Cleison, settled at Pylos on the Coryphasian promontory.² The Caucons held Cyparissos;³ that is both in the interior of Messenia and along the sea coast we find settlements of the race which peopled the whole peninsula. Passing northward into Elis, we immediately on crossing the Neda find Caucons in the Lepreatis,⁴ where, probably, in proof that the tribe originated there, they showed in Strabo's⁵ time the tomb of Caucon. They had likewise a river Caucon⁶ in the north of Elis, and in short the whole country from the Neda to the Larissos bore anciently the name of Cauconia.⁷ Some, however, maintain that they were found only at three points on the coast, that is, in the south of Triphylia,⁸ in the north near Dyme, and at Hollow Elis on the Peneios, which Aristotle considered their chief seat.⁹ Nevertheless Antimachos regarded the Epeians as Caucons,¹⁰ and since these inhabited the whole western coast from Messenia northward, we must consider Elis as the principal though not the original seat of this tribe; for we find them represented as issuing from Arcadia, and we have already shown that they were settled in Paphlagonia, and were denominated a Trojan tribe.

Turning our faces eastward from the promontory Araxos, we discover along the coast a chain of Pelasgian settlements founded by Ionians from Athens.¹¹ To complete our list of proofs that there was no spot in all Hellas not possessed by the Pelasgi, we find a prince of that race, and named Pelasgos, receiving the

¹ Paus. iv. 1. Müll. Dor. i. 116.

² Paus. iv. 36. i.

³ Strab. viii. 3. 156.

⁴ Ibid. viii. 3. 152.

⁵ Ibid. viii. 3. 157.

⁶ Ibid. viii. 3. 151.

⁷ Ibid. viii. 3. 157.

⁸ Ibid. viii. 3. 151. The Caucons, however, mentioned by

Athena in the Odyssey (9. 366.) were different from those of Triphylia. The Triphylian Caucons held all the land lying south-east of Pylos on the way to Lacedæmon. Strab. viii. 3. 157.

⁹ Strab. viii. 3. 157.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Herod. vii. 14.

goddess Demeter at Corinth in the remotest periods of the mythology.¹

Thus, then, we have traced this illustrious people under various names through every region of Greece, save Attica; and there also they were found, but whether they arrived by land or sea, I profess myself wholly unable to determine. A modern historian² who experienced the same difficulty, observes, that the Ionians appear to have dropped from heaven into Attica. Unquestionably we do not know whence they came, and as their own legends represent them as autochthons³ we can expect no aid from tradition. The most probable supposition is, that when the migratory hordes were pushing southward from Thessaly, some clans, more fortunate than the rest, traversing the heights of Cithæron soon found themselves in possession of this unfertile but lovely land, covered in those ages with forests, diversified by hill and dale, and breathing perfume from every thicket. The succeeding tide of emigration breaking against the ridge of Cithæron seems to have turned westward and flowed into the Peloponnesos, leaving Attica unmolested. Some have regarded its own barrenness as the rampart which protected it from invasion. But why may we not suppose that the inhabitants finding themselves thriving and tranquil, resolved early to fight for their possessions, and hedged themselves from invasion by courage and arms? be this as it may, Attica was the first part of Hellas that enjoyed permanent exemption from war, so that the olive, its principal ornament and riches, became in all after ages the emblem of peace. Once settled in this country the Pelasgi were never driven thence,⁴ nor did they ever receive any considerable mixture of foreign settlers. Individuals from time to time were permitted to take up their abode among them;

¹ Paus. i. 14. 2.

² Müll. Dor. i. 12.

³ Sch. Arist. Acham. 75.—

⁴ Herod. i. 56. vii. 161. Lesb. Prot rept. ii. 22. f. Conf. Wessel. ad Herod. p. 26.

but, in this favoured spot, unalloyed by foreign mixture, the Pelasgic genius completely developed itself, and reached the highest pitch of civilisation known to the ancient world.

The earliest name bestowed on the Pelasgian tribe which held Attica was that of Cranaans;¹ but whether they were so distinguished before their migration thither, or, which is more probable, derived their appellation from the rocky nature² of their country, does not appear. Like most of the ancient nations, however, they frequently changed their name: at first perhaps simply Pelasgi, next Cranaans, then Cecropidæ and Ionians; afterwards, under the reign of Erechtheus they obtained from their patron divinity the name of Athenians, by which they have been known down to the present day. Among the fables of the mythology we discover traces of several attempts at disputing with the Aborigines the sovereignty of Attica. Thus Eumolpos, with a colony of Thracians, is by one tradition said to have obtained possession of the whole country,³ while another and more probable legend represents him as settling with a small band at Eleusis, where his family during the whole existence of Paganism exercised the office of priests of Demeter.⁴ The Cretans again under Minos sought to obtain a footing in the country; but the close of the tradition which speaks of this invasion shows that though disgraceful to Attica it was without any permanent result. Afterwards, when the unsettled Pelasgi had degenerated into pirates and freebooters, a powerful band of them appears to have found its way thither, and obtained a settlement in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital,⁵ on condition, apparently, of labouring at the erection of walls round the Acropolis. A portion of the fortifications is said to have been completed by these ma-

¹ Herod. i. 57. viii. 44.

² Suid. *v.* Κραν. t. i. p. 1518. d.

³ Strab. vii. 7. p. 114.

⁴ Palmer. Græc. Antiq. p. 62.

⁵ Paus. ii. 8. 3. Philoch. p. 13. Siebel. Herod. ii. 51. seq.

raiders, and to have obtained from them the name of the Pelasgian wall. But even these strangers were not suffered to remain; quarrels arising either about the land which the Pelasgi had obtained on the slopes of Hymettos, or on account of violence offered to certain Athenian maidens descending to the fountain of Callirrhoë for water. The emigrants were expelled and took refuge in Lemnos. In revenge for what they regarded as an injury, they carried away a number of Attic virgins who were celebrating the festival of Artemis at Brauron, which led in after times to the capture of Lemnos by Miltiades.

It seems to result from the above inquiry that every district in Hellas was originally peopled by the Pelasgi, which the poets in after ages expressed by saying that a king of that nation reigned over the whole country as far northward as the Strymon in Thrace.¹

We have shown that their dominions extended much further, and included not Thrace only, beyond the limits of Greece, but a great part likewise of Asia Minor and nearly every island in the Ægean. But even these spacious limits were not wide enough to contain the whole Pelasgian population; for traversing the Adriatic, they penetrated into Etruria, and there and elsewhere in Italy, under the name of Tyrrhenians, erected Cyclopiian cities, and deposited the germs of its future civilisation.² Hence the great resemblance which historians and antiquaries have observed between the Etruscans and the Greeks. Both were offshoots from the great Pelasgic stem; though the simplicity of the original race in religion and manners maintained longer its ground in Italy

¹ Æschyl. Suppl. 259. sqq.

² Gœttl. ad Hes. Theog. 311. 1014. Οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ δὲ, Πελασγοί. Sch. Apoll. Rhod. 580. The Pelasgi were the founders of Agylla, afterwards Cære in Etruria. Steph. Byzant, v. Ἀγύλλα, p. 30.d.

Plin. iii. 8. Serv. ad Æn. viii. 479, who also gives another tradition according to which Agylla was built by Tyrrhenians from Lydia. Cf. Vibius, Sequest. 421, who says that the Tuscans were Pelasgi. The Poseidoniatae, a Tus-

than under the warmer skies of Greece. In these more western settlements, however, new tribes sprang up, who in glory eclipsed the mother race, which they learned to regard with contempt, so that they bestowed the name of Pelasgi on their slaves. A similar circumstance had previously occurred in Asia Minor, where the Carians reduced to servitude such of their brethren as in later times retained the name of Leleges.¹

If now we cast a rapid glance over the sciences and civilisation of the Pelasgi, we shall probably have acquired as complete an idea of that ancient people as existing monuments enable us to frame.² Tradition attributed to them the invention of several arts of primary necessity, as those of building houses and manufacturing clothing, which they did from the skins of wild boars, the animals first slain by man for food. A relic of this primitive style of dress remained, we are told, to a very late age among the rustics of Phocis and Eubœa.³ Other traditions will have it that mankind fed on grass and herbs until the Pelasgi taught them the greater refinement of feeding upon acorns. But leaving these poetical fancies, we shall find in many genuine monuments and facts undisputed proofs of the power and knowledge of the Pelasgi. In the first place, they it was who bequeathed to their Hellenic descendants some know-

can tribe, entirely forgot their original language, the manners of their country, and all its festivals, save one, in which they assembled to repeat the ancient names of kings, and recall the remembrance of their original home. They then separated with groans, cries, and mingling together their tears.—Athen. xiv. 81. The Bruttii are said to have been driven out of their country by the Pelasgi (Plin. iii. 8); who also settled in Lucania and Bruttium (9, 10). Pelasgi came out of

Peloponnesos into Latium, settled on the Sarna, called themselves Sarrhastes, and built, among others, the town of Nuceria.—Serv. ad *Æn.* vii. 738. A different tradition brings them from Attica; another from Thessaly, because of the many Pelasgian relics found there.—Idem. viii. 600. Dion. Hal. i. 33.

¹ Nieb. i. 22. Steph. Byzant. *v. Xῖος*, p. 758. b. Victor. Var. Lect. i. 10. Athen. vi. 101.

² See Nieb. i. 24.

³ Paus. viii. 1. 5.

ledge, though imperfect and obscure, of the true God.¹ In their minds the recognition of the unity of the Divine Being formed the basis of theology, and the philosophers of after ages who reasoned best and thought most correctly rose no higher on these points than their rude ancestors.

But the natural tendency of the human mind to error soon disturbed the simplicity of their faith; for as the tribes separated, each taking a different direction, they all in turns learned to consider the God as their patron, so that speedily there were as many gods as tribes, and polytheism was created. Thus the Pelasgi, who had at first like the polished nations of modern times no name for *the gods*, because they believed in but one, degenerated in the course of time, and invented that system of divinities and heroes which afterwards prevailed in Greece. They, too, it was, who in the developement of their superstition made the first steps towards the arts by setting up rude images of the powers they worshipped, and to them accordingly the introduction of the Hermæan statues at Athens is attributed.² There was likewise in a temple of Demeter between mount Eboras and Taygetos, a wooden statue of Orpheus, supposed to be the workmanship of the Pelasgi.³ Evidently too, the worship of Demeter, and of all the rural gods grew up originally among them, as did likewise the adoration of supreme power and supreme wisdom in Zeus and Athena.⁴

Usually the Pelasgi are considered as a much wandering people,⁵ though it would be more correct to represent them, like the Anglo-Saxon race in modern times, as the prolific parents of many settlements, spreading widely, but taking root wherever they spread. A proof of this still exists in the vast

¹ Herod. ii. 32. 51. Plato, *Tun. t.* vii. 22—31. 96. 142.

² Herod. ii. 51.

³ Paus. iii. 20. 5.

⁴ We find mention, too, of a Pelasgian Hera, Alex. ab. Alex. p. 321. Sch. Apol. Rhod. i. 14.

⁵ Strab. xiii. 3. p. 144.

structures¹ which they reared, whose ruins are yet found scattered through Asia, Greece, and Italy. These Cyclopiian buildings, palaces, treasuries, fortresses, barrows, were not the works of nomadic hordes, but of a people attached to the soil and resolute in defending it. Navigation, likewise, they cultivated, and were among the earliest nations who possessed a power at sea,² which led necessarily to the study of astronomy, together with the occult science of the stars.³ Of their progress in the more ordinary arts of utility we have very little knowledge, but we find in the Iliad a Pelasgian woman staining ivory to be used as ornaments of a war-horse;⁴ the invention of the shepherd's crook was attributed to them; so likewise was the religious dance called Hyporchema;⁵ their proficiency in music is spoken of;⁶ and their pre-eminence in war was signified by representing them as inventors of the shield.⁷

On the language of the Pelasgi various opinions are entertained. Some, relying on particular passages in ancient writers, have imagined that it was very different from the Greek,⁸ but although in support of such an opinion much ingenuity may be exhibited there are circumstances which compel us to reject it. The Athenians and Arcadians, for example, though of Pelasgian origin, spoke, and that from the remotest times, the same language with the rest of the Greeks; and though the Æolic dialect,⁹ the most ancient in Arcadia, or indeed in all Greece, was transformed to Latin in Italy, we are not on that account to infer that Latin bore a closer resemblance

¹ Serv. ad Æn. vi. 630. Winkelmann, ii. 557. On the Cyclopiian walls of Crotona. Mus. Cortonen. pl. i. Rom. 1756.

² Palm. Gr. Ant. p. 60. Herm. Pol. Ant. p. 13.

³ Palm. Gr. Ant. p. 72.

⁴ δ 142. Sch. Apol. Rhod. iii. 1323. Natal. Com. 611.

⁵ Phot. Bib. 320. b.

⁶ They were the inventors of the trumpet. Πελασγιας ἔφερε σαλπινγξ, Nonn. Dion. 47. 568. Cf. Paus. ii. 21. 3. Goettl. ad Hes. Theog. 311.

⁷ Serv. ad Æn. ix. 505.

⁸ Nieb. i. 23.

⁹ Palm. Gr. Ant. p. 55.

than the Greek to the mother tongue of both. The Pelasgian language indeed appears to have been the Hellenic in the earlier stages of its formation, just as the Pelasgi themselves were Greeks under another name and in a ruder state of civilisation. Whether they possessed any knowledge of written characters before¹ the introduction of the Phœnician we have now no means of ascertaining, the passages usually brought forward in behalf of such an opinion being of small authority. To them, however, tradition attributes the introduction of letters into Latium,² and there can be no doubt that the use of written characters was known in Greece before its inhabitants had ceased to be called Pelasgi.

I have now, I imagine, proved that the Pelasgi whencesoever they came, occupied, under one name or another, the whole continent of Greece and most of the islands. The Athenians, and consequently the Ionians, are on all hands acknowledged to have sprung from the Pelasgian stock. It only remains to be shown that the Dorians also traced their origin to this people, and we shall be satisfied that the whole of the illustrious nation, known to history under the name of Greeks, flowed from one and the same source. The Hellenes, of whom the Dorians were a tribe,³ occupied in later times the south of Thessaly, but at a much earlier period, along with the Selli,⁴ dwelt in the mountainous tracts about Dodona, where they were known under the name of Greeks or mountaineers,⁵ which was the original signification of the term. This district of Epeiros, it has been shown, was among the very earliest of the Pelasgian settlements, from which of itself it might be inferred that the Hellenes were Pelasgi. We are not left to rely in this matter on mere inference, since Herodotus

¹ See, however, the question discussed in Palmerius, *Gr. Ant.* p. 49. sqq. Conf. Eustath. ad *Il.* β. 841.

² *Plin.* vii. 56. *Tacit. Annal.*

xi. 14. et Rupert ad loc. Hygin. *Fab.* 277. p. 336.

³ Serv. ad *Æn.* ii. 4.

⁴ *Aristot. Meteorol.* i. 14. p. 39.

⁵ *Palm. Gr. Ant.* 5.

states distinctly that they were a fragment of the Pelasgi.¹

It will be seen that I have hitherto made no allusion to the received fables about Egyptian and Phœnician colonies.² Nevertheless it is quite possible that on many occasions certain fugitives, both from Phœnicia and Egypt, may have taken refuge in Greece, and been permitted, as in after ages, to settle there. These persons, coming from countries farther advanced in civilisation, would undoubtedly bring along with them a superior degree of knowledge in many useful arts, which, in gratitude for their hospitable reception, they would undoubtedly communicate to the inhabitants. But the most active agent in the diffusion of civilisation was probably commerce, which, by bringing neighbouring nations into close contact, by enlarging the sphere of their experience, and teaching them the advantages to be derived from peaceful intercourse, has in all ages softened and refined mankind. When the use of letters began first to prevail in the East is not known, but it was probably communicated early to the Pelasgi, along with the materials for writing; and whatever inventions were made on either side of the Mediterranean passed rapidly from shore to shore, so that the civilisation of the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and Greeks, advanced simultaneously, though the beginnings of improvement were undoubtedly more ancient on the banks of the Nile and among the maritime Arabs than in Hellas. The amount, however, of eastern influences I conceive was not great, and as to colonies, properly so called, with the exception of those already described from Asia Minor, I believe there never were any.

¹ I. 58.

² See Mitford (*Hist. of Greece*, 81. ff.) who is full of these colo-

nies. Herod. i. 2. Conf. Thirl. i. 185. Keightley, *Hist of Greece*, p. 11. Müll. Dor. i. 16.

CHAPTER II.

CHARACTER OF THE GREEKS.

HAVING in the foregoing chapter endeavoured to ascertain by what races Greece was originally peopled, we shall next speak of the character and physical organisation of its inhabitants. In doing this it may be useful to consider them in three different stages of their progress : first, in the heroic and poetical times ; secondly, in the historical and flourishing ages of the Hellenic commonwealth ; thirdly, in their corrupt and degenerate state under the dominion of the Macedonians and Romans.

The most distinguishing characteristic of the Hellenes, when poetry first places them before us, is a profound veneration for the divinity and every thing connected with the service of religion. By the force of imagination heaven and earth were brought near each other, not so much, indeed, by elevating the latter, as by bringing down the former within the sphere of humanity. Gods and men moved together over the earth, cooperated in bringing about events, keeping up a constant interchange of beneficence ; the god aiding, the mortal repaying his aid with gratitude ;¹ the god guiding, the mortal submitting to be directed, until, sometimes, as in the case of Odysseus and Athena, the feeling of grace and favour on the one side, and of veneration and gratitude on the other, ripened into something like friendship and affection.

No man entered on any important enterprise without first consulting the gods, and throwing himself

¹ Cf. Plut. Pericl. § 13.

upon their protection, by sacrifice, divination, and prayer.¹ They conceived, according to the best lights afforded them by their rude creed, that although means existed of warping the judgment, perverting the affections, and vitiating the decisions of their divinities, yet upon the whole and in the natural order of things they were just and beneficent, mercifully caring for the poor and the stranger, the guardians of friendship and hospitality, and avenging severely the offences committed against their laws. Habitually, when not provoked to vengeance by impiety or crimes, the gods they believed were not only beneficent towards mankind, but given among themselves to cheerfulness and mirth, loving music, songs, and laughter, feasting jovially together in a joy serene and almost imperturbable, save when interrupted by solicitude for some favoured mortal. Philosophy, in more intellectual times, condemned this rude conception of divine things; but men's ideas, like their offerings, belong to the state of society in which they live, and the Greeks of the heroic ages unquestionably attributed to their gods the qualities most in esteem among themselves.

Next to religion the most prominent feeling in the mind of the early Greeks was filial piety.² Nowhere among men were parents held in higher honour. The reverence paid to them partook largely of the religious sentiment. Regarded as the instruments by which God had communicated the mysterious and sacred gift of life, they were supposed by their children to be forever invested with a high degree of sanctity as ministers and representatives of the Creator. Hence the anxiety experienced to obtain a father's blessing and the indescribable dread of his curse. A peculiar set of divinities, the terrible Erinnyes, all but implacable and unsparing, were entrusted with the guardianship of a

¹ See Man. Moschop. ap Arist. Nubb. 982.

² Respect for old age is still a remarkable feature in the Greek character. Thiersch. Etat. Actuel

de la Grèce, i. 292. On the same trait in their ancestors see Mitf. i. 186. Odyss. ω. 254. Plat. Repub. vi. p. 6. f. Æsch. cont. Tim. § 7.

parent's rights, and indescribable were the pangs and anguish supposed to seize upon transgressors. These were the powers who tracked about the matricides Orestes and Alcmæon, scaring them with spectral terrors and filling their palaces with the alarms and agonies of Tartaros. On the other hand, nothing can be more beautiful than the pictures of filial piety exhibited by the nobler characters of heroic times. The examples are innumerable, but none is so striking or complete as that of Achilles towards his father Peleus. Fierce, vehement, stern in the ordinary relations of life, towards his aged father he is gentle as a child. His heart yearns to him with a strength of feeling incomprehensible to a meaner nature. He submits to his sway and authority not from any apprehension of his power, not even from the fear of offending him, but from the fulness of his love, from the natural excellence and purity of his heart. He would erect his valour and the might of his arm into a rampart round the old man, to protect him from injury and insult; and even in the cold region of shadows beyond the grave this feeling is represented as still alive, so that in death, as in life, the uppermost anxiety of the hero's soul is for the happiness of his father. Even in the government of his impetuous passions during his mortal career, in the choice of the object of his love, Achilles expresses a desire to render his feelings subordinate to those of his parent, thus verging on the utmost limits of self-denial and self-control conceivable in a state of nature. Homer understood his countrymen well when he gave these qualities to his hero. Without them, he knew that no degree of courage or wisdom would have sufficed to render him popular, and, therefore, we find him not only pre-eminent for his piety towards the gods, but at the same time the most affectionate and dutiful of sons, the warmest, most disinterested, and unchangeable of friends.

And this leads us to consider another remarkable feature of the Greek character,—its peculiar apti-

tude for friendship. No country's history and traditions abound with so many examples of this virtue as those of Greece. In truth, it was there regarded as the most unequivocal mark of an heroic and generous nature, being wholly inconsistent with anything base, sordid, or ignoble, and flourishing only in company with virtues rarest and most difficult of acquisition. Poetry, no doubt, has clad the friendship of heroic times with a splendour scarcely belonging to real life, but the experience of history warrants us in making but slight deductions. Nature in those ages appeared to delight in producing men in pairs, each suited to be the ornament and solace of the other, possessing different qualities, imperfect when apart, but complete, united. Men thus constituted were a sort of moral twins, an extension, if we may so speak, of unity, the same yet different, bringing two souls under the yoke of one will, desiring the same, hating the same, possessing the same, valuing life and the gifts of life only as they were shared in common, seeking adventures, facing dangers together, conforming their thoughts, opinions, feelings, each to the other, having no distinct interest, no distinct hope, but engrafting two lives on the chances of one man's fortune, and both perishing by the same blow.

This feeling has by some been supposed to have owed its strength, in part at least, to the degraded position of women in society; a subject on which I shall have more to say hereafter, but may here remark that such an opinion is wholly incompatible with an impartial interpretation of the Homeric poems and the older traditions of Greece. Throughout fabulous times women are the prime movers in all great events; and the respect which as mothers, sisters, wives, and daughters they received, though expressed in uncourtly language, was perhaps as great as has ever been paid them in any age or country. Every distinguished woman in Homer is the centre of a circle of tender and touching associations. We

behold them beloved by their relatives, honoured by their dependants, enjoying every decent freedom, every becoming pleasure, with all the influence and authority appertaining to their sex. Thus Helen, both before and after her fall, is entire mistress of her house, and treated with all possible deference and delicacy: so Hecuba, Andromache, Penelope, Arete, Nausicaa, and Iphigeneia in their respective positions, are held in the highest esteem, and command as great a share of love from those whose duty it was to love and honour them, as any other women in history or fiction. Nor were due respect and tenderness confined to the high and the noble; for innumerable proofs occur in Homer that even among the humblest ranks, that delicate self-respect which is shown by respect to our other self, and may be regarded as the pivot of civilisation, was already in that age very generally diffused.

But if the Greeks of heroic times possessed the good qualities we have attributed to them, they were still more, perhaps, distinguished for others, which often obliterated the footsteps of their virtues, and appeared to be the guiding principles of their lives. Chief among these was their passion for war and violence,¹ which engaged them in everlasting struggles with their neighbours, developed overmuch their fierce and destructive qualities, and threw into comparative shade such of their propensities as were

¹ See Thirlwall i. 180. sqq. and Mitford i. 181.—Among the Sauromatae, in the time of Hippocrates, even the women mounted on horseback and fought in battle. They were not allowed to marry until they had slain three enemies.—*De Aër. et. Loc.* § 78. A circumstance is related of the Parthian court, illustrative of the ferocity which prevailed generally in antiquity. The monarch, it is said, kept a humble friend,

whom he fed like a dog, and whipped till the blood flowed, for the slightest offence at table, apparently for the amusement of the guests.—*Athen.* iv. 38. This trait of barbarism was imitated by the Czar Peter, by servile historians denominated the Great, who used brutally to maltreat the princess Galitzin before his whole court.—*Mem. of the Margrav. of Bayreuth*, vol. i. p. 34.

gentler and more humane. War by land, piracy by sea, filled the whole country with incessant alarms. Commerce was checked and confined within very narrow channels, both travelling and navigation being exceedingly unsafe, while bands of marauders traversed land and sea in quest of rapine and plunder. In some states no other mode was known of arriving at opulence, and the humbler classes of society were wholly subsisted by it.¹ The laws of war, too, were proportionably savage. It was customary either to give no quarter, or to devote all prisoners taken to servitude; and, accordingly, every petty state was filled with unfortunate captives, many of them of illustrious birth and qualities, reduced to the humblest conditions, being compelled to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. In peace, too, and in their own homes their warlike habits led frequently to the perpetration of violence; their passions being strong and unbridled they resented insults on the spot, and numerous homicides were, in consequence, found flying from the country whose infant institutions their passions had sought to overthrow.

But in all stages of society it has been ordained by Providence that out of the wickedness of man some compensating good shall flow: thus, from the dangers and difficulties surrounding the stranger the virtue of hospitality² sprang up in generous minds.

¹ Thucyd. i. 5.

² Il. σ. 212. seq. The word *ξένος* signified, actively and passively, the host and the guest. The rights of hospitality were hereditary, the descendants of men being compelled to entertain the descendants of those with whom their forefathers had contracted hospitable ties. *Πρόξενοι* sometimes signified persons who publicly received ambassadors, as Antenor among the Trojans.

Agamemnon had hospitable ties with the Phrygians, because he came of Phrygian ancestors. Damm. v. *ξένος*. Sch. Aristoph. Eq. 347. Cf. Virg. *Æn.* viii. 165. et Serv. ad loc. Plat. Soph. t. iv. p. 125, where Socrates alludes to a passage in Homer, in which Zeus is said to be the companion of the wanderer, observing jocularly that the Eleatic stranger might probably have been some deity in disguise. Cf. Tomas.

From the distress and misery of the passionate or accidental slayer of man arose the merciful rites of expiation, and all the friendly ties which subsisted between the purifier and the purified. Wanderers driven from their home often found a better in a foreign land; and thus even the transgressions and misfortunes of men, by breaking down the narrow enclosures of families and clans, and connecting persons of distant tribes together by benefits and gratitude, hastened the progress of refinement and paved the way for the greatness and glory of succeeding ages.

It will, from what has been said, be seen that among the elements of the Greek character passion greatly predominated; but, even from the earliest times, the existence was apparent of other powerful principles, by the influence of which the nation was led to emerge rapidly from its period of barbarism. These were an innate love of magnificence, and a striking inclination towards all social enjoyments; the former leading to the cultivation of commerce and industry, the latter communicating an extraordinary impetus to the natural desire common to mankind for companionship and society. But in developing these principles nature pursued in Greece a peculiar route. Instead of establishing a common centre, towards which the energies of the whole nation might tend, society was broken up into numerous parts, each forming, when considered separately, a whole, but united with its neighbours by identity of origin, language, religion, and national character.

Tess. Hosp. c. 23. ap. Gronov. Thesaur. ix. 266. sqq. It was a proverb at Athens that the doors of the Prytaneion would keep out no stranger.—Sch. Aristoph. Ach. 127. The Lucanians had a law thus expressed: "If a stranger arriving at sunset ask a lodging of

any one, let him who refuses to be his host be fined for want of hospitality." The object, I imagine, of the law, says Ælian (Var. Hist. iv. i.) was at once to avenge the stranger and Hospitable Zeus.

Philosophers usually seek in geographical position a key to the fact of the formation of so many separate states as the Hellenic population was divided into ; but the cause was probably of a different kind. Among every other people, a difficulty has always been experienced in discovering men capable of conducting public affairs ; and, when any such have arisen, they have easily subdued to their will their less intellectual and, consequently, less ambitious neighbours. Among the Greeks the case was wholly different : every province, every district, nay, every town and village abounded with men endowed with the ability and passion for governing. These feelings begot the aversion to submit to the government of others ; this aversion engendered strife ; and it was only the accident of a numerical superiority existing in one division of the country, or of a statesman of extraordinary genius springing up, that enabled one village to subdue its neighbours for a few miles around, and thus establish a small political community.

History rarely penetrates back so far as the period in which this state of things existed. But we have an example in the annals of Attica, where the twelve small municipal states, if one may so speak, were, partly by persuasion, partly by force, brought under the authority of one city, possessing the advantages of a superior position and wiser and more enterprising leaders.

These diminutive polities once formed, many causes concurred to preserve their integrity, of which the most obvious and powerful was the pride of race, and, next to this, certain religious feelings and peculiarities, which stationed gods along the frontier line of states, and rendered it impious for the worshippers of other divinities to invade or dispossess them of their lands. Communities having at first been thus isolated, numerous circumstances arose to make eternal the separation. The ready invention of the people gave to each state its heroes and heroic traditions, based,

perhaps, on the exploits of border warfare, in which the ancestors of one community had suffered or inflicted injuries on the ancestors of another. Poets sprang up who celebrated these deeds in song, and every assembly, every festival, every merry-making resounded with the commemoration of deeds as galling to one people as they were glorious to the other. These prejudices, this cantonal patriotism, this tribal vanity, if I may coin a new word to express a new idea, constituted a far more impassable barrier between the diminutive states of Greece, than either mountains or rivers; though, in process of time, some few cases occurred in which very small communities were immersed and lost in greater ones. The heroism, however, with which the smallest commonwealth struggled to preserve its separate existence, the watchful jealousy, the undying solicitude, the fierce and sanguinary valour by which it hedged round its independence, the indescribable agonies of political extinction, may be seen in the examples of Ægina, Megara, Platæa, and Messenia.

In fact the most remarkable peculiarity in the Greek character was a certain centrifugal force, or abhorrence of centralisation, which presented insurmountable obstacles to the union of the whole Hellenic nation under one head. The inhabitants of ancient Italy exhibited on this point an entirely dissimilar character. Though differing from each other widely in manners, customs and laws, they still possessed so much of affinity as enabled them successively to unite themselves with Rome, and melt into one great people. The causes lay in their moral and intellectual character: possessing little genius or imagination, but much good sense, they experienced less keenly the misery of inferiority, the anguish of defeat, the tortures of submission, and calculated more coolly the advantages of protection and tranquillity, and all the other benefits of living under a strong government. Where the masses are but slightly impregnated with the fire of genius they

are naturally disposed to amalgamation, and form a vast body necessarily subjected to one head. But where a nation is everywhere pervaded and quickened by genius, where imagination is an universal attribute, where to soar is as natural as to breathe, where the principal enjoyment of life is the exercise of power, where men hunger and thirst more for renown than for their daily bread, where life itself without these imaginary delights is insipid and despicable, no force, while the vigour of the national character continues unbroken, can erect a central government, or achieve extensive conquests, that is, subject one part of the nation to the sway of the other. And perhaps it may be found when we shall farther have perfected the science of government, that in politics as in physics the largest bodies are not the most valuable, or the most difficult to be shattered. The diamond resists when the largest rock yields. The true tendency of civilisation, therefore, is to reduce unwieldy empires into compact bodies, which the light of education can penetrate and render luminous. Vast empires are but opaque masses of ignorance.

From precisely the same causes arose the peculiar notions of the Greeks on the subject of government; that is, the citizens of each state applied to one another the principle which regulated the conduct of communities. Every man experienced an aversion to yield obedience to his neighbour, every man was ambitious to rule; but, as this was impossible, it became necessary to invent some means by which public business could be carried on without offering too much violence to the national character. Hence the origin of republicanism and the establishment of commonwealths, in which the sovereignty was acknowledged to reside in the body of the people, and where such of the citizens as by abilities, rank, friends, were qualified, might rule in vicarious succession.

But the various families of the Hellenes were not all equally endowed with the energy and intellect which belonged to their race; some possessed more

of these qualities, others less, and there were besides in operation numerous peculiar and local causes which modified the forms of polity adopted by the various states of Greece. The heavier, the colder, the more inert naturally chose that form of government which would least tax their mental faculties, and most completely relieve them from the care of public affairs, in order the more sedulously to attend to their own; while the fierier, the busier, more active and buoyant preferred that political constitution which would afford their energetic natures most employment, and supply a legitimate outlet for the ardour and impetuosity of their temperament. Thus, in certain communities there was a leaning towards monarchy, in others towards oligarchy; in a third class towards aristocracy; while Athens and some few smaller states preferred the stir, bustle, and incessant animation of democracy.

Again these institutions, springing at first out of national idiosyncrasies, became in their turn among the most active causes which impressed the stamp of individuality on the population of each separate state: for the principle which animates a form of government is not a barren principle, but impregnates, leavens, and vivifies the community subjected to its influence, and produces an offspring analogous to the source from which it sprang. Thus, in monarchies the summits of a nation are rich with verdure and glorious with light; in aristocracies a broad table-land is fertilized and rendered beautiful; while in commonwealths, properly so called, the whole surface of society unrolls itself like a vast plain to the sun, and receives the light and comfort, and invigorating influence of its beams:—and all these various modifications of civil polity were at different times and in different parts of the country beheld in Greece, where they produced their natural fruits.

Among the principal results of the causes we have enumerated were a high intellectual cultivation, the profoundest study of philosophy, the most ardent pursuit of literature, a matchless taste for the beautiful

in nature and in art, an irrepressible enthusiasm in the search after knowledge of every kind, and, joined with these, as their cause sometimes, and sometimes as their consequence, an invincible and limitless craving after fame. And these characteristic qualities of the people exhibited themselves in various ways. Sometimes, as in Thessaly, men sought to distinguish themselves by their wealth and the pomp by which they were surrounded:—sometimes their ruling passion urged them to pluck, amidst blood and slaughter, the laurels of war, as in Crete and Sparta, where military discipline was carried to its utmost perfection, where men lived perpetually encamped around their domestic hearths, cultivated the habits, preferences, tastes, and feelings of soldiers, and looked upon dominion as the supreme good:—sometimes religion, with its rites and pomp and sacrifices, absorbed a whole people, as in Elis, where the worship of supreme Zeus and the celebration of sacred games conferred a sanctity upon the land and people which all men of Hellenic blood respected:—elsewhere mountaineers,¹ of indomitable valour, hired out their swords to the best bidder, and became, as it were, the journeymen of war:—elegant pleasures in many cities, and commerce and magnificence, occupied and depraved the whole community; while others,² of grosser minds and more sordid propensities, passed their whole lives in indolent gluttony round the festive board, amid crowds of singers, flute-players, and dancers; or else, like the Delphians, were ever seen hovering amid the smoke of the altars, whetting their sacrificial knives or feasting on the savoury victims; and yet the triumphs of the Thebans proved that even the lowest of the Greeks, when circumstances led them to cultivate the arts of war, were capable of planning and executing great

¹ According to Hippocrates, the inhabitants of lofty mountains, well watered, are generally hardy and of tall stature, but fierce and ferocious. In saying this, the

philosopher describes the Arcadians without naming them. *De Aër et Loc.* § 120.

² *Athen.* iv. 74.

designs, and acquiring lasting celebrity. The arts, however, by which the Greeks rose to greatness,¹ and became the instructors and everlasting benefactors of mankind, flourished chiefly at Athens, and in the numerous colonies which she planted in various parts of Asia and the islands. To men of Ionian race we owe, in fact, the invention and most successful culture of poetry and philosophy, and those plastic and mimetic arts which added to the world of realities another world more beautiful still. If the Greeks borrowed, as no doubt they did, certain varieties and forms of art and learning from the barbarians, they immediately so refined and improved them, that the original inventors would no longer have recognised the works of their own hands. The glory of giving birth to several of the arts and sciences belongs to them: they were the inventors of the art of war; among them alone, in the ancient world, painting and sculpture assumed their proper dignity; and in politics and statesmanship, and that art of arts, philosophy, they led the way, and taught mankind the steps by which to arrive at perfection.

Greece, by the means we have described, was gradually reclaimed from the state of nature, covered with beautiful cities, harbours, docks, temples, palaces adorned with infinite variety of works of art, with sculpture in ivory and gold, with paintings, gems, and vases, which converted her principal cities into so many museums. Her plains, her dells, her mountain recesses were studded with sanctuaries and sacred groves, conferring the external beauty of religion on the whole face of the country. Public roads, branching from numerous capital cities, traversed the land in every direction; bridges spanned her rivers, agriculture covered her hills and plains with harvests, the vine hung in festoons from tree to tree, the foliage of the olive clothed the mountain sides, and a belt of beautiful gardens surrounded every city, town, and village.

¹ Clem. Alex. Strom. i. p. 355. l. 12. Wink. Hist. de l'Art, i. 316.

The primary cause of all this amazing activity has, by philosophers, been sought for in various circumstances of the condition of the Greeks, in the form of their institutions, in the rivalry of so many small communities, in the fact of their being inventors, and the consequent freshness of their pursuits. But although all these circumstances and many others contributed, as we have shown, to expedite the progress of the Greeks in civilisation, they were none of them the fountain head, which lies far beyond our ken. It were in fact as easy to tell why one star differs from another star in glory, as why one nation or one man rises in intellect above his fellows. But we are supplied with a link in the chain which connects the above effects with their cause, by the physical organisation of the Greeks, who possessed the most perfect forms in which humanity ever appeared. Their frame exhibiting all the beauty of which the human body is susceptible, uniting strength with lightness, dignity and elegance with activity, the utmost robustness of health with extreme delicacy of contour, the muscles developed by exercise, and developed over the whole structure alike, suggested the idea of power and indefatigable energy; the stature, generally above the middle size, the free and unembarrassed gait, the features¹ full of beauty, the expression replete with intellect, and the eye flashing with a consciousness of independence:—all these united conferred upon the form of the Greek an elevation, a grandeur, a majesty which we still contemplate with admiration in their sculpture, and denominate the ideal. Above all things, the form of the Grecian head was most exquisite, with its smooth,

¹ Among the ancient Scythians an extraordinary uniformity of feature was observable, as also among the Egyptians. (the same is the case at present,) supposed to proceed, in the one case from the rigour, in the other from the extreme heat, of the climate. Hippoc. de Aër. et Loc. § 91. But in

every country, the climate being alike for all, the same effect ought to be produced on the whole population. The similitude is chiefly to be traced to the absence of all mixture with foreign races; and the equal indevelopment of the mind.

expansive, almost perpendicular forehead and majestic outline, describing a perfect oval. Generally the complexion was of a clear olive, the hair and eyes black, the temperament inclined to melancholy, though numerous instances occurred of sanguine fair persons with light eyes and chesnut or auburn hair, which the youth wore, as now, in a profusion of ringlets falling to the shoulders. Instances likewise occurred among the Greeks of individuals, who, like our own Chatterton, had eyes of different colours. Thus the poet Thamyris¹ is said to have had one eye grey, the other black. Nay, this peculiarity was even remarked among the inferior animals, more particularly the horses.²

The characteristic beauty of the nation displayed itself in every stage of life, only assuming new phases in its progress from the beauty of infancy to the beauty of old age, inspiring the mingled feelings of love and admiration; and notwithstanding the effects of time, and inter-marriage with barbarous races, the same is the case still. For nowhere in Europe do we meet with infants so lovely, with youths so soft, so virginal, so beautiful in their incipient manliness, with old men so grave, stately, and with countenances so magnificent, as among the living descendants of the Hellenes, whose destiny may yet be, one day, as enviable as their forms.

To push our enquiry one step further; it may be questioned, whether the glorious organisation we have been describing was not itself an effect of air, climate, and soil.³ Certain at any rate it is, that the atmosphere of Greece is clearer, purer, more buoyant and elastic, than that of any other country in our hemisphere. At night, particularly, there is a transparency in the air, which appears to impart additional lustre and magnitude to the stars and moon. Its mountain

¹ Poll. iv. 141.

² Aristot. de Gen. Anim. v. i.

³ Cf. Hippoc. de Aër. et Loc. § 125, seq. § 23, seq. Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. p. 94. seq.

tops, the intervening space being, as it were, removed, seem to mingle with the constellations which cluster in brightness on the edge of the horizon.

A principal cause of this clearness and pellucidness is the great prevalence of the north wind,¹ which brings with it few or no vapours, but gathers together the clouds in heaps and rolls them from the land towards the Mediterranean. The reason why this wind so often prevails may be discovered in the geographical configuration of the country, which is not, like Italy, divided from the rest of the continent by a range of Alps that might have screened it from the colder blasts, but lies open like an elevated threshing-floor, to be purged and winnowed on all sides by the winds, which in many parts are so violent that no tree can attain to any great height, while the stunted woods throw all their branches in one direction, and the vines and other climbing shrubs are laid prostrate along the rocks. These winds, however, prevail not constantly, but the southern and western breezes, blowing at intervals, bring along with them the warm atmosphere of Syria or Egypt, or the cooling freshness of the ocean. Another cause, which greatly tends to promote the purity of the air, is the lightness, friability, and dryness of the soil, which, distributed for the most part in thin layers over ledges of rocks, permits no stagnation of moisture, but enables the rain that falls to trickle through, collect in rills and brooks, and find its way rapidly to the sea. The plains and irregular valleys, which form an exception to this rule, are not numerous enough, or of sufficient magnitude to affect the general proposition. There appear, moreover, to be many peculiar properties and virtues in the soil itself, causing all fruits transplanted thither to attain to speedy ripeness and superior flavour, while odorous plants and flowers, as the jasmine, the wild

¹ This wind, wherever it prevails, increases the appetite; and the Greeks were a hearty-eating people.—Aristot. Probl. xxvi. 45.

The wind Ornithias was often so cold as to strike birds dead on the wing. Schol. Aristoph. Ach. 842.

thyme, and the rose exhale sweeter and more delicious fragrance. This is more particularly the case in Attica, which accordingly produced in antiquity, where due care was bestowed on gardening and agriculture, the finest fruits and sweetest honey in the world.¹

The same qualities in soil and climate which affect vegetation, likewise powerfully influence the character and temperament of men and animals. It is, for example, well known in the Levant, that the Bedouins inhabiting Arabia Proper and the Eastern Desert degenerate both in character and physical organisation when transplanted to the Libyan wastes on the western banks of the Nile. But if particular soil and situation engender particular diseases; if the air of fens and marshes blunt the senses and paralyse, to a certain degree, the intellectual faculties, the converse of the proposition must also hold good; so that it is conceivable that the light soil and pure air of Greece may have produced corresponding effects on the bodies and minds of its inhabitants. The experiment, in fact, is made daily; for strangers arriving there with the germs of disease in their constitution, are, in most cases, speedily destroyed by the force of the climate; while the healthy and vigorous acquire the vivacity, the cheerfulness, the nervous and impetuous energy of the natives themselves, and, like them, extend the term of life to its utmost span. Greece, indeed, has always been the habitation of longevity; its philosophers in antiquity, — its monks, anchorites, and rural population in modern times, furnishing, perhaps, more examples of extreme old age than could be found on the same extent of territory in any other part of the globe.

Now this excess of vitality, this superabundance of the principle of life, which constitutes what we intend by physical or moral energy, almost inevitably produces, among an ill-governed, ill-educated people, a

¹ *Aristot. Probl. xx. 20.* The black myrtle, which is much larger than the white, grew wild about the hills. (xx. 36.) The southern

breezes were considered highly salutary to the plants of the Thriasian plain. (xxvi. 18.)

large harvest of crime, and, accordingly, the modern Greeks have often been distinguished for audacious villany; the intrepid vigour of their character, controlled neither by religion nor philosophy, easily breaking through the restraints of tyranny and unjust laws in the chase after power or excitement. That Frenchman spoke more truly than he thought, who said the Greeks were still the same "canaille" as in the days of Themistocles: for, give them the same laws, the same education, the same incentives to virtue and to heroism, and they will probably be again as virtuous, as wise, and as heroic as their illustrious ancestors. I judge in this way partly from my own experience, for I have seldom become acquainted with a Greek,—and I have known many,—who has not improved upon acquaintance, won my esteem, and, in most cases, my affection, and impressed me with the firm belief that there is no nation in the varied population of Europe which, if ruled with wisdom and justice, would exhibit loftier or more exalted qualities. In these views I am happy to be borne out by the testimony of Monsieur Frederic Thiersch, whose facilities for studying the modern Greek have been far more ample than mine, and whose opinions are marked by the cautious acuteness of the statesman with the depth and originality of the philosopher.

In alluding to the causes which pervert the feelings and misdirect the energies of the existing race, I have touched also at the great source of crime among their ancestors, — I mean, defective laws and institutions; for although the Greek character was, in force and excellence, all that I have said, and more, it, nevertheless, contained other elements than those I have described, which it now becomes my duty to speak of. From a very early period there existed in Greece two political parties, variously denominated in various states, but upholding, — the one, the doctrine that the many ought to be subjected to the few; the other, that the few ought to be subjected to the many: in other words, the oligarchical and democratical parties. From

the struggles of these two factions the internal history of Greece takes its form and colour, as to them may be traced most of the fearful atrocities, in the shape of conspiracies, massacres, revolutions, which, instructing while they shock us, stain the Greek character with indelible blots.¹ Ambitious men are nowhere scrupulous. To enjoy the delight imparted by the exercise of power, individuals have in all ages stifled the dictates of conscience; and where, as in modern Italy and in ancient Greece, numerous small states border upon each other, sufficiently powerful to dream of conquest though too weak to achieve it, the number of the ambitious is of necessity greatly multiplied. In proportion, however, to the thirst of power in one class was the love of freedom and independence in the other, so that the process of encroachment and resistance, of tyranny and rebellion, of usurpation and punishment, was carried on perpetually,—the oligarchy now predominating, and cutting off or sending into exile the popular leaders, while the democratic party, triumphing in its turn, inflicted similar sufferings on its enemies. By degrees, moreover, there sprang up two renowned states to represent these opposite principles, and the contests carried on by them assumed consequently many characteristics of civil war,—its obstinacy, its bitterness, its revenge.

In these struggles seas of blood were shed, and crimes of the darkest dye perpetrated. Cities, once illustrious and opulent, were razed to the ground; whole populations put to the sword or reduced to servitude; fertile plains rendered barren; men most renowned for capacity and virtue made a prey to treachery or the basest envy; the morals of great states corrupted, their glory eclipsed, their power undermined, and a way paved for the inroads of barbarian conquerors who ultimately put a period to the grandeur of the Hellenes.

Examples without number might be collected of

¹ See the savage anecdote of Stratocles in Plutarch. Demet. § 12.

these horrors. It will be sufficient to advert briefly to a few, more to remind than to inform the reader. In the troubles of Corcyra¹ the nobles and the commons alternately triumphing over each other, carried on with the utmost ruthlessness the work of extermination with abundant baseness and perfidy, some portion of which attached to the Athenian generals: the wrongs and sufferings inflicted by the Spartans on the brave but unfortunate inhabitants of Messenia, with the annual butchery of the Helots, the treacherous withdrawal of suppliants from sanctuary, and their subsequent slaughter,² the extermination of the people of Hysia,³ the precipitating of neutral merchants into pits,⁴ the betrayal of the cities of Chalcidice and the islands, the massacre in cold blood of the Plataeans, of four thousand Athenians in the Hellespont,⁵ the reduction of innumerable cities to servitude: by the Athenians, the extermination of the people of Melos,⁶ the slaughter of a thousand Mitylenians, the cruelties at Skione, Ægina, and Cythera;⁷ but beyond these, and beyond all, the fearful excesses of civil strife at Miletos where the common people called Gergithes having risen in rebellion against the nobles and defeated them in battle, took their children and cast them into the cattle stalls where they were crushed and trampled to death by the infuriated oxen; but the nobles renewing the contest and obtaining ultimately the victory, seized upon their enemies,—men, women, children, and covered them with pitch, to which setting fire they burnt them alive.⁸

From these glimpses of guilt and suffering, we may learn to what extremes the Greek was sometimes hurried by passion and the thirst of power. But propensities so wolfish were not predominant in his nature.⁹

¹ Thucyd. iii. 70. sqq.

² Ælian. Var. Hist. vi. 7. Cf. Eurip. Andr. 445. seq.

³ Thucyd. v. 83.

⁴ Thucyd. ii. 67.

⁵ Pausan. ix. 32. 9.

⁶ Thucyd. v. 126; iii. 50.

⁷ Thucyd. v. 32; iv. 57.

⁸ Heracl. Pont. ap. Athen. xii. 26.

⁹ Cf. Wink. Hist. de l'Art, i. 320. Thiersch, Etat. Act. de la

On the contrary, in private life, even the Spartans and the Dorians generally put off their cruel and severe habits, and relaxed on all proper occasions into joviality and mirth. In their social intercourse, in fact, few nations have been more cheerful or addicted to jokes and pleasantry than the Greeks, and above all the Athenians, whose hours of leisure were one continued round of gossip, sport, and laughter.¹ Never in any city were news-mongers, or even news-forgers, so numerous. In the mouth of young and old no question was so frequent as, "What is the news?" These were the sounds that circulated from rank to rank in the assembly of the people before the orators began their harangues, that were banded to and fro in the Agora, that filled by their incessant repetition the shops of barbers and perfumers.² Akin to this itching ear was the passion for show and magnificence, every man, from highest to lowest, affecting as far as possible spacious dwellings, superb furniture and costly apparel. Even the bravest of the brave, the heroes of Marathon, were *petits-maitres* at their toilette, and went forth to the field in purple cloaks, their hair curled, adorned with golden ornaments, and perfumed with essences. The study of philosophy itself failed in most cases to subdue this ostentatious spirit. Plato loved rich carpets and splendid raiment. Even Aristotle was an exquisite, and Æschines an acknowledged coxcomb.

From several of these weaknesses the Spartans

Grèce, i. p. 290. sqq; and for their disinterestedness, Pashley, Trav. in Crete, i. 221.

¹ Loud laughter was nevertheless considered vulgar among the Greeks.—Plat. Repub. t. vi. 112. The Athenians were addicted to the language of shrugging and nodding, κ. τ. λ. To nod upwards was to deny, downwards to confess. Sch. Aristoph. Ach. 112.

² Aristotle says that the ora-

tors of Athens, who governed the people, passed sometimes the whole of the day seeing mountebanks or jugglers, or talking with those who had travelled as far as the Phasis or Borysthenes; and that they never read anything save the Supper of Philoxenos and that not all.—Athen. i. 10. It was in the opinion of these persons perhaps, that "a great book was a great evil."—Id. iii. 1.

F.

were free. They cared little for news, still less for dress, and less still for cleanliness; so that their beautiful long hair and waving beards swarmed with those autochthonal beasts, for the expulsion of which there was no law in Sparta. Though neither a knowing nor cleanly race, however, their wit was bright and piercing. No people uttered pithier or finer sayings, and their taste both in music and poetry was cultivated and refined. Probably, therefore, the dining halls and gymnasia and public walks of Sparta were enlivened by as much mirth as those of any other Grecian city, where usually cheerfulness was so prevalent, that "to be as merry as a Greek," has become a proverb in all countries.

On the third period of the Greek character it is unnecessary to speak at any length. Most of their good qualities having departed with their freedom they degenerated into a dissembling, hypocritical, fawning and double-dealing race, with little or no respect for truth, without patriotism, and without genuine valour. The literature, painting, and sculpture, to which in their period of degradation they gave birth, bore evident marks of their degeneracy, and tended by the corruption they diffused to avenge them on their conquerors the Romans; whose minds and morals they vitiated, and whose career of freedom and glory they cut short. Through their vices, however, the fame of their more noble and virtuous ancestors has greatly suffered, for the Romans contemplating the Greeks they saw before them, and implanting their opinion throughout the whole civilised world, their false and unjust views have been bequeathed to posterity; for it is still in a great measure through the Romans that people study the Greeks.

CHAPTER III.

GEOGRAPHICAL OUTLINE.

To render still clearer the point we have been insisting on in the foregoing chapter, it may be useful to take a rapid survey of the geography of the country, and enter somewhat more at length into its peculiar configuration and productions.¹ Considered as a whole, the most remarkable feature in the aspect of Greece consists in the great variety of forms which its surface assumes in the territories of the numerous little states into which the country was anciently divided. Of these no two resemble each other, whether in physical structure, climate or productions; so that it may be said that in general the atmosphere of Greece is mild,² but not in every part, for within its narrow boundaries are found nearly all grades of temperature. The inhabitants of Elis and the valley of the Eurotas are exposed to a degree of heat little inferior to that of Egypt, while the settlers about Olympos, Pindos and Dodona, with the rough goat-herds of Parnassos, Doris and the Arcadian mountains experience the rigours of an almost Scandinavian winter. In this extraordinary country the

¹ Cf. Hermann, *Pol. Ant.* § 6. *Müll. Dor.* ii. 425.

² Varro gave the preference to the soil and climate of Italy, where everything good was produced in perfection. He thought no barley to be compared with the Campanian, no wheat with the Apulian, no rye with the *Falernian*, no oil with the Vena-

fran. The whole country was so thickly planted with trees that it seemed to be an orchard. Not even Phrygia itself abounded more in vineyards; nor was Argos so fertile as parts of Italy, though it was said to produce from ten to fifteen pipes the juger. *De Re Rustica*, i. 2. p. 46. b.

palm tree and the myrtle flourish within sight of the pine, the larch, and the silver fir of the north. In several of the islands and on parts of the continent certain tropical birds, as the peacock and the golden pheasant, have long been naturalised, while in other districts snipes and woodcocks¹ appear early; storms of sleet and hail are frequent, and the summits of mountains are capped with eternal snow.² A no very elevated range of hills separates the marsh miasmata and wit-withering fogs of Bœotia,³ the home of gluttony and stupidity, from the bland transparent cheerful atmosphere and sweet wholesome soil of Attica, where, as a dwelling-place for man, earth has reached her highest culminating point of excellence, and where, accordingly, her noblest fruits, wisdom and beauty, have ripened most kindly.

To proceed, however, with an outline of the country: along the shores, more especially towards the west, rugged cliffs of great elevation impend over the deep, and in stormy weather present an appearance highly desolate and forbidding. But descending the Ionian sea, and doubling Cape Crio, the south westernmost promontory of Crete, the approach towards the tropics is felt both in the air and in the landscape. The nights are beyond description lovely, the stars appear with increased size and brilliancy,⁴ and morning spreads over both land and wave a beauty but faintly

¹ "Woodcocks and snipes, I am informed, visited the neighbourhood of Attica during the winter in considerable quantities. I heard the curlew and the red shank cry along the marsh to the right of the Piræus." Sibth. in Walp. Mem. i. 76.

² Cramer, Desc. of Greece, i. 8.

³ Βοιωτία ὄρε. Pind. Olymp. vi. 151. Cram. ii. 200.—Thick and foggy atmosphere. Hipp. de Aër. § 55. Plat. De Legg. v. t. vii. p. 410. seq. — Cicero observes:—

"Etenim licet videre acutiora ingenia et ad intelligendum acutiora eorum, qui terras incolant eas, in quibus aër sit purus ac tenuis, quàm illorum, qui utantur crasso cœlo atque concreto." De Nat. Deor. ii. 16. "The purple and the grey heron frequent the marshes of Bœotia." Sibth. in Walp. Mem. i. 76.

⁴ I never saw the Pleiades appear so large as on the coast of Messenia. See Coray, Disc. Prel. ad Hipp. de Aër. et Loc. § 115.

reflected even in poetry. Every rock and headland, clothed with the double light of mythology and the sun, emerges from the obscurities of the dawn glittering with dew and fresh as at the creation. The slopes of the mountains, feathered with hanging woods, lead the eye upwards to those aspiring peaks, the cradle of many a Hellenic legend, where snows pale and shining as those of Mont Blanc,¹ descending on all sides in wavy gradations to meet the forests, rest for ever, and at the opening and the close of day exhibit that crimson blush which we observe among the higher Alps. All the lowlands at their base are meantime covered, perhaps, with heavy mists, while lighter and more fleecy vapours hang here and there upon the mountain tops, augmenting their grandeur by allowing the imagination like a Titan to pile them up as high as it pleases towards heaven. The coasts of eastern Hellas, including those of Eubœa, along the whole line of Thessaly to the confines of Macedonia, are bold and rocky, frowning like the ramparts of freedom upon the slaves of the Asiatic plains.

Traversed in almost every direction by mountain chains infinitely ramified and towering in many places to a vast height, Greece has, likewise, its elevated table-lands, lakes, bogs, morasses, with extensive open downs and heaths. Lying between the thirty-sixth and forty-first degrees of north latitude, and excepting on the Illyrian and Macedonian frontier everywhere surrounded by the sea, it may in many respects be said to enjoy the most advantageous position on the globe. From the barbarian countries of Macedonia and Illyria it is divided by a series of contiguous mountain ridges, which commencing with Olympos, (covered all the year round with snow, amid which the poet Orpheus² was interred,)

¹ Even the Cheviot hills are sometimes (as in 1838) covered all the summer with patches of snow, on which occasions the pea-

sants are said to pay no rent. *Tyne Mercury*, July 1, 1838.

² Paus. ix. 30. 9. Anthol. Græc. vii. 9. Menag. ad Diog. Laert.

and including the Cambunian range, with the lofty peak of Lacmos, stretches westward across the continent, and terminates in the stormy Acroceraunian promontory. The most northern provinces of Hellas, immediately within this boundary and west of the Pindos range, were Chaonia and Molossia, and towards the east Thessaly—a circular valley of exceeding fertility, encompassed by chains of lofty mountains. This province contains the largest and richest plains in Greece; and many of the names most hallowed by its religious traditions and most renowned in poetry, belong to Thessaly. Here, in fact, was the supposed cradle of the Hellenes. From hence sailed the Argo and incomparably the greatest of all the heroes who fought at Troy

“—————mixed with auxiliar gods.”

The geography of Thessaly is remarkable. According to a tradition already mentioned it was once a mountain-girt lake, the waters of which augmented by unusual rains burst their stupendous barriers and tore themselves a way through opposing rocks to the sea. Among the tribes of northern Hindûstân a similar tradition prevails respecting the formation of the Vale of Kashmèr; and whether in these cases the voice of fame has preserved or not an historical truth, such events may be regarded as not improbable in countries abounding with mountain lakes whose beds lie considerably above the level of the sea. The lofty ridge which skirts the shores of the Ægæan, and is said to have been rent in remote antiquity by the waters of the lake, presents a highly varied aspect to the approaching mariner. First on sailing northward Pelion comes in sight: a broad ridge rising from the waves like a huge uncrenulated

Procem. § 5. Here, too, one of the three Corybantes, when he had been slain by his brethren, found a grave. Clem. Alex. Protrept. c. xi. t. i. p. 16. From the blood of this man sprang the herb parsley.

wall, and covered in Homeric times with fiercely waving woods. To this succeeds Ossa, with its steep conical peak, clothed with durable snows and divided by a narrow dusky gap from Olympos. This gap is Tempe,¹ whose savage beauties poets and sophists have vied with each other in describing, though the reality is still finer than their pictures. On entering the defiles of the mountains a narrow glen hemmed in by precipitous rocks, bare in some places, in others verdant with hanging oaks, receives the waters of the Peneios, which, like the Rhone at St. Maurice and the Nile at Silsilis, in some places fill up the whole breadth of the pass, leaving scarcely room for a straitened road carried over rocky ledges. Farther on they diffuse themselves over a broad pebbly bed, and narrow prospects are opened up through woody vistas into soft pastoral recesses, carpeted with emerald turf, and perfumed with flowers and shrubs of the richest fragrance. Anon the vale contracts again, gloomy cliffs frown over the stream and sadden its surface with their shadows, until at length the whole chain is traversed and the Peneios precipitates its laughing waters into the Ægean.² Crossing the great range of Pindos we enter Epeiros,³ a country anciently divided into many pro-

¹ Æl. Var. Hist. iii. 1. Holland 291—95. Clarke iv. 290—97. Dodwell, 109. sqq. Gell. Itiner. of Greece, 280.

² Aristotle accounts for what every traveller will have remarked, the extreme blueness of this sea, which he contrasts with the whitish waves of the Pontos Euxinos. In the latter case, he observes, the air, thick and whitish, is reflected from the surface of the turbid waters; while, in the Ægean, the sea, transparent to a great depth, reflects the bright rich colour of the sky.—Prob. xxiii. 6. He adds that the sea is more

transparent during the prevalence of the north wind.

³ Though this country be not generally included by geographers within the limits of Hellas, I have considered it as a part of Greece, because Homer evidently so thought it. He reckons the Perrhæbi and Ænians, and the dwellers about the cold Dodona, among the followers of Agamemnon, that is classes them among the Greeks.—Il. β. 749—755. The ancient name of the country is said to have been Æsa.—Etym. Mag. 39. 19. Cf. Steph. Byzant. v. Ἀωδών. p. 319. d. sqq.

vinces, and partly inhabited by semi-barbarous tribes, where on the borders of a lake singularly beautiful and picturesque stood the fane and oracle of Dodonæan Zeus. Homer, accustomed to the mild skies of Ionia, speaks of its climate as rude and severe. But Byron, born among the hungry rocks of Caledonia, and habituated to the savage features of the north, was smitten with its wild charms, and thus describes one of the scenes in the neighbourhood near the sources of the Acheron.

Monastic Zitza, from thy shady brow,
 Thou small but favoured spot of holy ground,
 Where'er we gaze,—around, above, below,
 What rainbow tints, what magic charms are found !
 Rock, river, forest, mountain,—all abound ;
 And bluest skies that harmonize the whole.
 Beneath, the distant torrent's rushing sound
 Tells where the volumed cataract doth roll
 Between those hanging rocks which shock yet please the soul.

Clusters of islands clothed with poetical verdure stretch along the coast thickly indented by diminutive bays and embouchures of rivers. On a point of the Acarnanian shore¹ in the mouth of the Ambracian gulf, the Commonwealth of Rome which had foundered so many rival states suffered final shipwreck, and the shores of avenged Hellas were strewn with the wrecks of Roman freedom. Ætolia, Doris, Locris, Phocis, in which was the mystic navel of Gaia,² and the deep valley of Bœotia, divided from each other by mountains or by considerable rivers, minutely intersected by streams, and broken up into a perpetual succession of hill and dale, conduct us southward to the Corinthian Gulf and the borders of Attica.

Reserving this illustrious division of Hellas, and Megaris which originally formed a part of it, for the close of our rapid outline, we enter the Peloponnesos,—a country remarkable both for its physical configu-

¹ Where stood a celebrated Temple of Apollo.—Thucyd.i.29.

² The “rocky Pytho” afterwards Delphi. Iliad, β. 519.

ration, and for the races which anciently inhabited it. Connected with the continent by the narrow isthmus of Corinth it immediately expands westward and southward into a peninsula of large dimensions, in form resembling a ragged plantain leaf or outstretched palm.¹ Like the northern division of Hellas the Peloponnesos is rough with mountain chains, and belted round with cliffs. Towards the centre it swells into a lofty plateau, known to antiquity under the name of Arcadia. Foreign poets, misapprehending the nature of the country, have described this province as a succession of soft pastoral scenes.² But its real character is very different, consisting chiefly of an extensive table-land, supported by vast mountain buttresses, which in some places tower into peaks of extraordinary elevation. It is broken up into innumerable valleys and deep glens, overhung with wild precipitous rocks, clothed with gloomy forests, and buried during a great part of the year in clouds and snow. The inhabitants were rough and unpromising as the soil, distinguished like the modern Swiss for no quality but bravery, which, like them too, they sold with a mercenary recklessness to the best bidder.³ Achaia is a slip of sea-coast sloping towards the north. Elis, a succession of beautiful plains with few eminences intervening, well watered and renowned for their fine breed of mares. This, the Holy land of the Hellenes, sacred every rood to Zeus, was to the Greeks a place of pilgrimage, as Mecca to the Arabs and Palestine to the Christians of the West. In the Homeric age it was confined within narrow limits, its sea-coast only extending from Buprasion to the promontory of Hyrminè, scarcely

¹ Strab. viii. 2. 140. Dion. Perieg. ap. Palm. Gr. Ant. 16.

² Cf. Palm. Gr. Ant. 61. On the climate of Arcadia see Aristot. Problem. xxvii. 60. He observes that the winds, blowing in from the sea, were not colder there

than in other parts of Greece; but that during calms the exhalations from the stagnant waters were particularly chill. See also Hippoc. de Aër. et Loc. § 120.

³ Cf. Steph. Byzant. *v.* 'Αρκας. p. 166. b. seq.

indeed, so far, as Myrsinos is said to be its last city towards the north, and Buprasion is mentioned rather as a separate state. It was divided from Achaia by Mount Scollis, which Homer calls "the rock Olenia," and Aleision is the boundary to the south; consequently, neither Mount Pholœ nor Olympia, nor the Alpheios was then included in Elis, still less Triphylia.

Argolis, on the opposite side of the peninsula, is traversed by a broad ridge of hills, which, branching off from Mount Cyllene and Parthenion in Arcadia, abounds in deep ravines and spacious natural caverns. It contains, however, several plains of much fertility; but, though marshy and subject to malaria, the neighbourhood of the capital is deficient in good water. The fame of Argos¹ rests almost wholly on a fabulous basis: it was great in the infancy of Greece; it took the lead in the Trojan war; but, with the irruption of the half-barbarous Dorians into the Peloponnesos, the glory of the old heroic race

"that fought at Thebes and Ilion,"

waned visibly, and Argos and its twin city, Mycenæ, sank into comparative insignificance.

Laconia consists of a hollow valley, enclosed between two mountain chains, proceeding from the great Arcadian barrier, Parnon and Kronios, and stretching southward to the sea. Down the centre of this vale flows the Eurotas, whose sources lie above Belemina, among the steep recesses of Taygetos.²

¹ Il. β. 559. Mases, an Argive city, is mentioned by Homer in conjunction with Ægina, which island also belonged at that time to Argos. This place, in later ages, was the harbour of the Hermioneans. — Pausan. ii. 36, 83. Cf. Müll. Æginet. p. 85.

² This mountain (which in one place Vibius Sequester converts

into a river, p. 19, Cf. Virg. Georg. ii. 487,) was sacred to Bacchos. Serv. ad. Virg. ut sup. — Strabo describes it at length, and Pausanias observes that it was adapted to the chase. On its summit horses were sacrificed to the sun. — Paus iii. 20. 2. Cf. Oberlin, ad Vib. Sequest. p. 375.

Though enlarged by several tributary brooks, it preserves, until some way below Sparta, the character of a mountain torrent; but after precipitating itself in a romantic sparkling cascade, appears for some time to be lost in a morass. Escaping, however, from the swamp, it flows during the remainder of its course over a firm gravelly bed to the Laconian gulf. Immediately above Sparta the valley narrows exceedingly; but, at this point, the hills receding suddenly *on both sides*, sweep round a small circular plain, and, a short distance below the city, again approach, and press upon the bed of the Eurotas.¹ The site of Sparta, therefore, resembles on a small scale that of the Egyptian Thebes, which is similarly hemmed round by the Arabian and Libyan mountains. It follows, too, that the condition of the atmosphere must to a certain extent be alike in both places; for the ridges of Taygetos and Thornax rising to a great height, not only intercept the cooler breezes from the west and north, but, bending amphitheatrically round the plain, concentrate the sun's rays, which, being bare and rocky, they reflect with great force. In summer, therefore, the heat is intense: in winter, on the other hand, their great elevation suffices morning and evening to exclude the slanting beams, thus causing a

¹ Coronelli, *Mém. Hist. et Géog. du Roy. de la Morée*, &c. p. 90. sqq. Poucqueville, *Travels in the Morea*, p. 87. Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire*, t. i. pp. 102—118. Cf. Thiersch, *Etat Actuel de la Grèce*, i. 287, who gives the following romantic glimpse of the Laconian valley: — “Oh! que ce pays était beau, lorsqu’au mois de Mai 1832, nous traversâmes ses ravissantes vallées au milieu des montagnes de la Laconie, et ses villages situés au bord de ruisseaux limpides et entourés d’arbres

fruitiers tout en fleurs! Quelle était belle cette terre, lorsque, le soir, revenant des ruines de Sparte à Mistra, nous étions comme baignés de ces parfums qu’exhalent les orangers qui remplissent la plaine, et rafraichis par la brise délicieuse descendue des montagnes majestueuses du Taygète, dont les cimes, encore couvertes de neige, semblaient toucher le ciel parsemé d’étoiles! Notre sommeil fut interrompu la nuit par le chant mélodieux d’une troupe de rossignols.”

degree of cold little inferior, perhaps, to what is felt in the highlands of Arcadia.

But though lofty and bleak, the uplands of Laconia are not incapable of cultivation, and in many places were anciently covered with forests of plane trees. Their eastern slopes were likewise clothed with vines, irrigated, as in Switzerland and Burgundy, by small rills, conducted through artificial channels from springs high up in the mountains.¹ The summits of Taygetos are waste and wild; rent and shattered by frequent earthquakes, lashed by rain-storms, and here and there bored and undermined by gnawing streams, working their way to the valley, it presents the aspect of a fragment of nature in its decrepitude. South, however, of Mount Evoras the country opens into a plain of considerable fertility, extending eastward towards Mount Zarax and the sea. On the Messenian frontier, also, are many valleys highly productive. This portion of Lacedæmon obtained in the time of Augustus the name, given perhaps in mockery, of the land of the Eleuthero Lacones, or "Free Laconians."²

Protected on the land side by mountains difficult to be traversed, and presenting towards the sea an inhospitable harbourless coast, Laconia seems marked out by nature to be the abode of an unsocial people. Like that of many Swiss cantons, its climate is generally harsh and rude, vexed by cold winds alternating with burning heats, and appears to communicate analogous qualities to the minds of its inhabitants, who have been in all ages remarkable for valour untempered by humanity. In such a country the nobler arts can never be completely naturalised. The virus imbibed from nature will find its way into the character, and defy the influence of culture and of government.

Messenia presents, in every respect, a contrast to

¹ Alcman, ap. Athen. i. 57.

² Strab. viii. 6. p. 190. Paus. iii. 21. 6.

Laconia. Along the sea-coast, indeed, particularly from Pylos to Cape Aeritas, its barrenness is complete ; neither woods nor thickets, nor any vestige of verdure being visible upon the red cinder-like precipices beetling over the sea, or sloping off into grey mountains above. But having passed this Alpine barrier, we find the land sinking down into rich plains, which on the banks of the broad Pamisos were anciently, for their luxuriant fertility,¹ denominated “the Happy.” North, and about the sources of the Balyra, the Amphitos, and the Neda the scenery grows highly romantic and picturesque, the eye commanding from almost every elevated point innumerable narrow meandering glens, each with its bubbling streamlet circling round green eminences, clothed to their summits with hanging woods. Messenia, which, as soon inhabited, must have been wealthy, appears to have been a favourite resort of poets in remote antiquity. Here the Thracian Thamyris, in a contest, as was fabled, with the Muses, lost his sight, together with the gift of song ; and in a small rocky island on its coast, — the haunt, when I saw it, of sea-mews and cormorants, — Sparta received from an Athenian general of mean abilities one of the most galling defeats recorded in her annals.

Returning out of the Peloponnesos by way of the Isthmos, and quitting at the Laconian rocks the territories of Corinth, we enter the Megaris,² originally, as I have before observed, a part of the Athenian territories. Attica is a triangular promontory, of small extent, projecting into the Myrtöan sea, between Argolis and Eubœa. A mountain chain, of no great elevation, forms, under several names, the boundary between this country and Bœotia ; and Mount Kerata, in later times, divided it from Megaris. On every other side Attica is washed by the sea, which, together with nearly all the circumjacent islands, was, in antiquity, regarded as a part of its empire.³ This minute

¹ Cf. Sibth. in Walp. Mem. i. 60.

² Strab. ix. i. p. 232.

³ Strab. ix. 1. Philoch. Siebel. p. 28.

division of Greece, fertile in nothing but great men, is seldom viewed with any eye to the picturesque. Satisfied that Athens stood there, we commonly ask no more. Genius has breathed over it a perfume sweeter than the thyme of its own hills, — has painted it with a beauty surpassing that of earth, — rendered its atmosphere redolent for ever of human greatness and human glory, — and cast so dazzling an illusion over its very dust and ruins, that they appear more beautiful than the richest scenes and most perfect structures of other lands.

Independently, however, of its historical importance, Attica is invested with numerous charms. Consisting of an endless succession of hill and dale,¹ with many small plains interspersed; and swelling towards its northern frontier into considerable mountains, it presents a miniature of the whole Hellenic land.² In antiquity its uplands and ravines and secluded hollows were clothed with wood, — oaks, white poplars, wild olive-trees, or melancholy pines. The arbutus, the agnus castus, wild pear, heath, lentisk, and other flowering shrubs decked its hill-sides and glens; on the brow of every eminence wild thyme, sweet marjoram, with many different kinds of odoriferous plants exhaled their fragrance beneath the foot;³ while rills of the clearest and sweetest water in the world, leaped down the rocks, or conducted their

¹ Mardonius, in fact, found Attica too hilly for the operations of cavalry: — οὐτε ἱππασίμῃ ἡ χώρα ἦν ἡ Ἀττικὴ. — Herod. ix. 13.

² See, in Plato's Critias, t. vii. p. 153. the eulogium of its beauty and fertility. At present "the plain of Attica, if we except the olive-tree, is extremely destitute of wood, and we observed, on our return, the peasants driving home their asses laden with *Passerina hirsuta* for fuel." — Sibthorp in

Mitchell, Knights, p. 155. But the description by no means applies to the whole country. At the foot of Cithæron there are still forests four hours in length. — Sibth. in Walp. Mem. i. 64.

³ This is accounted for by the dryness and purity of the atmosphere; for, as Pliny remarks, "*hortensiorum odoratissima quæ sicca; ut ruta, mentha, apium, et quæ in siccis nascantur.*" — Hist. Nat. xxi. 18. p. 46.

sparkling currents through its romantic and richly cultivated valleys. Southward, among the mountains of scorix of the mining district, springs of silver¹ may be said to have usurped the place of fountains. The face of the country is nearly everywhere arid and barren, — the plains are parched, — the gullies encumbered with loose shingle, — the eminences unpicturesque and dreary; yet wherever vegetation takes place, the virtue of the Attic soil displays itself in the production of fragrant flowers, whence the bee extracts the most delicious honey in the world, superior in quality to that of Hybla or Hymettos.

Comparative barrenness may, however, upon the whole, be considered as characteristic of Attica. Indeed, Plato,² in a very curious passage, likens to a body emaciated by sickness the hungry district round the capital, where the soil has collapsed about the rocks. But from this innumerable advantages have arisen. The earth being light and porous permits whatever rain falls immediately to sink and disappear, as in Provence,³ which, more than any other part of Europe, resembles Attica. Hence, except in some few inconsiderable spots,⁴ no bogs, no marshes exist to poison the air with cold effluvia: a ridge of mountains protects it against the northern blasts: mild breezes from the ocean prevail in almost all seasons: snow seldom lies above a few hours on the ground. The atmosphere, accordingly, kept constantly free from terrene exhalations, is buoyant and sparkling as on the Libyan desert, when, at noon, every elevated rock appears to be encircled by a luminous halo.⁵ In air so pure the

¹ Ἀργύρου πηγὴ τις αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ, θησαυρὸς χθονός. — Æschyl. Pers. 238. In all countries the waters of mining cantons are bad. — Hippocr. de Aër. et Loc. § 35.

² Critias, t. vii. p. 154. Words. Athens and Attica, 62.

³ Coray, Notes sur Hippoc. De Aër. et Loc. § 126. t. ii. p. 403.

⁴ Vide Sch. Aristoph. Lys. 1032.

⁵ Aristid. i. 187. Jebb. Aristophanes appears to speak of the brilliance of its atmosphere in the following verse (Ran. 155):

ὄψει τι φῶς κάλλιστον, ὥσπερ ἐνθάδε.

though Spanheim supposes him to mean the light of the world generally. — Not. in loc.

act of breathing is a luxury which produces a smile of satisfaction on the countenance ; the mind performs its operations with ease and rapidity ; and life, everywhere sweet, appears to have a finer relish than in countries exposed to watery and unwholesome fogs. It was perfectly philosophical, therefore, in Plato,¹ to regard Attica as a place designed by nature to bring the human intellect to the greatest ripeness and perfection, a quality extended by Aristotle to Greece at large. The same atmospheric properties were favourable to health and long life, warding off many disorders common in other parts of the country.

A learned and ingenious but fanciful writer² considers Peloponnesos to have been the heart of Greece. Following up this idea, we must unquestionably pronounce Athens to have been the head, the seat of thought, the place where its arts and its wisdom ripened. But ere we touch upon the capital, which cannot be slid over with a cursory remark, it will be necessary to enter into some little detail respecting the demi or country towns of Attica,³ of which in the flourishing times of the republic there existed upwards of one hundred and seventy-four. Of these small municipal communities, of which too little is known, several were places of considerable importance, possessing their temples, their Agoræ, their theatres, filled with walks and surrounded by impregnable fortifications. The Athenians regarded Athens, indeed, as the Hebrews did Jerusalem, in the light of their great and holy city, the sanctuary of their religion and of their freedom. But this did not prevent their preferring the calm simplicity of a country life to the noisier pleasures of the town. Many distinguished families, accordingly, had houses in these demi, or villas in their vicinity. Here, also,

¹ Plat. Tim. t. vii. pp. 12. 15. sqq.
Bekk. Aristot. Pol. vii. 6. Cf. Coray,
Disc. Prelim. ad Hippoc. De Aër.
et Loc. p. cxxix. sqq.

² Müll. Dor. i. 76.

³ See Col. Leake, Trans. Roy.
Soc. Lit. i. 114—283.

several of the greatest men of Athens were born : Thucydides was a native of Halimos,¹ Sophocles of Colonos, Epicurus of Gargettos, Plato of Ægina, Xenophon of Erchia, Tyrtaeos, Harmodios, and Aristogeiton of Aphidnæ, Antiphon of Rhamnos, and Æschylus of Eleusis.

In other points of view, also, the towns and villages of Attica possessed great interest. They long continued to be the seats of the primitive worship of the country, where the tutelar deities of particular districts, of earth-born race, were adored with that affectionate faith and that fervency of devotion which peculiarly belong to small religious communities. The gods they worshipped appeared almost to be their fellow citizens, and to exist only for their protection. In fact, they were the patron saints of the villages. Fabulous legends and historical traditions combined with religion to shed celebrity over the Attic demi. There was hardly in the whole land a single inhabited spot which did not figure in their poetry or in their annals as the scene of some memorable exploit. Aphidnæ² was renowned, for example, as the place whence the Dioscuri bore away their sister Helen, after her rape by Theseus, in revenge for which the youthful heroes devastated the whole district. "Grey Marathon,"³ as Byron aptly terms it, was embalmed for ever in Persian blood, and rendered holy by the vast barrows raised there by the state over the ashes of its fallen warriors. Rhamnos on the Attic Dardanelles became famous for its statue of Nemesis, originally of Aphrodite, the work of Diodotos or Agoracritos of Paros, not unworthy to be compared for size and beauty with the productions of Pheidias. The irruption of the Peloponnesians conferred a melancholy celebrity

¹ Poppo, Prolegg. in Thucyd. i. 22.

² Paus. i. 17. 5.

³ Paus. i. 32. 3. sqq. "We observed the long-legged plover

near Marathon ; the grey plover and the sand plover on the eastern coast of Attica." Sibth. Walp. Mem. i. 76. Chandler, ii. 83.

on Deceleia,¹ and Phylæ obtained a place in history as the stronghold where Thrasybulos gathered together the small but gallant band which avenged the cause of freedom upon the thirty. Of Eleusis,² it is enough to say that there the ceremonies of initiation into the mysteries were performed.

The capital of Megara, like Athens, stood a short distance from the sea; but was joined by long walls to its harbour Nisæa, protected from the weather by the Minoan promontory. In sailing thence to the Peiræus we pass several islands, none of which, however, are of any magnitude, save Salamis, in remote antiquity a separate state governed by its own laws. The old capital, already deserted in the time of Strabo, stood on the southern coast over against Ægina; but the principal town of later times was situated on a bay at the root of a tongue of land projecting toward that part of Attica³ where Xerxes sat to behold his imperial armada annihilated by the republicans of Hellas. Salamis was known of old under various names,—Skiras, Cychræa and Pitoussa, from the Pitus, or pine tree, by which its rocks and glens were in many places shaded. Immediately before the engagement in which his navy was destroyed, the Persian monarch sought to unite Salamis to the continent by a dam two stadia in length; his project, had it succeeded, would have ruined the ferry-men of Amphialè, a class of individuals whose operations Solon judged of sufficient importance to be regulated by a particular article in his code. Of the smaller islets that form the outworks of the Attic

¹ Where Sophocles and his ancestors were buried. Chandler, ii. 95.

² Clem. Alex. Protrept. § 2. t. i. p. 16. seq. where he relates the story of Demeter and Baubo.

³ On one of the projecting roots of Mount Ægaleus, which anciently, according to Statius, was

well-wooded, and clothed like Hymettos with thyme.—Theb. xii. 631. Suid. v. *Μᾶσσον*. This mountain produced likewise an abundance of figs (Theoc. Eidyll. i. 147), which were considered the best in Attica.—Athen. xiv. 66. Meurs. Rel. Att. c. i. p. 4. seq. Cf. Leake, Topog. 71.

coast, little need be said, since they were nearly all barren, and inhabited only by a few legendary traditions. The tomb of Circe was shown on the larger of the Pharmacoussæ; and the island of Helena, east of the Samian promontory obtained the reputation of having been the spot where the faithless queen of Menelaus consummated her guilt.¹

Ægina belonged to Attica only by conquest; but as when subdued its subjection was complete and lasting, it must not be altogether omitted in this glance over the home territories of the Great Demos. Like Attica itself, the island lying in the Saronic Gulf is of a triangular shape. By proximity it belongs to the Peloponnesos, being within thirty stadia of the Methanæan Chersonesos, while to Salamis is a voyage of ninety stadia, and to the Peiræus one hundred and twenty. But the sea itself having been considered a part of Attica, whose flag, like that of England, streamed for ages triumphantly over its billows, the islands also which it surrounded fell one by one into the hands of the people, and this small Doric isle among the rest. A number of diminutive islets, or rather rocks, cluster round the shores of Ægina, some barren and treeless, others indued with a certain degree of fertility and verdant with pine woods.

The most remarkable objects in Ægina were placed at the angles of the island. The city and harbour towards the west, on the east looking towards Attica the temple of Athena, and, near its southern extremity, “a magnificent conical mountain, which from its grandeur, its form, and its historical recollections, is the most remarkable among the natural features of Ægina.”² An eminence so lofty and in shape so beautiful would naturally be an object of much in-

¹ Il. γ. 445. where we find its ancient name to have been Kranæe.—Cf. Eurip. Helen. 1672. Strab. ix. 1. p. 245. — Pausanias (i. 35. 1) has preserved an-

other tradition representing Helen as landing here on her return from Troy. — Chandler, ii. 7.

² Wordsworth, Athens and Attica, p. 262.

terest in so small an island. The local superstitions would necessarily cluster round it, as around Ida in Crete and Olympos in Thessaly. Accordingly on the summit of this mountain the fables of Ægina represent King Æacos praying, in the name of the whole Hellenic nation, to Zeus for rain, as the prophet prayed for the Israelites, and with equal success. Here, therefore, a recent traveller has with great judgment fixed the site of the Panhellenion, near the spot where a chapel, dedicated to the prophet Elias, now stands. In dimensions Ægina, according to Scylax, ranked twelfth among the isles of Hellas. Strabo attributes to it a circumference of one hundred and eighty stadia; but Sir Willian Gell, in his *Argolis*,¹ considers its perimeter, not including the fluctuations of the bays and creeks, to be not less than two hundred and ten stadia, and its square contents three thousand one hundred and sixty-four stadia, or forty-one square miles.² The interior is rocky, rough, and perforated with caverns, in which, according to fabulous legends, the Myrmidons resided, and Chabrias afterwards lay in ambush for the Spartan Gorgopos and his Æginetan allies.³ A light thin soil nourishes but sparing vegetation on the mountains, but several of the small valleys, filled with earth washed down by rains from the uplands, are rich and fertile, watered by springs and rivulets, and beautified with groves of imperishable verdure.⁴

Much has been written on the extent and population of Attica, respecting which most of the philosophers of the last generation entertained very erroneous ideas. An examination of their statements might still, perhaps, be interesting; but it would lead me far beside the scope of my present work, and occupy space that can be better filled up. According to the most careful calculation Attica contained seven hun-

¹ Ib. 28. ap. Müll. Æginet. p. 8.

² Cf. Clint. Fast. Hellen. ii. 335.

³ Xen. Hellen. v. 1. 11.

⁴ Chandler (ii. 12) speaks of the whole island as covered with trees.

dred and twenty square miles, or taking into account the island of Salamis seven hundred and forty-eight. The whole of this extremely limited space swarmed, however, with population; for even so late¹ as 317 B. C. after all the calamities which the republic had undergone, Attica still contained five hundred and twenty-seven thousand six hundred and sixty persons, or nearly seven hundred and seventy-three to the square mile, a proportion much higher than is found in the most thickly peopled counties of England.

This, however, taking into account the form of government, the industrious habits, and extreme frugality of the people, is entirely within the bounds of probability. But in what is related of the population of Ægina, the calculations current among learned authors are so extravagant as to exceed all belief. Müller and Boeckh,² who on other occasions, and sometimes very unseasonably affect scepticism, unhesitatingly admit the account in Athenæus, which attributes four hundred and seventy thousand slaves to the Æginetans.³ To these the former adds a free population of forty thousand, making the whole amount to upwards of half a million, or twelve thousand four hundred and fifty-seven to the square mile. Mr. Clinton,⁴ clearly perceiving the absurdity of this calculation, proposes to read seventy thousand, which will leave a population in the proportion of two thousand six hundred and eighty-two to the square mile. The passage in Athenæus is no doubt, as Bochart suspects,⁵ corrupt, and this being the case nothing is left but to determine from analogy the population of Ægina, which, supposing it equally dense with that of Attica would have amounted to something more than thirty thousand souls.

¹ Clint. Fast. Hellen. ii. 386. sqq. Cf. Boeckh, Pub. Econ. of Athens, i. 44. seq. On the number of the citizens *vide* Philoch. Siebel, p. 17. 28. Schol. Vesp. Aristoph. 709. Strab. ix. i. t. ii. p. 234. Hermann. Pol. Ant. § 18. Bochart, Geog. Sac. i. 286.

² Æginet. 128. Econ. of Athens, i. 55, seq.

³ Deipnosoph. vi. 103. Cf. Schol. Pind. Olymp. viii. 30.

⁴ Fast. Hellen. ii. 423.

⁵ Geog. Sac. Pars Prior, l. iv. c. 20, p. 286.

CHAPTER IV.

CAPITAL CITIES OF GREECE.—ATHENS.

FROM these more general considerations, into which it was perhaps necessary to enter, let us now pass to the picture antiquity has left us of the principal capitals, confining ourselves chiefly to Athens and Sparta, which may be regarded as the representatives of all the rest. The physiognomy of these, like the features of an individual, may in some respects be considered as a key to the character of the inhabitants; a remark which, with great truth, may be applied to all capitals.

In the structure of the one, external and internal,¹ there was everywhere visible an effort to embody the principle of beauty, improving the advantages and overcoming the difficulties of position. In the other little could be discovered indicative of imaginative power, of the thirst to create, of the yearning of the mind after the ideal, of the desire of genius to breathe a soul into stone, to live and obtain a perpetuity of existence in the works of its own hands, to gaze on its own beauty reflected on all sides from its own creations as from a concave mirror. At Athens everything public, everything which had reference to the united efforts of the people wore an air of grandeur. The Acropolis inhabited only by the gods appeared worthy to be the dwelling place of immortal beings: all the poetry of architecture was there; it seemed to have owed its birth to a concentration of the best religious spirit of the ancient world, aiming at giving

¹ Dem. Olynth. iii. 9. Palm. Exercit. in Auct. Græc. p. 622. Zander, De Luxu Athen. c. iii. 5, § 6.

earth a resemblance to heaven; at peopling it with mute deities, speaking only through their beauty and surrounding these representatives of the invisible Olympos with everything most excellent, most valuable, most cherished among men. At Sparta a spirit of calculating economy entered into the very worship of the gods. They seemed, in the manner they lodged and entertained them, to have always had an eye to their common tables and their black broth. Between the temples of Athens and Sparta there was, in fact, the same contrast that now exists between St. Peter's at Rome and a Calvinistic conventicle. Accordingly, several ancient writers have vied with each other in heaping encomiums upon Athens, which they regarded as at once the most glorious and the most beautiful of cities. Athenæus denominates it the "Museum of Greece;" Pindar, "the stay of Greece;" Thucydides, in his epigram upon Euripides, "the Greece of Greece;" and the Pythian Apollo, "the home and place of council of all Greeks."¹ By others it was termed "the Opulent;" though the principal part of its riches consisted in the wise and great men whom it produced, and whose achievements covered it with glory. In the same spirit the Arabs call Cairo the "Mother of cities;" and all nations concentrate more or less upon their capital, their affection and their pride.

The superior magnificence of Athens appears from this; that it was always the place to which the Greeks referred when desirous of magnifying the splendour of their own country, in comparison with what could be found elsewhere. Thus Dion Chrysostom² affirms that Athens and Corinth in all that constitutes real grandeur surpassed the famous capitals of Persia, Syria, and Ecbatana, and Babylon, and the metropolis of Bactriana. Nay, in the opinion of this writer the Kraneion with its gymnasia, fountains, and shady walks, and the Acropolis with its Propylæa, antique

¹ Athen. v. 12. Soph. Œdip. Col. 107. seq.

² Orat. vi. t. i. p. 199.

altars, temples, and population of gods, exceeded in magnificence the palaces of the Great King, though there was something exceedingly striking in the site and structure of what may properly be called the Acropolis of Ecbatana.¹ The city itself was unwalled, but the citadel, which probably rose in the midst of it, occupied the slopes of a conical hill, not unlike Mount Tabor, and was girt by seven walls of different colours and elevation, rising in concentric circles above each other to the summit. The circumference of the lowest is said to have equalled that of Athens including the Peiræus. The colour of this wall was white; the next being black for the sake of contrast, was succeeded by one of light purple, which was followed by walls of sky blue, of scarlet, of silver and of gold.

In mere magnitude the great capitals of the East far exceeded Athens. The circuit, for example, of Babylon, is said to have been at least four hundred stadia, while, according to the orator Dion, that of Athens was in round numbers two hundred stadia, or twenty-five miles. Aristeides probably adopted the same calculation when he pronounced it to be a day's journey in compass. But there is some exaggeration in these accounts; for, according to Thucydides, the total extent of the walls did not exceed one hundred and seventy-eight stadia. The area, however, of the city was not proportioned to the vast range of its fortifications, consisting of two distinct systems of buildings, the Astu, or city proper, and the Peiræus or harbour, connected together by three walls more than four miles in length. There were other capitals in the western world equal in dimensions, as Syracusæ, one hundred and eighty stadia in circumference, and Rome, which in the time of Dionysios of Halicarnassos did not command a larger circuit, though the space included within the walls was much greater.

¹ Herod. i. 98. Bochart, Geog. 222. Aristot. De Mund. ch. 6. Sac. Pars Prior, l. iii. c. 14. p. Apuleius, p. 19.

In order, however, to convey a more complete idea of the ancient home of Democracy and the Arts, we must, as far as possible, open up a view into the interior of Athens, which, with its harbours, docks, arsenals, its market-places, bazārs, porticoes, public fountains and gymnasia, probably formed the noblest spectacle ever presented to the eye by a cluster of human dwellings. From whatever side approached, whether by land or by sea, the city appeared to be but one vast group of magnificence. In sailing up along the shore from the promontory of Sunium, the polished brazen helmet and shield of the colossal Athena,¹ standing on the brow of the Acropolis, were beheld from afar flashing in the sun. On drawing nearer, the Parthenon, the Propylæa, the temple of Erectheus, with the other marble edifices crowning the Cecropian rock, glittered above the pinnacles of the lower city, and the deep green foliage of the encircling plain and olive groves. Among its principal ornaments in the later ages of the republic was a remarkable monument in the road to Eleusis,—the tomb of the hetaira Pythionica, who dying while her beauty still bloomed and her powers of fascination were unimpaired, the love she had inspired survived the grave and manifested itself by rearing a costly pile of marble over her ashes.²

Upon sailing into the Peiræus,³ where generally ships from every quarter of the ancient world lay at anchor, the stranger was immediately struck by manifestations of the people's power and predilection for stateliness and grandeur. The entrance into the port, barely wide enough to admit a couple of galleys abreast, with their oars in full sweep, lay between two round towers, in which terminated on either hand the maritime fortifications of the city. Across the mouth vast chains were extended in time of war, rendering the Peiræus a closed port;⁴ arrived within which, the pleased eye

¹ Paus. i. 28. 2.

² Athen. xiii. 67.

³ Cf. Steph. De Urb. v. Πειραιός. p. 633. G. sqq.

⁴ Leake, Top. of Ath. p. 311. sqq.

wandered over the spacious quays, wharfs, and long ranges of warehouses extending round the harbour, with tombs and sepulchral monuments rising here and there in open spaces between. Among them was a cenotaph in the form of an altar, raised by the repentant people in memory of Themistocles,¹ the founder of the naval power of Athens, whose bones however it has sometimes been supposed were brought thither from Magnesia. The Peiræus consisted of three basins, Zea, Aphrodision, which was by far the largest, and Cantharos. On the western shore were the vast docks and arsenals of the commonwealth erected by Philon,² in which, during peace, all that portion of the public navy not engaged in protecting its trade in distant colonies, was drawn up in dry docks, roofed over and surrounded by massive walls. Towards the centre of the town stood the Hippodameia,³ an agora or market place, which appears to have resembled Covent Garden, with ranges of stalls in the area and surrounded by dwelling-houses. This building derived its name from Hippodamos of Miletos, the architect who erected it, and laid out the whole maritime city in the regular and beautiful style of which he was the inventor.⁴ Here, also, were several other market-places or bazārs, among which may be reckoned a place⁵ resembling the Laura of Samos, the Sweet Ancon of Sardis, the Street of the Happy at Alexandria, and the Tuscan Street at Rome, in which fruit, confectionary, with delicacies and luxuries of every kind were exposed for sale. In these agoræ, as now in the bazārs of Cairo, Damascus, and Constantinople, were beheld, in close juxtaposition, the wines of Spain and Portugal, amber from the shores of the ocean, the carpets, shawls, and jewels of the East, fruit and gold

¹ Paus. i. 1, 2. Plut. Them. § 32. Meurs. Pir. c. 3.

² Strab. ix. 1. p. 239.

³ Harp. v. Ἴπποδ. Xen. Hell. ii. 4. Dem. in Timoth. § 5. Andoc. de Myst. § 10.

⁴ Arist. Polit. vi. 8. p. 40. 16. vii. 11. p. 199. 25. Hesych. v. Ἴπποδ. νέμησις.

⁵ Athen. xii. 57, 58. Animad. t. 11. p. 468. Sch. Aristoph. Pac. 98.

from Thasos, ivory and ostrich feathers from Africa, and beautiful female slaves from Syria, Dardania, and the southern shores of the Euxine, the Mingrelians and Georgians of the modern world.¹ Around these singular groups the young men of Athens, in an almost oriental pomp of costume, might be seen lounging, some perhaps purchasing, others merely looking on, half in haste to return to the gymnasium or to the lectures of Socrates.

Among the public buildings² in the harbour were the Deigma³ or Exchange, where the merchants met to transact business, bringing along with them samples of their goods; the Serangion⁴ or public baths; the superb temples of Zeus and Athena adorned with exquisite pictures and statues, where in an open court seems to have stood the celebrated altar erected by Demosthenes⁵ in commutation of his fine of thirty talents; the Long Portico which served as an agora to those living near the shore;⁶ the theatre,⁷ and the court of Phreattys⁸ on the beach, where the accused pleaded his cause from a galley lying afloat. Somewhere in the Peiræus was an altar to "the unknown Gods,"⁹ which, notwithstanding that the plural form is used, may possibly have been that to which Saint Paul alludes in his speech to the Athenians on the hill of Areiopagos.

Besides the Peiræus, Athens possessed two other harbours Munychia and Phaleron, which were enclosed by the same line of fortifications, and in process of time formed but one city, superior in extent to the Astu itself. Of these the latter was the most

¹ See for the authorities, Book vi. chapters 11 and 12.

² Meurs. Pir. c. 4, 5, 6.

³ Harpocrat. in v. p. 74. Maussac. Etymol. Mag. 259. 51. Suid. in v. t. i. p. 665. Xen. Hellen. v. 1. 21. Aristoph. Eq. 975. et Schol. Dem. adv. Lacrit. § 7. Lys. cont. Tynd. frag. 120. Polyæn. Strat. vi. 2. 2.

⁴ Harpocrat. in v. p. 166. Suid. in v. t. ii. 734 a. Isaeus De Philoct. Herod. § 6.

⁵ Meurs. Pir. c. 7.

⁶ Paus. i. 13.

⁷ Xen. Hellen. ii. 4. 33.

⁸ Paus. i. 28. 11.

⁹ Paus. i. 1. 4; v. 14. 8.

ancient, and from hence Mnestheus sailed for Troy and Theseus for Crete.¹ The Munychian promontory,² abounding in hollows and artificial excavations, and connected by a narrow neck of land with the continent, was the strongest position on the coast, and may be regarded as the key of Athens, since whoever held possession of it could command the city. In this Demos stood the Bendideion³ where shows were exhibited in honour of Bendis the Thracian Artemis, to behold which Socrates and his friends came down from the city, when at the house of Cephalos that conversation took place with Glaucon and Adimantos, out of which arose the Republic of Plato. This division of the port likewise possessed its theatre,⁴ and here were fought some of those battles with the thirty that re-established the liberty of the commonwealth.

Proceeding inland towards the Astu or city of Athens proper, the stranger beheld before him a straight street upwards of five miles in length, extending from the Peiræus to the foot of the Acropolis, between walls⁵ of immense elevation and thickness, flanked by square towers at equal distances. Along the summit of these vast piles of masonry a terrace was carried, commanding superb views of the Saronic bay and distant coasts of Peloponnesos; and, on the other hand, of the city relieved against the green slopes of Lycabettos⁶. The space between the long walls abounded with remarkable monuments. Here were the tombs of Diopethes, Menander, and Euripides, the temple of Hera, burned by the Persians, and left in ruins as a memento to revenge, and numerous cenotaphs and statues of illustrious men.

Spacious and lofty gates admitted you into the

¹ Paus. i. 1, 2.

² Strab. ix. 1. t. ii. p. 239.

³ Xen. Hellen. ii. 4, 11.

⁴ Thucyd. viii. 93. Lys. in Agorat. § 7.

⁵ Of which there were three. Plat. Gorg. t. iii. p. 22. Words-

worth, Athens and Attica, p. 187. Dr. Cramer Desc. of Greece, ii. 346, seq. understands the long walls to have been but two in number.

⁶ Marin. vit. Procl. p. 74. ed. Fabric.

Astu, through a belt of impregnable fortifications: and the appearance of the interior,¹ though the streets for military purposes were mostly narrow and winding, and the houses low, projecting over the pavement or concealed by elevated front-walls, surpassed in all probability the promise of its distant aspect. The grandeur which peculiarly belonged to the Athenian democracy was visible at every step. But it would weary the reader to lead him in succession through all the public places—the Pnyx, the Agora, the Cera-meicos: let us ascend the Acropolis, from whose ramparts the plan of the whole city will unfold itself before us like a map.

Half the beauty of all civilised countries springs out of their religion. At Athens nearly everything costly or magnificent belonged to the Gods; even the Propylæa,² apparently a mere secular or military structure, probably owed its erection in so expensive a style to the circumstance of its adorning the entrance to the sacred enclosure of Athena, and the other tutelary divinities of Athens, and spanning the road by which the pomp of the Panathenaic procession descended and ascended the mount. Be this as it may, a road³ which, by running zigzag up the slope, was rendered practicable for chariots, led from the lower city to the Acropolis, on the edge of the platform of which stood the Propylæa, erected by the architect Mnesicles in five years, during the administration of Pericles. A

¹ Boeckh, *Pub. Econ. of Athens*, i. 88. seq.

² Suid. in v. t. ii. p. 611. d. Harpocrat. in v. p. 254. Paus. i. 22. 4. Leake, *Topog.* p. 177. Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*. p. 112.

³ Up this road goats were never allowed to ascend (*Athen.* xiii. 51). Even crows were said never to alight on the top of the sacred rock; and Chandler (ii. 61) remarks, that although he frequently

saw these birds flying about the Acropolis, he never observed one on the summit. "The hooded crow, which retires from England during the summer, is a constant inhabitant of Attica, and is probably that species noticed by the ancients under the name of *κορώνη*. It is the word applied at present to it by the Greek peasants, who are the best commentators on the old naturalists." Sibthorp in *Walp. Mem.* l. 75.

pile of architecture, similar in name, is usually found at the entrance of the court of Egyptian temples, and the Propylæa of Luxor and Karnak, with their aspiring obelisks, couchant syhynxes, and ranges of colossal statues, may be reckoned among the most chaste and beautiful monuments in the valley of the Nile. The Propylæa of Athens, richer in design and materials, and executed with a grace and perfection unknown to the Egyptians, enjoyed in its mere site an immense advantage over their noblest works which, the pyramids and the great temple of Koom Ombos excepted, stand on a dead level, while this occupies the brow of a precipitous rock, visible on every side from afar. Pillars, architraves, pediments, walls, and roof, were all of snow-white marble, with mouldings of bright red and blue, and ceilings of azure bedropped with stars.¹ Externally, on either hand, were equestrian statues of the sons of Xenophon,² placed on lofty square basements; and, overlooking the whole on the left, stood the colossal statue of Athena Promachos.³

On entering through the gates of the Propylæa a scene of unparalleled grandeur and beauty burst upon the eye. No trace of human dwellings anywhere appeared, but on all sides temples of more or less elevation, of Pentelic marble, beautiful in design and exquisitely delicate in execution, sparkled like piles of alabaster in the sun. On the left stood the Erectheion or fane of Athena Polias; to the right that matchless edifice known as the Hecatompedon of old, but to later ages as the Parthenon. Other buildings, all holy to the eye of an Athenian, lay grouped around these master structures, and in the open spaces between, in whatever direction the spectators might look, appeared statues, some remarkable for their dimensions, others for their beauty, and all for the legendary sanctity which surrounded them. No city of the ancient or modern world ever rivalled Athens in the riches of art. Our

¹ Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, p. 114.

² Paus. i. 22. 4.

³ Müll. *De Phid. Vit.* p. 18 seq.

best filled museums, though teeming with her spoils, are poor collections of fragments compared with that assemblage of gods and heroes which peopled the Acropolis, the genuine Olympos of the arts, where all the divinities of the pagan heaven appeared grouped in immortal youth and beauty round the Thunderer and his virgin daughter. Many volumes were written in antiquity on the pictures, statues, and architectural monuments which thronged the summit of this rock, and though those works have perished, a long and curious list might still be given of the objects of this kind which we know to have existed there.¹ It will, however, be sufficient to glance over a few of the more striking features of the scene.

On one side of the entrance stood a chariot drawn by four horses in bronze, and directly opposite a chapel of Aphrodite, containing a bronze lioness, with a statue of the goddess herself by Calamis; a little further the eye rested on Diitrephes, pierced like St. Sebastian with arrows; two figures of the goddess Health; a youth in bronze, by Lycios, bearing the Perirrhanterion, or brush for sprinkling holy water; Myron's group of Perseus cutting off the head of Medusa, and the three Graces draped by Socrates,² son of Sophroniscos. Advancing past the chapel of Artemis Brauronia you beheld, amid numerous groups of less striking monuments, the Attic conception of the Trojan horse; Athena smiting Marsyas; Heracles strangling the serpents in his cradle; Phrixos sacrificing the ram; and Theseus, the national hero, slaughtering the Minotaur in the Cretan labyrinth.³ Here, too, was an Athena issuing from the head of Zeus, together with the figure of a bull presented by the Senate of Areio-

¹ Somewhere in a cavern in the rock of the Acropolis was a slab called the pillar of infamy, on which were engraved the names of traitors and other public delinquents. Thrasybulos accused Leodamas of having had his name

on this pillar.—Aristot. Rhet. ii. 23.

² Paus. i. 22. 8.

³ On the labyrinth at present shown in Crete, see Tournefort, i. 76. sqq.

pagos ; and, a little beyond, an embodiment of a very pious and a very beautiful thought, — a figure of Earth, the mother of gods and men, praying to the ruler of Olympos for rain. Of Zeus, the Cloud-Compeller, there were numerous representations by artists of celebrity ; the figure of Apollo, by Pheidias, standing before the eastern front of the Parthenon, was lighted up by the first rays of the morning. But the tutelar gods of Attica, Athena and Poseidon, the genii of political wisdom and maritime power, exhibited as struggling for the mastery over the Athenian mind, met the eye in various parts of the Acropolis, — the piety of the people delighting to reproduce with various attributes the objects of their affectionate adoration. Among these divinities, the statues of several poets, orators, and generals were found ; Anacreon, Epicharmos, Phormio, Timotheus, Conon, Pericles, and Isocrates. On drawing near the Parthenon, its sculptured pediments and metopes, representing legends in the mythology and religious processions of Athens, excited admiration, and still excite it, by their original design and matchless workmanship : and, suspended from its highly painted friezes, and resting on its white marble architraves, were rows of highly burnished shields of gold.¹

Technical descriptions of buildings, whether religious or civil, would be out of place in the present work ; but a compendious account of the Erectheion and Parthenon, the two great sanctuaries of the Acropolis, could not with propriety be omitted. To commence with the former, as the more ancient and sacred : — this edifice, of irregular design though highly beautiful, con-

¹ They were votive offerings, and the impressions they made are still visible upon the marble. — Words. Athens and Attica, 117. Lachares afterwards, when Athens was besieged by Demetrius, carried them away with him into

Bœotia. — Paus. i. 25. 7. To facilitate his escape, he is said to have scattered handfuls of golden Darics on the road, which, tempting the cavalry in pursuit, prevented his capture. — Polyæn. iii. 7. 1.

tained three chapels, with the same number of porticoes. The chapel of Erectheus, entered through a portico of six columns, faced the east, where stood the altar of supreme Zeus, never stained by blood or libations of wine. The pavement of this portion of the edifice was raised eight feet above the level of the other chapels. Here the piety of Athens had erected altars to Erectheus, Poseidon, Butas, and Hephaistos, and pictures dedicated by the sacred family of the Eteobutadæ adorned the walls. In a subterraneous chamber beneath the floor lay the mortal remains of Erichthonios, a man sprung in a mysterious manner from the gods. The Erectheion being about twenty-four feet square, some have imagined it must have been hypæthral, unless the stone blocks of the roof were supported by pillars. But the ancients employed slabs of much greater dimensions in building and roofing their temples; for at the Egyptian quarries of Hajjar Silsilis and Essouan we observed blocks from forty-two to seventy feet in length and of suitable proportions, while others equally vast had been removed. Volney, too, as the reader will remember, found masses of no less magnitude in the walls of Syrian temples: besides, several obelisks, now on their pedestals, fall little short of a hundred feet in height.

Between the Erectheion and the chapel of Athena Polias there was no door of communication. Having surveyed the former, therefore, the stranger again issued into the open air, and turning to the left entered the stately portico leading from the north into the temple of Pandrosos, where, constructed of Pentelic marble, stood the altar of frankincense. Passing this, and traversing the Pandrosion, he entered the ancient sanctuary of Athena, unwindowed and gloomy, whither not even that "dim religious light" which contends with obscurity in our gothic cathedrals could find its way. This is the case in many Egyptian temples where the adyta are totally dark. But sunshine and the splendour of day would ill have suited the mystic rites here celebrated; for which reason these sacred

recesses were lighted up with lamps, magnificent in form and materials, that shed a soft pale ray over the worshippers. The many-branched¹ golden candelabrum of Athena's sanctuary was furnished with asbestos wicks, and, according to the temple-wardens, of sufficient dimensions to contain oil for a whole year. Once lighted, therefore, it burned with perennial flame, and the smoke was received and conducted to the roof by a hollow bronze palm tree reversed.

This inextinguishable lamp was kindled and kept burning, through reverence for that antique image of Athena in wood of olive which constituted one of the palladia of Attica. In honour, moreover, of this primitive statue the Panathenaic procession is said to have been instituted, during which, like the vela-brum of the temple of Mekka, the peplos,² whatever this may have been, was dedicated with vast pomp and ceremony to the service of the goddess.

The principal argument, however, against supposing the peplos to have been designed for the gold and ivory statue of the Parthenon,—that it was not needed, is of very little weight. None of the ceremonies attending its presentation were necessary. The offering was a work of devotion; and however costly in itself and elaborately adorned, may have been simply designed to protect the image from dust and the action of the air. That Pheidias represented the goddess without her peplos, is no argument that his statue needed none, but the contrary. He may have omitted it expressly that it might be supplied by the piety of the state. Besides, the sculptured metopes of the Parthenon, representing the Panathenaic procession, are themselves a strong argument for connecting the presentation of the peplos and the other ceremonies of the festival with that more splendid structure and

¹ A conjecture of Müller, *Minerv. Pol.* v. 25.

² Antiquarians have formed many ingenious conjectures; but to me it appears evidently to have

been a female veil, such as Helenos in the *Iliad* (*σ.* 734) commands to be offered to the same goddess of citadels, by his mother and the other matrons of Troy.

image rather than with the Erectheion. As the Athenians supposed the Islands of the blessed and the dwelling-place of their gods to have been somewhere in the regions of the west, they were accustomed to pray with their faces turned in that direction;¹ and so also buried they their dead. For this reason, desiring to behold the countenance of their divinities during this religious service, the statues of the gods were generally set up with their faces eastward; and hence, too, the front of the temples looked in the same direction. This was the case with the olive-wood image of Athena Polias; and in the reign of Augustus the Athenians, rendered more superstitious than ever by their misfortunes, were vehemently terrified on finding that the goddess had turned her back upon them,² as if preparing to seek her ancient home in the Atlantic Ocean. But her real presence had forsaken the city long before the battle of Chæroneia.

But Athena, though the principal, was not the sole inhabitant of her sanctuary. On one side of the door stood a phallic statue of Hermes, originally set up by the Pelasgians,³ and in later ages nearly concealed by a profusion of myrtle branches. Here, also, in a very extraordinary inmate were found traces of that animal worship which extended so widely over the ancient world. In a den constructed for its use lived a great serpent, considered as the guardian of the temple, and supposed to be animated by the soul of Erichthonios, who here performed the part assigned in the fane of Demeter to Cadmos, likewise believed to have undergone a similar transformation after death. The snake-god of the Acropolis received its daily sustenance from the priestess of Athena; and once every month was propitiated with pious offerings of cakes of the purest honey.⁴ Relics of this worship are still found

¹ Plut. Sol. § 10. Visconti, Mem. p. 18. Müll. Minerv. Pol. p. 27.

² Dion. Cass. iv. 7.

³ Herod. ii. 51.

⁴ Herod. viii. 41. Combe, Terra-cottas of the British Museum, pl. 28. Petit. Radel, Musée Napol. iv. 33.

in Egypt. In a deep chasm, among the wild rocky mountains on the Arabian side of the Nile, we were shown a fissure in a hermit's cell, whence a large reptile of this species is said to issue forth at stated days to receive the offerings of food brought him by the neighbouring peasants. This creature, as well as the guardian of the Athenian Temple, is supposed to possess a human soul, that of the holy Sheikh Haridi.

Like most other Hellenic sanctuaries, the chapel of the goddess was a kind of museum filled with memorials of Athenian victories and other remarkable objects. Here were shown curious or beautiful specimens of arms or armour, taken from the enemy; among which were the breast-plate and scimitar of Masistios,¹ commander of the Median cavalry at the battle of Plataea. Close beside these warlike memorials, stood a folding camp-stool, the invention, it was said, and workmanship of Dædalos; the archetype of all those portable seats borne after the maidens of Attica by the daughters of aliens in the grand Panathenaic procession.

Not the least interesting portion of this extraordinary edifice dedicated to the worship of so many gods and heroes, was the small chapel of Pandrosos, where Pandora and Thallo were said to have lived, and where the ashes of Cecrops reposed. Here dwelt

¹ Paus. i. 27. 1. The Athenians in the age of this traveller confounded, it seems, Masistios with Mardonios, nothing very extraordinary several hundred years after the event referred to. Pausanias speaks of it as a mistake; Mr. Müller, who is less ceremonious, as a falsehood. Minerv. Pol. 29. The passion for relics, which led to the preservation of these objects, existed in all its whimsicality among the ancients. But they were scarcely so ingenious as the Roman Catholics of the continent, whose sacred treasures include a number of feathers

from the wings of the angel Gabriel, a small bone of one of the cherubim, and a few rays of the star by which the wise men of the East were led to Bethlehem. They have also a small phial, containing some of the darkness that overspread the land of Egypt. (Cf. Fabric. ad Cod. Pseud. epigr. v. i. p. 93. t. 11. and Christophori Carmen, ap Boissonade ad Eunap, p. 277. seq.) In the temples of antiquity relics nearly as curious were preserved: they had an egg of Leda, possibly, as Lobeck conjectures, an ostrich's (Aglaoph. i. 52; Paus. iii. 16.

the priestess, shut up for several months with the Ersephoræ. This cella may, therefore, be said to have belonged not only to Pandrosos, who was one of the earliest ministers of these rites, but to all who from her received the office. The building opened on the south into a portico, adorned with Caryatides instead of columns, and filled with ceremonial and religious associations. Here grew the Pancuphos, or sacred olive tree, which, burned by the Persians, shot up a cubit in a single night, and was thought to be endued with the power of undying vegetation, for, if the trunk were cut down, new shoots immediately succeeded. Near the sacred olive was the salt well, called the sea of Erechtheus, which Poseidon is said to have produced by smiting the rock with his trident. In the hollow of this fountain, during the prevalence of the south wind, a sound like the murmuring of the waves was supposed to be heard. This well has not been discovered in modern times; but in another part of the citadel there existed a spring of brackish water, known by the name of the Clepsydra, which, about the rising of the dog-star, while the Etesian winds were blowing, overflowed; but on their cessation again subsided.¹

1); the teeth of the Erymanthean boar (Paus. viii. 24. 2), whose spoils were also shown at Tegea (Lucian adv. Indoct. § 13); the teeth of the Calydonian boar were preserved at Beneventum (Procop. Bell. Goth. i. 15. 349. c); they had also the sword of Memnon (Paus. iii. 8. 6); the iron spear of Epeios (Justin. xx. 7), the brazen vessel in which Pelias was boiled, the arrows of Teucer, the chlamys of Odysseus, were preserved in the temple of Apollo at Sicyon. (Ampel. Memor. viii. 68. Beckm. Hist. of Invent. ii. 364. Germ. in Lobeck.) In the Troad the anvils were shown which Zeus suspended to the heels of Hera, when he hung her up be-

tween heaven and earth (Eustath. p. 15. l. 30); here, too, anyone might see the cithara of Paris. (Plut. Alex. § 15.) Like the Catholics, too, they showed the same thing in two or three places; for example, the hair of Isis might be seen at Koptos (Etym. Mag. v. Κόπτος, 522. 12), and at Memphis. (Luc. adv. Ind. § 13.) The Romans, according to Horace (Carm. ii. 3. 21), possessed the bronze wash-hand-basin of Sisypheus. A much more extensive list may be found in Beckmann, Hist. of Inven. ii. 42. seq. Eng. Tr.

¹ This fountain was likewise called Empedo. — Sch. Arist. Vesp. 857. I may here men-

We have perhaps too long lingered among the dusky recesses of this ancient fane, spell-bound by the charms of a beautiful mythology. We emerge now into the light of history, and approach that matchless structure erected by Ictinos where the Athenian people offered up their daily prayers to heaven.¹ The Parthenon occupies the most elevated platform of the Acropolis, the pavement of its peristyle being on a level with the capitals of the columns of the Propylæa. It was constructed entirely of white Pentelic marble,² and consisted of a cella surrounded by a Doric peristyle having eight columns on either front, and seventeen on the sides. These pillars, thirty-four feet in height, sprang from a pavement elevated three steps above the rocky platform, from whence the total height of the building was about sixty-five feet. The arrangement of the interior like that of the great temples of Egypt had reference rather to utility and the convenience of public worship, than to the effect which long ranges of lofty pillars, extending through unencumbered space, would have produced upon the mind: for the cella, sixty-two feet in breadth, was divided into two chambers of unequal size,—the western about forty-four feet in length, the eastern nearly one hundred. In both these chambers the ceiling was supported by columns.

Colonel Leake, to whose elaborate work I beg to refer the reader desirous of entering into minute details, concludes his general description as follows:—
“Such was the simple construction of this magnificent

tion, by the way, that most ancient cities were supplied with water by pipes underground, as Syracuse.—Thucyd. vi. 100. Cf. Sch. Arist. Achar. 1145.

¹ It is worthy of remark that from this temple all persons of Doric race were excluded. King Cleomenes, therefore, when desirous of obtaining admission, denied his birth-right, and called himself an Achæan.—Herod. v. 72.

² The quarries of this mountain, worked to so great an extent by the ancients, are now filling again with marble which grows rapidly.—Chandler, ii. 191. Cf. Magius, Var. Lect. t. iv. 182. b. Gemme Fisica Sotterranea, l. 1. c. ix. § 6. p. 87.—For the manner in which it is thought to vegetate, see Tournefort, i. pp. 225. 228. sqq.

“building, which, by its united excellencies of mate-
 “rials, design, and decoration was the most perfect
 “ever erected. Its dimensions of two hundred and
 “twenty-eight feet by a hundred and two, with a
 “height of sixty-eight feet to the top of the pediment,
 “were sufficiently great to give an impression of gran-
 “deur and sublimity, which was not disturbed by any
 “obtrusive division of parts, such as is found to dimi-
 “nish the effect of some larger modern buildings. In
 “the Parthenon, whether viewed at a small or at a great
 “distance, there was nothing to divert the spectator’s
 “contemplation from the simplicity and majesty of
 “mass and outline which forms the first and most re-
 “markable object of admiration in a Greek temple;
 “and it was not until the eye was satiated with the
 “contemplation of the entire edifice that the spectator
 “was tempted to examine the decorations with which
 “this building was so profusely adorned; for the sta-
 “tues of the pediments the only elevation which was
 “very conspicuous by its magnitude and position, being
 “enclosed within frames, which formed an essential
 “part of the design of either front, had no more ob-
 “trusive effect than an ornamental capital has to a
 “single column.”¹

That object of art, whatever its dimensions, is suf-
 ficiently great, which fills the mind with high ideas of
 grandeur and beauty. There is, moreover, in mere
 size, a point, beyond which if we proceed, the eye will
 fail to grasp the whole at a glance, and create a feel-
 ing of want of unity; but, in proportion as we fall
 short of that point will be our sense of the absence of
 sublimity. In this predicament, perhaps, the temples
 of Greece too generally stood. Considerations of ex-
 pense, which in the end affected their habits of think-
 ing, cramped the ideas of the architects, or forced
 them to direct their studies towards beauty of form
 unconnected with that grandeur which springs out of
 mass and elevation.

¹ Topog. of Athens. pp. 211, 212. See also Chandler, ii. 49. sqq.

Among the barbarous nations of the East, where the whole resources of the country lay at the disposal of the monarch or of the priestly caste, as in Hindûstân, Persia, and Egypt, full scope, on the contrary, was given to the imagination of the architect, who, if his invention were equal to it, might give his structures the elevation of a mountain and the spaciousness of a vast city. Hence, the grandeur arising from magnitude, is, in most cases, found to belong to the sacred edifices of Egypt;¹ and in some instances a feeling of symmetry, a sense of the beautiful, appears to have restrained the artist within due bounds, as in the great temple of Apollinopolis Magna, which, whatever may be the imperfections of its architectural details, is invested, as a whole, with an air of genuine magnificence and sublimity. Proceeding from the contemplation of these to the religious structures of Greece, there would be found, I imagine, in most minds a slight feeling of disappointment, and though afterwards, the delight imparted by the presence of extreme beauty,—a delight serene, soft, and inexpressibly soothing, may more than compensate for the want of awe and wondering admiration, their absence will still be felt.

But to proceed : in rich and elaborate decorations the Parthenon resembled the temple of Tentyris. Every part of its exterior, where ornament was admissible, presented to the eye some creation of Hellenic taste and fancy, figures in high and low relief, grouped in action or repose, conceived and executed in a style worthy of the prince of the mimetic art.² Many wrecks of these matchless compositions are now protected from further defacements in the metropolis of Great Britain, but withal so mutilated and decayed that none but a practised eye can discern, through the ravages of age, all the sunshine of beauty and loveli-

¹ Of these temples Lucian says: *ὁμοίαι . . . τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἱεροῖς : κἀκεῖ γὰρ, αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ νεῶς κάλλιστός τε καὶ μέγιστος, λίθοις τοῖς πολυτελέσιν ἡσκημένος, καὶ χρυσῷ, καὶ γραφαῖς διηνηθισμένος.*

ἔνδον δὲ ἦν ζητῆς τὸν θεὸν ἢ πιθηκός ἔστιν, ἢ ἵβις, ἢ τράγος, ἢ αἴλουρος. Imagin. § 11.

² Vid. Müll. De Parthenon. Fastig. p. 72, sqq.

ness which beamed from them when fresh from the Pheidian chisel. One of the greatest works of this artist filled the interior of the Parthenon with the emanations of its beauty, the statue of Athena in ivory and gold,¹ which, representing a form distinguished for all the softness and roundness belonging to womanhood, and a countenance radiant with the highest intellect, must in some respects have borne away the palm from the Olympian Zeus; for in the latter, after all, nothing beyond masculine energy, dignity, majesty could have existed. These indeed were so blended, so subdued into a glorious and god-like serenity, that this creation of human genius, like the august being of which it was a mute type, possessed in a degree the celestial power of chasing away sadness and sorrow, and shedding benignity and happiness over all who beheld it.² But for men at least, the Zeus must have lacked some attributes possessed by the Athena. She was in all her ethereal loveliness, a woman still, but without a woman's weakness, or a single taint of earth. The Athenians paid the highest possible compliment to womanhood when they gave wisdom a female form; and the delicacy of the thought was enhanced by surrounding this mythological creation with an atmosphere of purity which no other divinity of the pagan heaven could lay claim to. Nor in beauty did Athena yield even to Aphrodite herself. Her charms partook indeed of that noble severity which belongs to virtue; and to intimate that she was rather of heaven than of earth, her eyes were of the colour of the firmament. Yet this spiritual elevation above the reach of the passions, only appears to have enhanced, in the estimation of the Athenians, the splendour of her personal beauty, which shed its chastening and ennobling influence among her worshippers like the droppings of a summer cloud.

¹ Thucyd. ii. 13. Schol. t. v. p. 375. Bipont. Müll. De Phid. Vit. p. 22.

² Arrian. Epict. I. 6. p. 27, seq.

According to Philochoros,¹ this colossus was set up during the archonship of Theodoros, that is, in the third year of the eighty-fifth Olympiad. The Athenians, it has been ingeniously conjectured, seized for the dedication of the statue, on the period of the celebration of the most gorgeous festival in their calendar, the greater Panathenaia, which like a kind of jubilee occurred but once in an Olympiad.² What length of time Pheidias employed in finishing this statue we possess no means of determining; but as the Parthenon itself is supposed not to have been completed in less than ten years, the artist need not have been hurried in his work.³

In the temple of Zeus at Olympia and in every sacred structure we visited in Egypt and Nubia, there was a staircase conducting to the roof. No positive testimony remains to prove this to have been the case in the Parthenon, though antiquarians, with much probability, have supposed it to have been so.⁴ Let us therefore assume the fact, and ascending to the summit of the edifice survey the surrounding scene and the superb city encircling the rock at our feet. Few landscapes in the world are more rich or varied, none more deeply interesting. History has peopled every spot within the circle of vision with spirit-stirring associations; or if history has passed over any, there has poetry been busy, building up her legends from the scattered fragments of tradition. Carrying our eye along the distant edge of the horizon we behold the promontory of Sunium, Ægina rising out of the Myrtoan sea, Trœzen, the birth-place of Theseus the national hero, the mountains of Argolis, the hostile citadel of Corinth, with Phylæ and Deceleia rendered too famous by the Peloponnesian war. Nearer the shore is "sea-born" Salamis, and that low headland where the barba-

¹ Frag. ed. Siebel. p. 54. Müll. Phid. Vit. § 11. p. 22.

² Boeckh. Corp. Inscip. p. 182.

³ Quatremère de Quincy, Jup. Olymp. p. 222.

⁴ Leake, Topog. p. 215.

rian took his seat to view the battle in the straits. Yonder at the extremity of the long walls are the ports of Munychia, Phaleron and Peiræus; on our left is Hymettos with its bee swarms and odoriferous slopes;¹ to the right Colonos, the grove of the terrible Erinnyes, and the chasm in the rock by which the wretched Œdipus, having reached the end of his career, descended to the infernal world.² Beyond lies Eleusis and the Sacred Way.³ Yonder in the midst of groves is the Academy; here is the Cerameicos⁴ filled with the monuments which the republic erected to its heroes, there the Cynosarges and the Lyceium. The hill of Areiopagos, contiguous to the rock of the Acropolis, divides the Pnyx from the Agora planted by Conon with plane trees. Near at hand, encircled by ordinary dwellings, are the Leocorion, the temple of Theseus, the Odeion, the Stoa Poecile, and the Dionysiac theatre, with various other monuments remarkable for their beauty or historical importance.⁵

¹ About half a mile from Athens in this direction was a temple of Artemis (Ἄρτα), on the Ilissos, with an altar to Boreas; where, according to the fable, the god carried away Orithyia while playing on the rock with Pharmacia.—Plat. Phæd. i. 7. In consequence of the alliance thus contracted Boreas always felt a particular friendship for the Athenians, to whose succour he hastened with his aerial forces during the Median war.—Herod. vii. 189.

² Antigone, in Sophocles, (Œdip. Col. 14—18) speaks of the towers of Athens as seen from Colonos, and describes that vil-

lage, the birth-place of the poet, as rendered beautiful by the sacred grove of the Eumenides, consisting of the laurel, the olive, and the vine, in which a choir of nightingales showered their music on the ear.

³ Near this road stood the Hieria Suke. Athen. iii. 6.

⁴ Κεραμεικός, ἀπὸ τοῦ κεραμεύς. Etym. Mag. 504. 16. Cf. Suid. et Harpocrat. in voce. Paris, in like manner, has given the name of Tuileries to its principal palaces and gardens, from the tiles (*tuiles*) which were anciently manufactured on the spot.

⁵ Strab. ix. 1. 239—241.

CHAPTER V.

CAPITAL CITIES OF GREECE.—SPARTA.

FROM what has been said, the reader will, perhaps, have acquired a tolerably correct idea of the city of Athens, its splendour and extent. But the remaining fragments of Hellenic literature do not enable us to be equally clear or copious in our account of Sparta.¹ In fact so imperfect and confused is the information that has come down to us respecting it, so vague, unsatisfactory, and in many respects contradictory are the opinions of modern scholars and travellers, that after diligently and patiently examining their accounts, and comparing them with the descriptions of Pausanias, the hints of Xenophon, Livy, Polybius, and Plutarch, with the casual references of the poets, I am enabled to offer the following picture only as a series of what appear to me probable conjectures based upon a few indisputable facts.

The reader who has endeavoured to discover anything like order in Pausanias' topography of Sparta,² will fully comprehend the difficulty of constructing from his information anything like an intelligible plan

¹ The plan which accompanies the present chapter, based on the description of Pausanias, agrees in many of the main points with that given by Mr. Müller in his map of the Peloponnesos. M. Barbie du Bocage's Essay on the Topography of Sparta, upon the whole faulty, is, nevertheless, in my opinion, right with respect to the portion of the bridge Babyx which Mr. Müller throws over the Tiasa, contrary to all the reasonable inferences to be de-

rived from history. Colonel Leake's plan, given in his travels in the Morea, conveys a different idea of Spartan topography; but I am unable to reconcile his views with the account of the city in Pausanias, though I very much regret that the plan I have adopted should not be recommended by the support of a writer so learned and so ingenious.

² III. 11—20. Cf. Polyb. v. 22. Liv. xxxiv. 26. seq.

of the city. Nevertheless, by setting out from a fixed point, by laboriously studying the thread of his narration, by divining the secret order he seems to follow in enumerating and delineating the various public buildings of which he speaks, and by comparing his fragmentary disclosures with the present physiognomy of the site, I have formed a conception of the features of ancient Sparta which may, perhaps, be found to bear some resemblance to the original.

We will suppose ourselves to have passed the Eurotas, and to be standing on the summit of the loftiest building of the Acropolis, the Alpion for example, or the temple of Athena Chalciæcos,¹ from which we can command a view of the whole site of Sparta from the Eurotas, where it flows between banks shaded with reeds and lofty rose laurels² on the east, to the brisk sparkling stream of the Tiasa, and the roots of the Taygetos on the west. North and south the eye ranges up and down the valley,³ discovering in the latter direction the ancient cities of Therapne⁴ and Amyclæ,⁵ celebrated for their poetical and heroic associations. Beyond the Eurotas eastward, occupying the green and well-wooded acclivities upwards, from

¹ In the precincts of this temple, evidently the strongest place in the city, the Ætolian mercenaries took refuge after the assassination of Nabis.—Liv. xxxv. 36.

² Plut. Instit. Lacon. § 10. Chateaubriand, Itin. xi. 110. Pouqueville's description of the stream is striking and picturesque: "The banks," he says, "are bordered with never-fading laurels, which, inclining towards each other, form an arch over its waters, and seem still consecrated to the deities of whom its purity is a just emblem; while swans, even of a more dazzling whiteness than the snows that cover the mountain-tops above, are constantly sailing up and down the stream."—Travels,

p. 84. The Viscount Chateaubriand, however, sought in vain for these poetical birds, and, therefore, evidently considers them fabulous.

³ Strabo's brief description of the site deserves to be mentioned: ἔστι μὲν οὖν ἐν κοιλοτέρῳ χωρίῳ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἔδαφος, καί περ ἀπολαμβάνον ὄρη μεταξύ. viii. 5. t. ii. p. 185. ⁴ Xen. Hellen. v. 5. 2.

⁵ At this ancient city Castor and Polydeukes were worshipped not as heroes but as divinities. Isoc. Encom. Helen. § 27. Cf. Pind. Pyth. xi. 60, sqq. Nem. x. 56. Dissen supposes these tombs to have been vaults underground in the Phœbaion.—Comm. p. 508.

the banks of the stream towards the barren and red-tinted heights of the Menelaion,¹ lay scattered the villas of the noble Spartans, filled with costly furniture and every other token of wealth,² while here and there, on all sides, embosomed in groves or thickets, arose the temples and chapels of the gods surrounded by a halo of sanctity and communicating peculiar beauty to the landscape.

Contracting now our circle of vision, and contemplating the distinct villages or groups of buildings of which the capital of Laconia anciently consisted,³ we behold the encampments as it were of the five tribes, extending in a circle about the Acropolis.⁴ The quarter of the Pitanaetæ,⁵ commencing about the Issorion and the bridge over the Tiasa on the west, extended eastward beyond the Hyacinthine road⁶ to the cliffs overhanging the valley of the Eurotas above the confluence of that river with the Tiasa. Immediately contiguous to the dwellings of this tribe in the north eastern division of the city, opposite that cloven island in the Eurotas, which contained the temple of Artemis, Orthia, and the Goddess of Birth, dwelt the Limnaetæ,⁷ who possessed among them the temple erected by the Spartans to Lycurgus. North again of these, and clustering around that sharp eminence which constituted as it were a second Acropolis, were the habitations of the Cynosuræ,⁸ whose quarter appears to have extended

¹ Steph. de Urb. v. Μενέλαος, p. 551, a. Berkel.—Polyb. v. 22.

² Xen. Hellen. vi. 5. 27.

³ Thucyd. i. 10.

⁴ See Müller, Dor. ii. 48.

⁵ Paus. Olymp. vi. 27. Diss. ἡ Πιτάνη φυλή. Hesych. Cf. Herod. iii. 55. ix. 53. Eurip. Troad. 1101. Thucyd. I. 20. et schol. Plut. de Exil. § 6. Apophth. Lacon. Miscell. 48. Plin. H. N. iv. 8. Athen. i. 57. Near this κώμη were the villages of CEnos, Onoglae and Stathmæ, celebrated for their wines.

⁶ Athen. iv. 74.

⁷ Strab. viii. 4. p. 184. 5. p. 187. The marshes existing in this quarter anciently had been drained by the age of Strabo:—ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γε μέρος αὐτοῦ λιμνάζει· τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ἐλίμναζε τὸ προάστειον, καὶ ἐκάλουν αὐτὸ Λίμνας· καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου ἱερὸν ἐν Λίμναις ἐφ' ὕγρου βεβήκος ἐτύγγανε· νῦν δ' ἐπὶ ξηροῦ τὴν ἰδρύσιν ἔχει. 5. p. 185. seq.

⁸ Hesych. in v. Berkel. ad Steph. Byzant. p. 490. Schol. ad Callim.

from the old bridge over the Eurotas to the temple of Dictynna, and the tombs of the Euripontid kings on the west. From this point to the Dromos, lying directly opposite the southern extremity of the Isle of Plane Trees, formed by the diverging and confluent waters of the Tiasa, lay the village of the Messoatæ,¹ where were situated the tomb of Alcman, the fountain Dorcea, and a very beautiful portico overlooking the Platanistas. The road extending from the Dromos to the Issorion formed the western limits of the tribe of the Ægidæ,² whose quarter extending inward to the heart of the city, appears to have comprehended the Acropolis, the Lesche Pœcile, the theatre, with all the other buildings grouped about the foot of the ancient city.

The prospect presented by all these villages, nearly touching each other, and comprehended within a circle of six Roman miles, was once, no doubt, in the days of Spartan glory, singularly animated and picturesque. The face of the ground was broken and diversified, rising into six hills of unequal elevation, and constituting altogether a small table-land, in some places terminating in perpendicular cliffs;³ in others, shelving away in gentle slopes to meet the meadows on the banks of the surrounding streams. Over all was diffused the brilliant light⁴ which fills the atmosphere of the south, and paints, as travellers uniformly

in Dian. 94. Spanh. Observ. in loc. p. 196.

¹ Steph de Urb. in v. p. 554. b. who refers to Strabo (viii. 6. p. 187). The words of the geographer are Μεσόαν δ' οὐ τῆς χώρας εἶναι μέρος, τῆς Σπάρτης δὲ καθάπερ καὶ τὸ Λιμναῖον. Paus. vii. 20. 8.

² Herod iv. 149.

³ Leake, Trav. in Morea, v. i. p. 154.

⁴ Cf. Chateaub. Itin. i. 112. Similar, also, is the testimony of

Mr. Douglas. "The mixture of the romantic with the rich, which still diversifies its aspect, and the singularly picturesque form of all its mountains, do not allow us to wonder that even Virgil should generally desert his native Italy for the landscape of Greece; whoever has viewed it in the tints of a Mediterranean spring, will agree with me in attributing much of the Grecian genius to the influence of scenery and climate." Essay, &c. p. 52.

confess, even the barren crag and crumbling ruin with beauty.

The structures that occupied the summit of the Acropolis appear to have been neither numerous nor magnificent. The central pile, around which all the others were grouped, was the temple of Athena Chalciæcos,¹ flanked on the north and south by the fanes of Zeus Cosmetas and the Muses. Behind it rose the temple of Aphrodite Areia, with that of Artemis Cnagia, and in front various other edifices and statues, dedicated to Euryleonis, Pausanias, Athena Ophthalmitis, and Ammon. Somewhere in the neighbourhood of the temenos of Athena stood two edifices, one called Skenoma and the other Alpion. The relative position of all these it is now extremely difficult, if not impossible, to determine. Let us therefore descend into the agora, and having briefly described the objects which there offered themselves to the eye of the stranger, endeavour to thread our way through the various streets of Sparta, pointing out as we go along the most remarkable monuments it contained.

In all Greek cities the point of greatest importance, next to the citadel, was the market-place, where the body of the citizens assembled not only to buy and sell, but to transact public business, and perform many ceremonies of their religion. Thus, in the agora of Sparta, in the centre of which probably stood an altar, surrounded by the statues of Apollo, Artemis, Leto, and the soothsayer Hagias who foretold the victory of Lysander at Ægospotamos, sacred chorusses and processions were exhibited during the Gymnopædia in honour of Phœbos Apollo, in consequence of which, a part at least of the place obtained the name of Choros: here, likewise, was a colossal statue, erected in honour of the Spartan Demos, with a group representing Hermes bearing the infant Dionysos in his arms, and a statue of King Polydoros, doubtless set up in the neighbourhood of his house, Boonetos,

¹ Plut. Apophtheg. Lacon. Archid. 6. Lycurg. 7.

lying between the street Aphetæ and the steep road leading up to the citadel. The edifices by which the agora was encircled, though in most cases, perhaps, far from magnificent, when separately considered, presented a grand *coup-d'œil*. This will be made evident if, placing ourselves near the central altar, we enumerate and briefly describe them in the order in which they followed each other in the great circle of the agora. First, beginning on the right-hand corner of the street Aphetæ we behold the palace of the Bidiaï, the five magistrates who watched over the education of the youth; next succeeds that of the Nomophylaces, or guardians of the laws; then that of the Ephori; and, lastly, the senate-house, standing at the corner of the street leading to Therapne. Crossing over to the south-eastern side of the Agora we behold a spacious and stately portico called the Persian, because erected from the spoils of the Persians. Its columns of white marble were adorned with bassi relievi representing Persian warriors, among others Mardonios and Artemisia daughter of Lygdamis queen of Halicarnassos, who fought in person at the battle of Salamis. Beyond the road to Amyclæ, we meet with a range of temples to Gaia, Zeus Agoræos, Athena, Poseidon the Preserver, Apollo, and Hera; and traversing the western street opening into the Theomelida, and affording us a glimpse in passing of the tombs of the Agid kings we arrive at the ancient halls of the Ephori, containing the monuments of Epimenides and Aphareus. To this edifice succeed the statues of Zeus Xenios and Athena Xenia. Next follows the temple of the Fates, near which was the tomb of Orestes lying on the left hand of the road leading to the sanctuary of Athena Chalcicæcos. On the other side stands the house of King Polydoros, which obtained in after ages the name of Boonetos because purchased of his widowed queen with a certain number of oxen. With this terminates the list of the buildings by which the Agora was encompassed.

Quitting, now, this central point, we proceed northward through the street called Aphetæ, and observe on the right hand at a short distance from each other three temples of Athena Keleuthia, together with the heroa of Iops, Lelex, and Amphiaraos. On the opposite side apparently, stood the temenos of Tænarian Poseidon, with a statue of Athena, erected by the Dorian colonists of Italy. We next arrive at a place called the Hellenion, probably nothing more than a large open space or square in which the deputies or ambassadors of foreign states assembled on extraordinary occasions. Close to this was erected the monument of Talthybios. A little further on were the altar of Apollo Acreitas, the Gasepton, a temple of earth, and another altar sacred to Apollo Maleates. At the end of the street, near the walls of the late city, was a temple of Dictynna, with the tombs of the kings called Eurypontidæ.

Returning to the Hellenion, and proceeding eastward up the great public road leading to the bridge Babyx, you saw the temple of Arsinoë, daughter of Leucippos, and sister to the wives of Castor and Polydeukes. Further on, near the Phrouria or Barriers, stood a temple of Artemis; and advancing a little you came to the monument of the Eleian soothsayers called Iamidæ, and the temple of Maron and Alpheios, who were among the bravest of those who fell with Leonidas at Thermopylæ. Beyond this stood the fane of Zeus Tropæos erected after the reduction of Amyclæ, when all the ancient inhabitants of Laconia had been brought under the yoke of the Dorians. Next followed the temple of the Great Mother and the heroic monuments of Hippolytos and Aulon. On a spot commanding the bridge stood the temple of Athena Alea.

Setting out once more from the Agora, and advancing up the street leading towards the east the first building on the left-hand was called Skias¹ con-

¹ Σκιάς, τὸ ψδεῖον ἐκαλεῖτο ἀρχαίαν φωνήν. κ. τ. λ.—Etym. τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατὰ τὴν Mag. 717. 36. seq.

tiguous to the senate-house: it was of a circular form with a roof like an umbrella, and erected about seven hundred and sixty years before Christ, by Theodoros of Samos, inventor of the art of casting statues in iron. Here the Spartan people held their assemblies even so late as the age of Pausanias, who relates that the lyre of Timotheus¹ the Milesian, confiscated as a punishment for his having added four strings to the seven already in use, was suspended in this building as a warning to all innovators. Near the Skias was another circular building erected by Epimenides, containing statues of Olympian Zeus and Aphrodite. On the other side apparently of the street, in front of the Skias, were the tombs of Idas and Lynceus, the temple of Kora Soteira, said to have been built by Orpheus, or Abaris the Hyperboræan, the tomb of Cynortas and the temple of Castor. Near these were the statues of Apollo Carneios, and Aphetæos, the latter of which marked the point whence the suitors of Penelope started in their race for a wife, running up the street Aphetæ, whence the name. Immediately beyond this was a square surrounded with porticoes, where all kinds of cheap wares were anciently sold. Further on stood altars of Zeus, Athena, and the Dioscuri, all surnamed Amboulíoi; opposite which was the hill called Colona whereon was erected a temple of Dionysos, and close at hand a temenos sacred to the hero who conducted the god to Sparta. Not far from the Dionysion was a temple of Zeus Euanemos, giver of gentle breezes; and immediately to the right the heroon of Pleuron. On the summit of a hill at a little distance stood a temple of the Argive Hera, together with the fane erected in honour of Hera *Hypercheiria*, built by order of the oracle after the subsiding of an inundation of the Eurotas. In this edifice was a very ancient wooden statue of Aphrodite Hera. Close to the road which passed to

¹ Cf. Plut. *Agis*, § 10.

the right of the hill was a statue of Etymocles many times victor in the Olympic games. In descending towards the Eurotas you beheld a wooden statue of Athena Alea, and a little above the banks a temple of Zeus Plousios. On the further side of the river were temples of Ares and Asclepios.

Once more retracing our steps to the Agora, and quitting it by a street leading towards the west, the first remarkable object that struck the eye was the cenotaph of Brasidas, and a little beyond it a spacious and beautiful theatre of white marble.¹ Directly opposite were the tombs of Leonidas and Pausanias, and near these a cippus, on which were engraved the names of the heroes who fell at Thermopylæ, together with those of their fathers. At this spot games were annually celebrated, in which none but Spartans were allowed to contend for the prizes. Discourses were likewise here pronounced in honour of the dead. The multitudes at these games required a large clear space in which to congregate, and this I suppose to have been the place called Theomelida, opening on both sides of the road, and extending as far as the tombs of the Agid Kings, and the Lesche of the Crotoniatæ. Near this edifice stood the temple of Asclepios, the tomb of Tænaros, and temples of Poseidon Hippiocouros, and Artemis Ægeinea. Turning back towards the Lesche, probably round the foot of the Hill of the Issorion,² you observed on the slope of the eminence towards the Tiasa the temple of Artemis Limnæa the Britomartis of the Cretans, somewhere in the vicinity of which were temples of Thetis, Chthonian Demeter, and Olympian Zeus.

Starting from the crossroad at the north-west foot

¹ This theatre, as Mr. Douglas has observed, is the only remaining fragment of ancient Sparta, the other ruins still visible on its site, belonging all to Roman times. —Essay on certain Points of Resemblance between the Ancient and Modern Greeks, p. 23.

² Ἰσώριον, ὅρος τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἀπ' οὗ ἡ Ἀρτεμις Ἰσσωρία. —Steph. Byz. in v. 426. d. with the note of Berkel. Cf. Hesych. in v. Polyæn. Strat. ii. 1. 14. Plut. Agesil. § 32.

of the Issorion, on the way to the Dromos, the first edifice which presented itself on the left was the monument of Eumedes, one of the sons of Hippocoon. A little further on was a statue of Heracles, and close at hand, near the entrance to the Dromos, stood the ancient palace of Menelaos, inhabited in Pausanias' time by a private individual. Within the Dromos itself were two gymnasia. This was the most remarkable building in the western part of the city, from whence branched off many streets, while numerous public structures clustered round it; to the north, for example, the temples of the Dioscuri, of the Graces, of Eileithyia, of Apollo Carneios, and Artemis Hegemona: on the east the temple of Asclepios Agnitas, and a trophy erected by Polydeukes after his victory over Lynceus. On the west towards the Platanistas were statues of the Dioscuri Apheterii, and a little further was the heroon of Alcon, near which stood the temple of Poseidon Domatites, near the bridge leading over to the island covered with plane trees. On the other hand apparently of the road a statue was erected to Cynisca, daughter of Archidamos, the first lady who ran horses at Olympia.

Along the banks of the Tiasa from the Dromos to a line extending westward from the temple of Dictynna to the upper bridge leading to the Platanistas, lay a road adorned with numerous public buildings, among others a portico, behind which were two remarkable monuments, the heroa of Alcimos and Enaræphoros. Immediately beyond were the heroa of Dorceus and Sebro, and the fountain Dorcea flowing between them. The whole of this little quarter obtained from the latter hero the name of Sebrion. To the right of the last mentioned heroon was the monument of the poet Alcman;¹ beyond which lay the temple of Helen, and near it that of Heracles close to the modern wall.

¹ Ἀλκμάν, Λάκων ἀπὸ Μεσσοῦ.—He was an erotic poet said to have been descended from ser-

vile parents.—Suid. i. p. 178. ed. Port.

Hard by a narrow pathway, striking into the fields from the road leading eastward from the Dromos, was the temple of Athena Axiopænos, said to have been erected by Heracles.

Leaving the Dromos by another road running in a south-easterly direction through the midst of the quarter of the Ægidæ, we behold, on one hand, the temples of Athena and Hipposthenes, and directly opposite the latter, a statue of Ares in chains. At a short distance beyond these was the Lesche Pœcile, and in front of it, the heroon of Cadmos son of Agenor, those of two of his descendants, Œolycos and his son Ægeus, and that of Amphilocos. Farther on lay the temples of Hera Ægophagos, so called because she-goats were sacrificed to her, and at the foot of the Acropolis, near the theatre, the temples of Poseidon Genethlios, on either side of which probably stood an heroon, the one sacred to Cleodæos son of Hyllos, and the other to Œebalos.

We must now return to the Lesche Pœcile, and following a road skirting round the hill of the Acropolis, towards the east-south-east, pass by the monument of Teleclos, and the most celebrated of all the temples of Asclepios at Sparta, situated close to the Boonetos. Traversing the street Aphetæ and proceeding along the road leading to the Limnæ, the first temple on the left was that of Aphrodite, on a hill, celebrated by Pausanias for having two stories. The statue of the goddess was here seated, veiled and fettered. A little beyond was the temple of Hilæira and Phœbe wherein were statues of the two goddesses, the countenance of one of which was painted and adorned by one of the priestesses according to the later rules of art, but warned by a dream she suffered the other to remain in its archaic simplicity. Here was preserved an egg adorned with fillets and suspended from the roof, said to have been brought forth by Leda. In a building near at hand, certain women wove annually a tunic for the Apollo of Amyclæ, from which cir-

cumstance the edifice itself obtained the name of Chiton. Next followed the house of the Tyndaridæ, the heroa of Chilon and Athenæus, and the temple of Lycurgus, with the tomb of Eucosmos behind it. Near them was the altar of Lathria and Anaxandra, and directly opposite the monuments of Theopompos and Eurybiades and Astrabacos. In an island in the marshes were the temple and altar of Artemis Orthia, and the fane of Eileithyia.

On the road leading from the Agora to Amyclæ¹ there were few remarkable monuments. One only, the temple of the Graces, is mentioned north of the Tiasa, and beyond it the Hippodrome; towards the west the temple of the Tyndaridæ near the road, and that of Poseidon Gaiouchos towards the river.²

Let us now consider the proofs on which the above description is based. Pausanias informs us that the citadel was the highest of the hills of Sparta. Colonel Leake observes that the eminence found in the quarter which I have assigned to the Cynosuræ is equal in height to that immediately behind the theatre; but the former is pointed and appears to have retained its natural shape, while the summit of the latter has been levelled for building. Now if its height be still equal, it must have been considerably greater before the levelling process took place. Therefore the hill behind the theatre was the Acropolis. Admitting this, the spacious flat or hollow immediately at its foot on the south-east side must have been the Agora,³ for that the Agora was close to the citadel is clear from history, which represents Lycurgus and king Charilaos escaping thither from the market-place.⁴ Again we know from Pausanias that it lay a little to the east of the theatre, having nothing between them but the cenotaph of Brasidas. The position of the Agora being thus fixed beyond dispute, we arrive

¹ Οὗ τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν.
Strab. viii. 5. t. ii. p. 185.

² Xen. Hellen. vi. 5. 30.

³ Plut. Lycurg. § 11. Lacon.
Apoph. Lycurg. 7.

⁴ Plut. Lycurg. § 5.

with certainty at the direction of the four great streets that diverge from it; for, first, we know that the road to the Issorion lay towards the west; the road to Amyclæ towards the south. The street called Skias terminated at the extremity of the city between two small hills. These two hills are still there on the brink of the high ground overlooking the valley of the Eurotas on the east. This therefore was the direction of the Skias. As an additional proof, it may be mentioned that the temple of Hera Hypercheiria was erected in commemoration of the subsiding of an inundation of the Eurotas, which shows it must have been somewhere nearly within reach of the waters of that stream. For the street Aphetæ no direction is left but that towards the north-west or the north-east; but the latter led to the temple of Artemis Orthia in the Limnæ, the former to the temple of Dictynna. The street Aphetæ led therefore to the north-west, no other road being mentioned but that leading from Mount Thornax over the bridge Babyx, which was not the street called Aphetæ. Thus we have the direction of every one of the great streets of Sparta incontrovertibly determined. Proceed we now to establish the position, with respect to the citadel, of each of the five tribes who occupied as many quarters of the city. First we learn from Pausanias that the Pitanaatæ inhabited the quarter round the Issorion:¹ from Pindar² and his scholiast that they dwelt likewise near the banks of the Eurotas. They possessed therefore the whole southern quarter of the city.³ As the Limnataæ obtained their name from the marshes near which they lived, the position of the Limnæ determined by the chain of reasoning given above, proves them to have occupied the eastern quarter of the city directly opposite the temple of Artemis Orthia.

¹ Polyæn. Stratag. ii. 1. 14.
with the notes of Casaub. and
Maasvic.

² Olymp. vi. 28. Cf. Spanheim,
ad Callim. in Dian. 172.

³ Cf. Athen. i. 57.

That the tribe of the *Ægidæ* inhabited all that part extending in one direction from the Issorion to the Dromos, and in the other from the banks of the Tiasa to the Boonetos, may almost with certainty be inferred from the circumstance that the tomb of *Ægeus*, their founder, was situated in this quarter, close to the Lesche *Pœcile*. The quarter of the *Mesoatæ* lay in the north-west, between the Dromos and the temple of *Dictynna*; for here was found the tomb of *Alcman* who belonged to that tribe. All the rest of the site being thus occupied, there remains only for the tribe of the *Cynosuræ* that part lying between the road to *Thornax* and the temple of *Dictynna*, where accordingly we must suppose them to have lived.

With respect to the bridge *Babyx*, if bridge it really was, it appears very difficult¹ to believe that it spanned the *Tiasa*, though we still find massive ruins of arches in the channel of that stream. There seems to be much stronger reason for supposing it to have been thrown over the *Eurotas*, where the road from the Isthmus traversed it.² We should then understand by the oracle which commanded *Lycurgus* to assemble his people between *Babyx* and *Cnacion*,³ that he was to gather them together anywhere within the precincts of the city. Accordingly we find in the time of *Lycurgus*, that the *Agora* in the centre of *Sparta* was the place where the *Apellæ*⁴ were held. This, too, is evident, by the sense in which the matter was understood by *Plutarch*, who, speaking of the victory of the *Bœotians* over the *Spartans* at *Tegyra*, observes, that by this event it was made manifest that not the *Eurotas*, or the space between *Babyx* and

¹ This, however, is the opinion of Mr. Müller, *Dor.* ii. 456.

² See the passage in which *Xenophon* (v. 5. 27), describes the advance of the *Thebans* upon *Sparta*.

³ *Plut.* *Lycurg.* § 6.

⁴ *Goettl. ad Aristot. Pol. Excurs.* i. p. 464.

Cnacion alone produced brave and warlike men.¹ Now it appears to me, that a few meadows without the city on which assemblies of the people were occasionally convened could never be said to produce these people. I have therefore supposed that Babyx was the bridge by which travellers coming from the Isthmus entered Sparta.

¹ Pelop, § 17.

BOOK II.

EDUCATION.

CHAPTER I.

THEORY OF EDUCATION.—BIRTH OF CHILDREN.—INFANTICIDE.

WHETHER on education the Greeks thought more wisely than we do or not,¹ they certainly contemplated the subject from a more elevated point of view. They regarded it as the matrix in which future generations are fashioned, and receive that peculiar temperament and character belonging to the institutions that presided at their birth. Their theories were so large as to comprehend the whole developement of individual existence, from the moment when the human germ is quickened into life until the grave closes the scene, and in many cases looked still further; for the rites of initiation and a great part of their ethics had reference to another world. On this account we find their legislators possessed by extreme solicitude respecting the character of those teachers into whose

¹ Dion Chrysostom tells a curious story respecting a blunder of the Athenians on this subject. Apollo once commanding them, if they desired to become good citizens, to put whatever was most beautiful in the ears of their sons, they bored one of the lobes, and inserted a gold earring, not comprehending the meaning of the God. But this ornament would better have suited their daughters

or the sons of Lydians or Phrygians; but for the offspring of Greeks, nothing could have been intended by the God but education and reason, the possessors of which would probably become good men, and the preservers of their country. — Orat. xxxii. t. i. p. 653. sqq.—The popular maxim that knowledge is power may be traced to Plato.—De Rep. v. t. vi. p. 268.

hands the souls of the people were to be placed, to receive the first principles of good or evil, to be invigorated, raised, and purified by the former, or by the latter to be perverted, or precipitated down the slopes of vice and effeminacy, by which nations sink from freedom to servitude. Among them, moreover, it was never matter of doubt, whether the light of knowledge should be allowed to stream upon the summits of society only, or be suffered to descend into its lower depths and visit the cottages of the poor. Whatever education had to impart was, in most states, imparted to all the citizens, as far as their leisure or their capacity would permit them to receive it. The whole object, indeed, of education among the Greeks was to create good citizens, from which it has by some been inferred that they confined their views to the delivering of secular instruction. But this is to take a narrow and ignorant view of the subject, since religion was not only an element of education but regarded as of more importance than all its other elements taken together. For it had not escaped the Hellenic legislators, that in many circumstances of life man is placed beyond the reach and scrutiny of laws and public opinion, where he must be free to act according to the dictates of conscience, which, if not rightly trained, purified, and rendered clearsighted by religion, will often dictate amiss. It is of the utmost moment, therefore, that in these retired situations man should not consider himself placed beyond the range of every eye, and so be tempted to lay the foundation of habits which, begun in secrecy, may soon acquire boldness to endure the light and set the laws themselves at defiance. Accordingly over those retired moments in which man at first sight appears to commune with himself alone, religion was called in to teach that there were invisible inspectors, who registered, not only the evil deeds and evil words they witnessed, but even the evil thoughts and emotions of the heart, the first impulses to crime in the lowest abysses of the mind. Consistently with this view of

the subject, we discover everywhere in Greek history and literature traces of an almost puritanical scrupulousness in whatever appeared to belong to religion, so that in addressing the Athenians St. Paul himself was induced to reproach them with the excesses of their devotional spirit, which degenerated too frequently into superstition. But the original design with which this spirit was cultivated was wise and good, its intention being to rescue men from the sway of their inferior passions,—from envy, from avarice, from selfishness, and to inspire them with faith in their own natural dignity by representing their actions as of sufficient importance to excite the notice, provoke the anger, or conciliate the favour of the immortal gods. This religion, which base and sordid minds regard as humiliating to humanity, was by Grecian lawgivers and founders of states contemplated as a kind of holy leaven designed by God himself, to pervade, quicken, and expand society to its utmost dimensions.

The question which commands so much attention in modern states, viz. whether education should be national and uniform, likewise much occupied the thoughts of ancient statesmen, and it is known that in most cases they decided in the affirmative. It may however be laid down as an axiom, that among a phlegmatic and passive-minded people, where the government has not yet acquired its proper form and developement, the establishment of a national system of education, complete in all its parts and extending to the whole body of the citizens, must be infallibly pernicious. For such as the government is at the commencement such very nearly will it continue, as was proved by the example of Crete and Sparta. For the Cretan legislators, arresting the progress of society at a certain point by the establishment of an iron system of education, before the popular mind had acquired its full growth and expansion, dwarfed the Cretan people completely, and by preventing their keeping pace with their countrymen

rendered them in historical times inferior to all their neighbours. In Sparta, again, the form of polity given to the state by Lycurgus, wonderful for the age in which it was framed, obtained perpetuity solely by the operation of his pædonomical institutions. The imperfection, however, of the system arose from this circumstance, that the Spartan government was framed too early in the career of civilisation. Had its lawgiver lived a century or two later, he would have established his institutions on a broader and more elevated basis, so that they would have remained longer nearly on a level with the progressive institutions of neighbouring states. But he fixed the form of the Spartan commonwealth when the general mind of Greece had scarcely emerged from barbarism; and as the rigid and unyielding nature of his laws forbade any great improvement, Sparta continued to bear about her in the most refined ages of Greece innumerable marks of the rude period in which she had risen. From this circumstance flowed many of her crimes and misfortunes. Forbidden to keep pace with her neighbours in knowledge and refinement, which by rendering them inventive, enterprising, and experienced, elevated them to power, she was compelled, in order to maintain her ground, to have recourse to astuteness, stratagem, and often to perfidy.

The Spartan system, it is well known, made at first, and for some ages, little or no use of books. But this, at certain stages of society, was scarcely an evil;¹ for knowledge can be imparted, virtues implanted and cherished, and great minds ripened to maturity without their aid. The teacher, in this case, rendered wise by meditation and experience, takes the place of a book, and by oral communication, by precept, and by example, instructs, and disciplines, and moulds his pupil into what he would have him be. By this pro-

¹ Montagne relates, in his *Travels* (t. iii. p. 51), an instance of how the mind may be cultivated, particularly in poetry, by persons

ignorant of the art of reading and writing. His Lucchese improvisatrice may be regarded as a match for the ancient rhapsodists.

cess both are benefited. The preceptor's mind, kept in constant activity, acquires daily new force and expansion; and the pupil's in like manner. In a state, therefore, like that of Sparta, in the age of Lycurgus, it was possible to acquire all necessary knowledge without books, of which indeed very few existed. But afterwards, when the Ionian republics began to be refined and elevated by philosophy and literature, Sparta, unable to accompany them, fell into the background: still preserving, however, her warlike habits she was enabled on many occasions to overawe and subdue them.

Among the Athenians,¹ though knowledge was universally diffused, there existed, properly speaking, no system of national education. The people, like their state, were in perpetual progress, aiming at perfection, and sometimes approaching it; but precipitated by the excess of their intellectual and physical energies into numerous and constantly recurring errors. While Sparta, as we have seen, remained content with the wisdom indigenous to her soil, scanty and imperfect as it was, Athens converted herself into one vast mart, whither every man who had anything new to communicate hastened eagerly, and found the sure reward of his ingenuity. Philosophers, sophists, geometricians, astronomers, artists, musicians, actors, from all parts of Greece and her most distant colonies, flocked to Athens to obtain from its quick-sighted, versatile, impartial, and most generous people that approbation which in the ancient world constituted fame. Therefore, although the laws regulated the material circumstances of the schools and gymnasia, prescribed the hours at which they should be opened and closed, and watched earnestly over the morals both of preceptors and pupils, there was a constant indraught of fresh science, a perpetually increasing experience and knowledge of the world, and, consequent thereupon, a deep-rooted conviction of their superiority over their neigh-

¹ Cf. Plat. De Legg. vii. t. viii. p. 1.

bours, an impatience of antiquated forms, and an audacious reliance on their own powers and resources which betrayed them into the most hazardous schemes of ambition.

But, by pushing too far their literary and philosophical studies, the Athenians were induced at length to neglect the cultivation of the arts of war, which they appeared to regard as a low and servile drudgery. And this capital error, in spite of all their acquirements and achievements in eloquence and philosophy, — in spite of their lofty speculation and “style of gods,” brought their state to a premature dissolution; while Sparta, with inferior institutions, and ignorance which even the children at Athens would have laughed at, was enabled much longer to preserve its existence, from its impassioned application to the use of arms, aided, perhaps, by a stronger and more secluded position. From this it appears that of all sciences that of war is the chiefest, since, where this is cultivated, a nation may maintain its independence without the aid of any other; whereas the most knowing, refined, and cultivated men, if they neglect the use of arms, will not be able to stand their ground against a handful even of barbarians. They mistake, too, who look upon literature and the sciences as a kind of palladium against barbarism,¹ for a whole nation may read and write, like the inhabitants of the Birman empire, without being either civilised or wise; and may possess the best books and the power to read them, without being able to profit by the lessons of wisdom they contain, as is proved by the example of the Greeks and Romans, who perished rather from a surfeit of knowledge than from any lack of instruction. But it is time, perhaps, to quit these general speculations, and proceed to develope, as far as existing monuments will enable us, the several systems of education which prevailed in the different parts of Greece.

¹ Notwithstanding that Plato regards knowledge as the medicine of the soul.—Crit. t. vii. p.

145. — Cf. t. viii. p. 2. seq. — Aristot. Ethic. vi. 13.

Among Hellenic legislators the care of children commenced before their birth. Their mothers were subject while pregnant to the operation of certain rules; their food and exercises were regulated, and in most cases the laws, or at least the manners, required them to lead a sedentary, inactive, and above all a tranquil life.¹ Physicians, guided by experience, prescribed a somewhat abstemious diet; and wine was prohibited, or only permitted to be taken with water, which, where reason is consulted, we find to be the practice at the present day. But Lycurgus, in the article of exercise, gave birth to, or, at least, sanctioned, customs wholly different.² Even while *enceinte* his women were required to be abroad, engaged in their usual athletic recreations, eating as before and drinking as before.

On this occasion, too, as on all others, the deep-rooted piety of the nation displayed itself. Prayers and sacrifices were habitually offered up by all married persons for children, as afterwards by Christian ladies to the saints;³ and these of course were not discontinued, when it appeared by unequivocal signs that their desires had begun to receive their fulfilment. What the divinities were whom on these occasions the Athenian matrons invoked under the name of *Tritopatores*, it seems difficult to determine. Demon in Suidas⁴ supposes them to be the winds; but Philochoros, the most learned of ancient writers on the antiquities of Attica, imagined them to be the first three sons of Helios and Gaia. According to some they were called Cottos or Coros, Gyges or Gyes, and Briareus; according to others Amalcides,

¹ Plat. de Legg. l. vii. t. viii. pp. 4. et 11.—During the pregnancy of women great care was taken not to bring into the house the wood of the ostrya or carpinus ostrys, the appearance of which was ominous of difficult births, or even of sudden death. Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 10. 3.

² Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. i. 3. Perizon. ad Ælian. Var. Hist. x. 13.

³ Theodoret. iv. 921.

⁴ σ. Τριτοῦ t. ii. p. 947. b. seq. Cf. Siebel. ad Frag. Philoch. p. 11. Meurs. Græc. Fer. p. 264. Lect. Att. iii. 1. Vales. in Harpoc. p. 223. seq.

Protocles, and Protocleon, the watchers and guardians of the wind. There are authors, moreover, by whom they have been confounded with the Dii Kabyri of Samothrace.

During the period of their confinement women were supposed to be under the protection of Eileithyia. This goddess, who by Olen the Lycian was considered older than Kronos,¹ had the honour as certain mythical legends relate, of being the mother of love,² though several ancient authors appear to have confounded her with Pepromene or Fate, others with Hera, and others again with Artemis or the moon. The traditions of the mythology respecting this divinity were various. Her worship seems to have made its first appearance among the Greeks in the island of Delos, whither she is said to have come from the country of the Hyperboreans, to lend her aid to Leto, when beneath the palm tree, which Zeus caused to spring up over her,³ she gave birth to the gods of night and day. From that time forward she was held in veneration by the Delians, who in her honour offered up sacrifices, chaunting the hymns of Olen, whence we may infer she was a Pelasgian deity.

From thence her name and worship were diffused through the other islands and states of Hellas; though the Cretans pretended that she was born at Amnisos in the Knossian territory, and was a daughter of Hera. The Athenians, who erected a temple to Eileithyia appeared to favour both traditions, since of the two statues which were found in her fane the more ancient was said to have been brought from Delos by Erisichthon, while the second, dedicated by Phædra, came from Crete. Among the Athenians, alone, as an indication of the national modesty, the wooden images of this mysterious divinity were significantly veiled to the toes.⁴

¹ Paus. viii. 21. 3.

² Paus. ix. 27. 2. Cf. Cic. de Nat. Deor. iii. 23.

³ Callim. ii. 4.

⁴ Paus. i. 18. 5. Cf. Keightley, Mythol. p. 199. In Arcadia, also, this goddess was so closely draped that nothing was visible

The simple delicacy of remoter ages required women to be attended, while becoming mothers, by individuals of their own sex. But the contrary practice, now general among civilised nations, prevailed early at Athens, where the study of medicine, in which the accoucheur's art is included, was prohibited to women and slaves. The consequences bear stronger testimony to the refined taste and truly feminine feelings of the Athenian ladies than a thousand panegyrics. Numbers, rather than submit to the immodest injunctions of fashion, declined all aid, and perished in their harems: observing which, and moved strongly by the desire to preserve the lives of her noble-minded countrywomen, a female citizen named Agnodice, disguised as a man, acquired a competent knowledge of the theory and practice of physic in the medical school of Herophilos; she then confided her secret to the women who universally determined to avail themselves of her services, and in consequence her practice became so extensive that the jealousy of the other practitioners was violently excited. In revenge, therefore, as she still maintained her disguise, they preferred an accusation against her in the court of Areiopagos as a general seducer. To clear herself Agnodice made known her sex, upon which the envious Æsculapians prosecuted her under the provisions of the old law. In behalf of their benefactress the principal gentlewomen appeared in court, and mingling the highest testimony in favour of Agnodice with many bitter reproaches, they not only obtained her acquittal, but the repeal of the obnoxious law, and permission for any free woman to become an accoucheuse.²

Mention is made by ancient writers of several rude and hardy tribes, whose women, like those of Hindûstân at the present day, stood in very little need of

but the countenance, fingers, and toes.—Paus. vii. 23. 5.

¹ The duties of an accoucheuse are briefly enumerated by Max.

Tyr. Dissert. xxviii. p. 333. Cf. Pignor. de Serv. 184.

² Hygin. Fab. 274.

the midwife's aid. Thus Varro,¹ speaking of the rough shepherdesses of Italy, observes that among the countrywomen of Illyria, bringing forth children was regarded as a slight matter; for that, stepping aside from their work in the fields, they would return presently with an infant in their arms, having first bathed it in some fountain or running stream, appearing rather to have found, than given birth to, a child. Nor are the manners of these uncultivated people at all altered in modern times, as appears from an anecdote related to Pietro Vittore,² by Francesco Sardonati, professor of Latin at Ragusa, who said that he saw a woman go out empty-handed to a forest for wood, and return shortly afterwards with a bundle on her head and a new-born infant in her arms. At Athens, however, where the women were peculiarly tender and delicate, the young mother remained within doors full six weeks,³ when the festival of the fortieth day was celebrated, after which she went forth, as our ladies do to be churched, to offer up sacrifices and return thanks in the temple of Artemis or some other divinity.

New-born infants, when designed to be reared, were at Athens and in the rest of Greece bathed in cold water: at Sparta in wine, with the view of producing convulsions and death should the child be feeble, whereas, were its constitution strong and vigorous, it would thus they imagined, "acquire a greater degree of firmness, and get a temper in proportion, as Potter⁴ expresses it, like steel in the quenching." Swaddling-bands⁵ also, in use throughout the rest of Greece, were banished from Sparta, which led the way therefore to that improved system of infant management advocated by Rousseau, Laccépède and others,⁶ and now generally adopted in

¹ De Re Rust. ii. 10.

² Var. Lect. xxxiv. 2.

³ Meurs. Græc. Fer. p. 260. sqq. Censor. de Die Natali. c 11.

⁴ Antiq. ii. 320.

⁵ Coray, ad Hippoc. de Aër. et Loc. ii. 309.

⁶ Even so early as the age of Montaigne the necessity of some change was felt. "Les liaisons et

this country, though but partially in France. The ceremonies and customs of the Greeks were a kind of symbolical language, many times containing important meaning, and always perhaps indicative of the character and familiar feelings of the race. Much stress was laid on the thing wherein the infant was placed upon its entrance into the world. This, among the Athenians, consisted of a wrapper adorned with an embroidered figure of the Gorgon's head, the device represented on the shield of Athena, tutelar divinity of the state. From the beginning every citizen seemed thus to be placed under the immediate shelter of that goddess's ægis which should be extended over him in peace and in war. In other parts of Greece the child's first bed, and too frequently his last, was a shield.¹ In accordance with this custom we find Alcmena cradling her twin boys Heracles and Iphicles in Amphytrion's buckler; and the same practice prevailed, as might have been expected, at Sparta, where war constituted to men the sole object of life.² Elsewhere other symbols spoke to the future sense rather than the present of the new citizen. In agricultural countries the military symbol was replaced by a winnowing van, not unfrequently of gold or other costly materials;³ though it may be doubted whether the word so rendered meant not rather a cradle in the form of that rustic implement.

In another custom, long on these occasions observed, we discern traces of that serpent-worship which at different epochs diffused itself so widely over the world. Among opulent and noble families

emmaillottements des enfans ne sont non plus nécessaires." He then alludes to the practice of the Spartan nurses.—*Essais*, ii. 12. However, in certain habits of body, swaddling is not merely useful, but necessary: as Hippocrates remarks in his account of the Scythians (*de Aër et Loc.*

§ 101), and as his able commentator, Coray, confirms by example. *ubi sup.*

¹ Theoc. *Eidyll.* xxiv. 4. ἦ τὰν ἦ ἐπὶ τᾷς. Plut. *Lacæn.* *Apophtheg.* t. ii. p. 187.

² Nonn. *Dionys.* xli. 168. seq. Sch. *Thucyd.* ii. 39.

³ Callim. *Hymn.* in *Jov.* 48.

at Athens new-born children were laid on golden amulets in the form of dragons by which they were supposed to commemorate Athena's delivery of Erichthonios to the care of two guardians of that description.¹

But under certain circumstances, instead of the joy and gladness by which the noble and the great are greeted on their entrance into the world, the birth of a child was, as in Thrace,² an event fraught with sorrow and misery. It announced in fact the approach of an enemy, of one who, if he survived, must snatch from them a portion of what already would scarcely sustain life. Together with the announcement of his birth, therefore, came the awful consciousness that war must be made on him—that he must in short be cast forth, a scape-goat for the sins of society, not for his own—that his parents who should have cherished him, whose best solace he should have been, must steel their hearts and close fast their ears against the voice of nature, and become his executioners. The poor-laws of Greece, or rather their substitutes for poor-laws, were exceedingly imperfect, and foundling hospitals had not been introduced. They got rid of their surplus population, as many nations still do, by murder; for infanticide, under various forms, has more or less prevailed in all civilised countries, if the term civilised can properly be applied to nations among whom crimes so demoralising are habitually perpetrated. No doubt the sullen reluctance of a father to imbrue his hands in the blood of his child produced daily many a heart-rending scene; no doubt the sting of want must have been keenly felt before the habit of slaughter was confirmed;—but the fashion once set, children were thrown into an earthen pot and

¹ Eurip. Ion. 15. sqq.—There were certain amulets, too, called *νεφέλαιρα* which superstitious mothers hung about the necks of their children to defend them

from fascination and the evil eye. Pollux, iv. 182. Vict. in Arist. Ethic. Nicom. p. 42.

² Sext. Empir. p. 186.

exposed in mountainous and desert places to perish of cold, or fall a prey to carnivorous birds¹ or wolves, as coolly as they are murdered by their young and frail mothers in our own Christian land.

Under all circumstances, however, the parents thus criminal are objects of pity. Misery is blind, and crime is blind. But what shall we say to those priests of humanity, those sacred and reverend interpreters of nature,—the philosophers who come forward to sanction and justify the practice? It would be criminal to disguise the fact, that both Plato and Aristotle, the great representatives of the wisdom of the Pagan world,² conceived infanticide, under certain circumstances, to be allowable. Near, therefore, as the former stood to the truths of Christianity, there was still a cloud between him and them. What he saw, he saw through a glass darkly. Christ had not then stamped the seal of divinity upon human nature, had not shed abroad that light by which alone we discover the true features of crime, no less than the true features of holiness. Philosophy is beautiful; but with the beauty of one involuntarily polluted. Religion alone, breathing of heaven, radiant with light, reflected on its whole form from the face of God, is lovely altogether without spot or blemish. The Greeks wanting this guide went astray. They looked at the question of population as coarse utilitarians,—all but the gross, unintellectual Thebans, who, relying on the vast fertility of their soil, or led by some better instinct, on this point soared high above their cultivated neighbours, an example of how the foolish things of this world, even in the unregenerate state of nature, may sometimes confound the wise. Among the Tyrrhenians,³ likewise, a people of Pelasgian origin, infanticide was unknown, probably

¹ Vict. (Var. Lect. ii. 3) has an useful chapter on the exposing of infants, in which he has collected several valuable testimonies.

² Plato de Rep. v. § 9. p. 359. Stallb. Aristot. Pol. vii. 16. Cf.

Lips. Epist. ad Belg. Cent. 1. c. 85. with the work of Gerard Noodt, entitled "Julius Paulus," in opp. Lugd. Bat. 1726. pp. 567, seq. 591. seq. Elmenhorst. ad Minuc. Felic. Octav. 289. ed. Ouzel.

³ Athen. xii. 14.

because among them it was accounted no disgrace to be the parents of illegitimate offspring; indeed the sense of shame could not, in any case, be very keen among a people whose female slaves served naked at table, and where even the ladies appeared at public entertainments in the same state, drinking bumpers, and joining freely in the conversation of the men.

In the modern world to take the life of an infant is a capital offence, yet we see with how little fear or ceremony the law is set at nought. It will, therefore, readily be supposed that in those countries of antiquity where neither law nor public opinion opposed the practice, but in some cases winked at, in others enjoined it, the number of child-murders must have been enormous. Sparta very naturally took the lead in this guilty course.¹ Here it was not permitted to private individuals to make away with their offspring stealthily, and with those marks of shame and compunction inseparable from individual guilt. The state monopolized the right to Herodise, and by sharing the criminality among great numbers appeared to silence the objections of conscience. Fathers were compelled by law to bring their new-born infants to certain officers, old, grave men,² who held their sittings in the Lesche of their tribe, and after due deliberation determined on the claim of each child to live or die. By what rules they decided, rude and ignorant of physiology as they were, it would now be impossible positively to affirm. Little skill no doubt had they in detecting the latent seeds of robustness and physical energy, still less those of splendid mental endowments lurking in the crimson countenance of helpless infancy. They who might have proved the wise and good of their generation no doubt often went instead of the mere animal. However, giving orders that the strong and apparently healthy should

¹ Compare the coolness of Hase. p. 190. Müller. ii. 313. with Lamb. Bos. p. 212. seq. and the humane remarks of Ubbo Emmius

iii. 83. Potter, too (ii. 326. sqq.), seems to disapprove of the practice.

² Plut. Lycurg. 16.

be nursed, the weakly and delicate, often the noblest men, and the bravest soldiers, as witness Lucius Sulla, were condemned to be cast like so many puppy dogs into the *Apothetæ*, a deep cavern at the foot of Mount Taygetos. This den of death relieved the Spartans from the necessity of erecting workhouses or enacting poor-laws. The surplus population went into that pit.

To a certain extent, and in a mitigated form, the same practice prevailed at Athens. Here, however, it was more a matter of custom than of law, and in this respect differed materially¹ from the practice of Sparta, that it was left entirely to the father to determine the fate of his children. Accordingly, the more cold-blooded had recourse to murder, while the less atrocious exposed them in jars in desert places to perish, or in the thronged and crowded quarters of the city in the hope that they might excite in others that compassion, which he, their father, denied them.² And humane individuals were often found who, like our Squire Allworthy, would sympathise with these deserted creatures.³ Numerous examples occur in the comic poets. In these cases poverty was no doubt the motive, particularly when boys were exposed; but even wealthy persons, reasoning like the Rajpoots of northern India, would prefer exposing their daughters, to the care and expense of educating them to an uncertain destiny. On these occasions the child was dressed and swaddled more or less carefully, placed in a large earthen vessel called a *chytra*,⁴ — the same in which soup was made, and which ought, therefore, to have awakened humane associations,—and laid at the mouth of some cave without the walls, or in such situations as I have above described. To this custom allusion is made in the anecdote of a foundling, who amusing himself by rolling a *chytra* before

¹ Petit is of the contrary opinion, but his authorities by no means bear him out.—Legg. Att. lib. ii. tit. 4. p. 144.

² Paulus, ap. Petit. ubi sup.

³ On the ceremony of adoption, see Potter ii. 335. Compare Lady Montague's Works, iii. 12.

⁴ Sch. Aristoph. Vesp. 289, or sometimes *ὄστρακον*, Ran. 1221.

him with his foot, "What! exclaimed some one "desirous of reminding him of his origin, have you "the impiety to kick your mother in the belly?"¹

Sometimes when the object was rather to escape shame than to shun the expense of education, rings, jewels, or other valuable tokens were suspended about the child, or put along with it into the chytra.² And in the comic writers these usually assist in bringing about a discovery. If they fell into the hands of the poor the costly marks of noble birth, always held in honour by the ignorant and needy, would perhaps tempt them to preserve and cherish the off-cast, as in the case of Shakespeare's *Perdita*, or in the event of death, would defray the expenses of their funerals. Sometimes superstition operated on their minds, urging them into a mock show of sharing their possessions with the little wretches they abandoned.³ Thus Sostrata, wife of Chremes, in the *Self-tormentor* delivered along with her little daughter to the person who was to expose it, a ring from her own finger to be left with the child, that should it die it might not be wholly deprived of all share of their property. Such also is the behaviour of Creusa in Euripides; for Hermes, whom the poet introduces unfolding the argument of the drama, relates that when the young princess laid her new-born son to perish in the cavern, where he had been conceived, she took off her costly ornaments and with them decked her devoted boy.⁴

From another part of the same play it may be inferred that children were often exposed on the steps of Apollo's temple at Delphi, and nurtured by the Pythoness.⁵ Indeed the priestess, on discovering Ion, who had been brought thither by Hermes from Attica, concludes at once that some unfortunate Delphian

¹ Sch. Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 509.

² Vict. Var. Lect. ii. 3. Aristot. *Poet.* xvi.

³ Terent. *Heautontim.* iv. i.

86 seq. Victor. Var. Lect. ii. 3. Cf. Ter. *Hecyr.* iii. 3. 31. sqq.

⁴ Eurip. *Ion*, 26. seq. Cf. 15. sqq.

⁵ Conf. Hypoth. *Ion*.

girl¹ is his mother, and adopts him under that impression. From the sequel it would appear that such children were the slaves of the temple, and under the immediate protection of the god.²

In the plain of Eleutheræ, near the temple of Dionysos, is a cavern, and close beside it a fountain. Here, according to the poets, Antiope brought forth Zethos and Amphion, twin sons of Zeus, whom, to conceal her shame, she abandoned where they were born. The infants were immediately afterwards discovered by a shepherd, who, having bathed them in the neighbouring spring, took them to his cot, where they were brought up as his own children.³ The catastrophe of many an ancient play was brought about by a discovery of the real characters of persons who had been exposed in infancy. Thus Œdipus, whose story is too well known to need repetition, was abandoned on Mount Cithæron. The daughters of Phineus,⁴ of whom nothing else has come down to us, had been cast forth in infancy and preserved, and were afterwards brought to be put to death on the same spot; by alluding to which their lives were saved. The sons,⁵ likewise, of Tyro, Peleus and Neleus, were deserted by their mother, who placed them in a little bark or chest on the banks of the Enipeus, a circumstance which served afterwards to reveal the parentage of the twins. The story of Romulus and Remus, who were thus abandoned by their vestal mother, is familiar to every reader; and from the example of Moses recorded in the sacred volume, we may infer that the exposing of children was common in remoter ages in Egypt. Pindar,⁶ in relating the birth of the prophet Iamos, presents us with a poetical picture of one of these unhappy transactions.

¹ Δελφίδων τλαίη κόρη. κ. τ. λ.
Ion, 44. sqq.

² Ion, 53. sqq.

³ Paus. ii. 6. 4. — Cf. Casaub.
Diatrib. in Dion. Chrysost. ii.
469.

⁴ Aristot. Poet. xvi. 8. cum not.
Herm. p. 156.

⁵ Arist. Poet. xvi. 3.

⁶ Olymp. vi. 39. sqq. Diss.
I give the passage as it is elegantly translated by Mr. Cary.

Evadne, daughter of Poseidon by the river-nymph Pitana, dwelling at the court of Æpytos a king of Arcadia, going forth, like the daughters of the Patriarchs, to draw water from a fountain, is overtaken by her birth-pangs.

“ Her crimsoned girdle down was flung,
 The silver ewer beside her laid,
 Amid a tangled thicket, hung
 With canopy of brownest shade ;
 When forth the glorious babe she brought,
 His soul instinct with heavenly thought.
 Sent by the golden-tressed god,
 Near her the Fates indulgent stood,
 With Eileithyia mild.
 One short sweet pang released the child,
 And Iamos sprang forth to light.
 A wail she uttered ; left him then,
 Where on the ground he lay ;
 When straight two dragons came,
 With eyes of azure flame,
 By will divine awaked out of their den ;
 And with the bees’ unharmed venom they
 Fed him, and nursled through the night and day.
 The king meanwhile had come
 From stony Pytho driving, and at home
 Did of them all after the boy inquire
 Born of Evadne ; for, he said, the sire
 Was Phœbos, and that he
 Should of earth’s prophets wisest be,
 And that his generation should not fail.
 Not to have seen or heard him they avouched,
 Now five days born. But he, on rushes couched,
 Was covered up in that wide brambly maze ;
 His delicate body met
 With yellow and empurpled rays
 From many a violet :
 And hence his mother bade him claim
 For ever this undying name.”

Generally, it would appear, illegitimate children were exposed in the neighbourhood of the Gymnasium, in the Cynosarges, because, as suggested by Suidas, Heracles, who was himself a bastard, had a temple there.

On the subject of infanticide the Thebans,¹ as I

¹ Ælian, Var. Hist. ii. 7.—Cf. Phil. Jud. de Legg. Special. p. 543.

have said, entertained juster sentiments than the rest of their countrymen. By their institutions it was made a capital crime; but because severe laws would not furnish the indigent with the means of supporting the children they were forbidden to kill, they by another enactment provided for their maintenance. If a poor man found himself unable to support an addition to his family, he was commanded to bear his children immediately from the birth, wrapped in swaddling-clothes, to the magistrates, who disposed of them for a small sum to wealthy people in want of children or servants: for, according to the Theban laws, they who undertook the charge of foundlings, if they may be so called, were entitled to their services in return for their nursing and education.

Connected with infanticide is another subject equally important, but of very difficult treatment; that is practices to destroy the infant before the birth.¹ In modern nations all such offences are theoretically visited with very severe punishment by the law, and public opinion so strongly condemns them that no one solicitous of upholding a respectable character in society will dare to be their apologist. It was otherwise in antiquity. The greatest dread of a superabundant population was in many states felt, and led to customs and acts of a very nefarious nature; for some classes of which, if not for all, writers of highest eminence are found to plead. Thus Pliny,² commonly a great declaimer

¹ See in Pollux, ii. 7. and iv. 208. a whole vocabulary of terms connected with this practice. In his note on the former passage, p. 297. Iungermann refers to the Commentaries of Camerarius, c. 32. Cf. Comm. in Poll. p. 507. seq. p. 541. et 891. seq. Tim. Lex. Plat. v. ἐξαμέλων. cum. not. Rubnken. p. 62. ed. Lond. Plat. Theæt. t. iii. p. 190. Max. Tyr. xvi. p. 179. Jacob

Gensius (*Victimæ Humanæ*, pt. ii. p. 247. seq.), enters fully into the question of abortion, which at Rome, according to Justin, was procured to preserve the shape. The same practice prevails in Formosa.—Richter, *Voyage de la Compagnie des Indes*, v. p. 70. Compare Lactant. v. p. 278. Phocyl. v. 172. seq.

² Hist. Nat. xxxix. 27. t. viii. p. 404. Franz. *Impie satis*, as

in behalf of virtue, admits that some artificial limit should be put to female productiveness; and Aristotle, despite his far nobler and more generous ethics, had on this point no loftier views. The regulations also of the Cretan Minos—but let them remain in the obscurity which encompasses his entire code.

Among the Romans several modern writers appear to suppose the existence of more humane feelings, for which it would certainly have been difficult to account. An ancient law attributed to Romulus has misled them. By this it was enacted that no male child should be exposed; and that of daughters the first should be permitted to live, while the others having been brought up till they were three years old, might then if judged expedient be destroyed.¹ The legislator, it is argued, knew human nature too well to fear that parents who had preserved their children three years would after that take away their lives. But infants exceedingly mutilated or deformed might be killed at once, having first been shown to five neighbours, and these neighbours, like the overseers of murder at Lacedæmon, were probably lax in interpreting the law, which, acknowledging the principle, would easily tolerate variations in the practice.² Be this, however, as it may, child-murder and child dropping were in imperial times of ordinary occurrence at Rome. There was in the Herb-market a pillar called the “Milky column,”³ whither foundlings were brought to be suckled by public nurses, or to be fed with milk—for the passage in Festus may be both ways interpreted, and their numbers would seem to have been considerable. The Christian writers con-

Kühn observes in his note on Ælian, Var. Hist. ii. 7. Arist. Pol. vii. 15. 253. Gættl. Cf. Foës. Œcon. Hippoc. vv. Ἀμελῶσαι and ἀποφθορά.

¹ Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. i. 81; ii. 15.

² Seneca, de Irâ, l. i. Apuleius Metam. x. where a husband gives command for the destruction of his daughter immediately on her birth.—Ap. Lips. Epist. ad Belgas, Cent. i. p. 818. seq.

³ Fest. v. Lactaria Columna.

stantly object the practice of infanticide to the Romans. "You cast forth your sons," says Tertullian,¹ "to be picked up and nourished by the first woman "that passes." And the poor, as Ambrose remarks, would desert and expose their little ones, and if caught deny them to be theirs.² Others adopted more decisive measures, and instead of exposing strangled them.³ Probably, moreover, it was the atrocious device of legislators to get rid of their superabundant population that gave rise to the rite of child-sacrificing known to have prevailed among the Phœnicians, who passed their children through fire to Moloch; and among their descendants the Carthaginians,⁴ who offered up infants to their gods, as at the present day our own idolatrous subjects in the East cast forth their first-born infants on islands at the mouth of the Ganges, to be devoured by the alligators. In China Christianity has performed for infancy the same humane duty as in ancient Rome, as many of the converts made by the Jesuits consisted of foundlings whom they had picked up when cast forth by their parents to perish in the streets.

¹ Apolog. c. 9.

² Hexæm. l. v. c. 18.

³ Arnob. cont. Gent. viii. Lactant. Instit. vi. 20. ap. Lips. Epist. ad Belg. 819.

⁴ Vid. Festus, v. Puelli.—In Syria children were sacrificed to the goddess, in like manner with

other victims, by being tied up in a sack and then flung down from the lofty propylæa of her temple, their parents, in the mean while, overwhelming them with contumely, and protesting they were not children, but oxen.—Lucian. De Syriâ Deâ, § 58.

CHAPTER II.

BIRTH-FEAST—NAMING THE CHILD.—NURSERY—
NURSERY TALES—SPARTAN FESTIVAL.

To quit, however, this melancholy topic : while the poor, as we have seen, were driven by despair to imbrue their hands in the blood of their offspring, their more wealthy neighbours celebrated the birth of a child¹ with a succession of banquets and rejoicings. Of these, the first was held on the fifth day from the birth, when took place the ceremony called Amphidromia, confounded by some ancient authors with the festival of the tenth day.² On this occasion the accoucheuse or the nurse, to whose care the child was now definitively consigned,³ having purified her hands with water,⁴ ran naked⁵ with the infant in her arms, and accompanied by all the other females of the family, in the same state, round the hearth,⁶ which was regarded as the altar of Hestia, the Vesta of the Romans. By this ceremony the child was initiated in the rites of religion and placed under the protection of the fire goddess, probably with the same view that infants are baptized among us.

Meanwhile the passer-by was informed that a fifth-day feast was celebrating within, by symbols suspended on the street-door, which, in case of a boy, consisted

¹ More particularly that of a son.—Casaub. ad Theophr. Char. p. 307.

² Sch. Aristoph. Lysist. 757.

³ Etym. Mag. 89. 54.

⁴ Suid. in v. t. i. p. 214. d.

⁵ Hesych. in. v. δρομιάφιον. Meurs. Græc. Fer. p. 20. Brunck, in Aristoph. Av. 922.

⁶ Harpocrat. in v. Cf. not. Gro-nov. p. 26.

in an olive crown; and of a lock of wool, alluding to her future occupations, when it was a girl.¹ Athenæus, apropos of cabbage, which was eaten on this occasion, as well as by ladies "in the straw,"² as conducing to create milk, quotes a comic description of the Amphidromia from a drama of Ehippos, which proves they were well acquainted with the arts of joviality.

"How is it

No wreathed garland decks the festive door,
No savoury odour creeps into the nostrils
Since 'tis a birth-feast? Custom, sooth, requires
Slices of rich cheese from the Chersonese,
Toasted and hissing; cabbage too in oil,
Fried brown and crisp, with smothered breast of lamb.
Chaffinches, turtle-doves, and good fat thrushes
Should now be feathered; rows of merry guests
Pick clean the bones of cuttle-fish together,
Gnaw the delicious feet of polypi,
And drink large draughts of scarcely mingled wine."³

A sacrifice⁴ was likewise this day offered up for the life of the child, probably to the god Amphidromos, first mentioned, and therefore supposed to have been invented by Æschylus.⁵ It has moreover been imagined that the name was now imposed, and gifts were presented by the friends and household slaves.⁶

But it was on the seventh day that the child generally received its name,⁷ amid the festivities of another banquet; though sometimes this was deferred till the tenth.⁸ The reason is supplied by Aristotle.⁹ They delayed the naming thus long, he says, because most children that perish in extreme infancy die before the seventh day, which being passed they considered their lives more secure. The eighth day was chosen by other persons for bestowing the name, and, this con-

¹ Hesych. ap. Meurs. Græc. Fer. p. 20.

² Potter, ii. 322.

³ Athen. ix. 10. Cf. Ludovic. Nonn. De Pisc. Esu. c. 7. p. 28.

⁴ Cf. Aristoph. Lys. 700. cum not. et schol.—Plaut. Truc. ii. 4. 69.

⁵ Semel. fr. 203. Well.

⁶ Meurs. Gr. Fer. p. 21.

⁷ Alex. ab Alex. 99. a.

⁸ Harpocrat. v. 'Εβδομ. p. 92. Cf. Lomeier, De Lustrat. Vet. Gentil. c. 27. p. 327. sqq.

⁹ Hist. Anim. vii. 12. Bekk.

sidered the natal day, was solemnized annually as the anniversary of its birth, on which occasion it was customary for the friends of the family to assemble together, and present gifts to the child, consisting sometimes of the polypi and cuttle-fish¹ to be eaten at the feast. However the tenth day² appears to have been very commonly observed. Thus Euripides:³

“ Say, who delighting in a mother’s claim
Mid tenth-day feasts bestowed the ancestral name? ”

Aristophanes, too, on the occasion of naming his Bird-city, which a hungry poet pretends to have long ago celebrated, introduces Peisthetæros saying,

“ What ! have I not but now the sacrifice
Of the tenth day completed and bestowed
A name as on a child ? ”⁴

Connected with this custom, there is a very good anecdote in Polyænos, from which Meursius⁵ infers that there existed among the Greeks something like the office of sponsor. Jason, tyrant of Pheræ, most of whose stratagems were played off against members of his own family, had a brother named Meriones, extremely opulent, but to the last degree close-fisted, particularly towards him. When at length a son was born to Jason, he invited to the Nominalia many principal nobles of Thessaly, and among others his brother Meriones, who was to preside over the ceremonies. In these he was probably occupied the whole day, during which, under pretence, apparently, of providing some choice game for his guests, the tyrant went out for a few hours with his dogs and usual followers. His real object, however, soon appeared. Making direct for Pagasæ, where his brother’s castle stood, he stormed the place, and seizing on Meriones’ treasures, to the amount of twenty talents, returned in all speed to the banquet. Here,

¹ Suid. v. Ἀμφιδ. t. i. p. 214. d.

² Isæus, Pyrrh. Hæred. § 5.
Dem. Adv. Bæot. §§ 6, 7. Lys.
in Harpocrat. v. Ἀμφιδρομ. p. 19.

³ Ægei. Frag. i.

⁴ Aves, 922. seq.

⁵ Græc. Feriat. p. 22.

by way of showing his fraternal consideration, he delegated to his brother the honour of pouring forth the libations, and bestowing the name, which was the father's prerogative. But Meriones receiving from one of the tyrant's attendants a hint of what had taken place, called the boy "Porthaon," or the "Plunderer."¹ At Athens the feast and sacrifice took place at night, with much pomp, and all the glee which such an occasion was calculated to inspire.²

On the bestowing of the name Potter's information is particularly full. He is probably right, too, in his conjecture, that in most countries the principal object of calling together so great a number of friends to witness this ceremony was to prevent such controversies as might arise when the child came out into the business of the world. But at Athens the Act of Registration³ rendered such witnesses scarcely necessary. The right of imposing the name belonged, as hinted above, to the father, who likewise appears to have possessed the power afterwards to alter it if he thought proper. They were compelled to follow no exact precedent; but the general rule resembled one apparently observed by nature, which, neglecting the likeness in the first generation, sometimes reproduces it with extraordinary fidelity in the second. Thus, the grandson inheriting often the features, inherited also very generally the name of his grandfather,⁴ and precisely the same rule applied to women; the granddaughter nearly always receiving her grandmother's name.⁵ Thus, Andocides, son of Leagoras, bore the name of his grandfather; the father and son of Miltiades were named Cimon; the father and son of Hipponicos, Cleinias.⁶ The orator Lysias formed an exception to this rule, his grandfather's name having

¹ Polyæn. Strat. vi. i. 6.

² Suid. v. *Δεκτρὴν ἐστίασαν*, t. i. p. 654. c. d.

³ Harpocrat. v. *Μεῖον*, Poll. iii. 53. Schol. ad Aristoph. Ran. 810.

Etym. Mag. 533. 37. Meurs. Lect. Att. iii. 1.

⁴ Palmer, Exercit. p. 754. Snitter. Lect. Andocid. c. i.

⁵ Isæus de Pyrrh. Hæred. § 5.

⁶ Aristoph. Av. 284.

been Lysanias.¹ In short, though there existed no law upon the subject, yet ancient and nearly invariable custom operated with the force of law.²

The names of children were often in remote antiquity derived from some circumstance attending their birth, or in the history of their parents. Sometimes, too, their own deeds, as in the case of modern titles, procured them a name; or perhaps some misfortune which befell them. Thus, Marpissa, in Homer, being borne away³ by Apollo, obtained the name of Halcyone, because her mother, like the Halcyon, was inconsolable for the loss of her offspring.⁴ Scamandrios, son of Hector, was denominated Astyanax, because his father was τοῦ ἄστειος ἄναξ, "the defender of the city;"⁵ and Odysseus, metamorphosed by the Romans into Ulysses, is supposed to have been so called διὰ τὸ ὀδυσεῖσθαι τοῦ Αὐτολυχοῦ, from the anger of Autolychos.⁶ Again, the son of Achilles, at first called Pyrrhos, as our second William, Rufus, from the colour of his hair, afterwards obtained the name of Neoptolemos, "the youthful warrior," from his engaging at a very early age in the siege of Troy. It came, in aftertimes, to be considered indecorous for persons of humble condition to assume the names of heroic families. Thus, the low flatterer Callicrates, at the court of Ptolemy the Third, was thought to be audacious because he bestowed upon his son and daughter the names of Telegonos and Anticleia, and wore the effigy of Odysseus in his ring, which appeared to be claiming kindred with that illustrious chief. In fact, to prevent the profanation of revered names, the law itself forbade them to be adopted by slaves or females of bad character,⁷ though, in defiance of its enactments, we find there were hetairæ, who derived their appellation from the

¹ Plat. Rep. l. i. t. vi. p. 9.

² Dem. c. Macart. § 17. Taylor, Lect. Lysiac. c. 5.

³ See in Winkel. iii. p. 248, an account of a picture representing this transaction.

⁴ Il. i. 552. seq.

⁵ Potter, ii. 225.

⁶ Odyss. τ. 406. sqq.

⁷ Athen. xiii. 51.

sacred games of Greece, Nemeas, Isthmias, and Pythionica.¹

But of this enough: we now proceed to the management and education of children, beginning with their earliest infancy. In old times the women of Greece always suckled their own offspring, and for the performance of this office they were excellently adapted by nature,² since they had no sooner become mothers than their breasts filled so copiously with milk that it not only flowed through the nipple, but likewise transpired through the whole bosom. On the little derangements of the system peculiar to nurses the Greeks entertained many superstitious opinions; for instance, they conceived those thread-like indurations which sometimes appear in the breasts to be caused by swallowing hairs, which afterwards come forth with the milk, on which account the disorder was called *Trichiasis*.³ The nourishment supplied by mothers so robust and lactiferous was often so rich and abundant as, like over-feeding, to cause spasms and convulsions, supposed to be most violent when they happened during the full moon, and began in the back. The usual remedy among nurses would appear to have been wine, since Aristotle,⁴ in speaking of the disorder, observes that white, particularly if diluted with water, is less injurious than red, though even from the former he thought it better to abstain. The administering of aperient medicines and the absence from everything that could cause flatulence, he considered the only safe treatment. Nurses, however, sometimes placed much reliance on the brains of a rabbit.⁵

In Plato's Republic the nurses were to live apart

¹ Anim. ad Athen. t. xii. p. 170.

² When the case happened to be otherwise the remedies recommended by physicians were numerous, among which was the *halimos*, a prickly shrub found growing along the northern shores

of Crete.—Dioscor. i. 120. Tournefort. i. 44.

³ Arist. Hist. An. vii. 10. Foës. Œconom. Hippoc. v. Τριχίασις.

⁴ Hist. An. vii. 11.

⁵ Dioscor. ii. 21.

in a distinct quarter of the city, and suckle indiscriminately all the children that were to be preserved; no mother being permitted to know her own child.¹

Every one must have observed, as well as Plato,² that children are no sooner born than they exhibit unequivocal signs of passion and anger, in the moderating and directing of which consists the chiefest difficulty of education. Most men, through the defect of nature or early discipline, live long before they acquire this mastery, which many never attain at all. Generally, however, where it is possessed, much may certainly be attributed to that training which begins at the birth, so that of all the instruments employed in the³ forming of character, the nurse is probably the most important. Of this the ancients generally appear to have been convinced, and most of all the Spartans and Athenians. The Lacedæmonian nurses, on whom the force of discipline had been tried, enjoyed a high reputation throughout Greece, and were particularly esteemed at Athens.⁴ They no doubt deserved it. To them may be traced the first attempt to dispense with those swathes and bandages which in other countries confined the limbs, and impeded the movements of infants, and by their skilful and enlightened treatment, combined with watchfulness and tender solicitude, they are said to have preserved their little charges from

¹ Plat. Rep. v. t. vi. p. 236.—The desire of the philosopher was, that the people, or the state, should be regarded as the father of the child. Among our ancestors illegitimate children were denominated “sons of the people,” which was then thought equivalent to being the sons of nobody. Hence the following distich:—
Cui pater est populus, pater est
sibi nullus et omnis,
Cui pater est populus, non habet
ipse patrem.

Fortescue, Laud. Legg.
Angl. c. 40.

² Repub. i. 315. Stallb.—On the harshness and severity of nurses, Teles remarks in that curious picture of human life, which he has drawn quite in the spirit of the melancholy Jaques. Stob. Floril. Tit. 98. 72.

³ Cf. Cramer de Educ. Puer. ap. Athen. 9. Odyss. β. 361. seq. Terpstra, Antiq. Homer. 122. seq.

⁴ Plut. Alcib. § 1.

those distortions so common among children. But their cares extended beyond the person. They aimed at forming the manners, regulating the temper, laying the foundation of virtuous habits, at sowing in short the seeds, which in after life, might ripen into a manly, frank, and generous character. In the matter of food, in the regulating of which, as Locke confesses, there is much difficulty, the Spartan nurses acted up to the suggestions of the sternest philosophy, accustoming the children under their charge, to be content with whatever was put before them, and to endure occasional privations without murmuring. Over the fear of ghosts too they triumphed. Empusa and the Mormolukeion, and all those other hideous spectres which childhood associates with the idea of darkness, yielded to the discipline of the Spartan nurse.¹ Her charge would remain alone or in the dark, without terror, and the same stern system, which overcame the first offspring of superstition, likewise subdued the moral defects of peevishness, frowardness, and the habit of whining and mewling, which when indulged in render children a nuisance to all around them. No wonder therefore, these Doric disciplinarians were everywhere in request. At Athens it became fashionable among the opulent to employ them, and Cleinias, as is well known, placed under the care of one of these she-pædagogues that Alcibiades, whose ambitious character, to be curbed by no restraints of discipline or philosophy, proved the ruin of his country and the scourge of Greece.²

Plato, however, while framing at will an imaginary system, and though inclined upon the whole to laconise, adheres, in some respects, to the customs of his country, and ordains that infants be confined by swad-

¹ Or if not, the Spartan legislator had recourse to other expedients for extirpating these superstitious terrors in after years. It being customary among the Lacedæmonians to drink moderately in the *syssitia*, says Plutarch, they went home without a torch, it not be-

ing lawful to make use of a light on these or any other occasions, in order that they might be accustomed to walk by night and in darkness boldly, and without fear. *Instit. Lacon.* § 3.

² *Plut. Lycurg.* § 16.

dling bands till two years old. From the mention of this age, it may be inferred that children commonly did not walk much earlier at Athens, which is the case in the East, as we may learn from the story of Ala-ed-deen Abushamet. Plato would also have nurses to be vigorous and robust women, much inclined to frequent the temples, in order, probably, to introduce into the minds of their charges early impressions of religion, and to stroll about the fields and public gardens until the children could run alone; and even then, and until they were three years old, he urged the necessity of their being frequently carried, to prevent crooked legs and malformed ankles. But because all this might press hard on one nurse, several were employed, as among ourselves,¹ and a kind of Nursery Governess overlooked the whole. The Gerula or under-nurse was, in later times, the person upon whom fell the principal labour of bearing the infant about; but in remoter ages the Greeks, more particularly their royal and noble families, employed in this capacity a Baioulos² or nurse-father, who, as in the case of Phoenix, was sometimes himself of illustrious birth. Cheiron, too, the Pelasgian mountain prince, performed this sacred office for the son of his friend Peleus.

Our readers, we trust, will not be reluctant to enter a Greek nursery,³ where the mother, whatever might be the number of her assistants, generally suckled her own children. Their cradles were of various forms, some of which like our own required rocking,⁴ while others were suspended like sailors' hammocks from the ceiling, and swung gently to and fro when they desired to pacify the child or lull it to sleep:⁵ as Tithonos is represented in the mythology to have been sus-

¹ Plat. de Legg. vii. t. viii. p. 5. Pignor. de Serv. p. 185.

² Pignor. de Serv. p. 186. seq.

³ See in Winkelmann, vignette to l. iv. ch. 3. a view of an ancient nursery, where the mother, the pædagogue, the nurse, &c. are

engaged in the work of education. t. i. p. 414. Cf. Max. Tyr. Diss. iv. p. 49. Sch. Aristoph. Eq. 713.

⁴ Pignor. de. Serv. p. 186.

⁵ Schweigh. Animadv. in Athen. vi. 74.

pended in his old age.¹ Other cradles there were in the shape of little portable baskets wherein they were carried from one part of the harem to another.² It is probable, too, that as in the East the children of the opulent were rocked in their cradles wrapped in coverlets of Milesian wool.

Occasionally in Hellas,³ as everywhere else, the nurse's milk would fail, or be scanty, when they had recourse to a very original contrivance to still the infant's cries; they dipped a piece of sponge in honey which was given it to suck.⁴ It was probably under similar circumstances that children were indulged in figs; the Greeks entertaining an opinion that this fruit greatly contributed to render them plump and healthy. They had further a superstition that by rubbing fresh figs upon the eyes of children they would be preserved from ophthalmia.⁵

The Persians attributed the same preventive power to the petals of the new-blown rose.⁶ When a child was wholly or partly dry-nursed, the girl who had charge of it would under pretence of cooling its pap, commonly made of fine flour of spelt,⁷ put the spoon into her own mouth, swallow the best part of the nourishment, and give the refuse to the infant, a practice attributed by Aristophanes to Cleon, who swallowed, he says, the best of the good things of the state himself, and left the residue to the people.⁸

All the world over the singing of the nurse has been proverbial. Music breathes its sweetest notes around our cradles. The voice of woman soothes our infancy and our age, and in Greece, where every class of the community had its song, the nurse naturally

¹ Eudoc. ap. Villos. Anecd. Græc. t. i. p. 396. Tzet. ad Lyc. v. 16.

² Mus. Real. Borbon. t. i. pl. 3.

³ It was even then remarked that sucking children teethe much better than such as are dry nursed.

—Aristot. de Gen. Anim. v. 8. Hist. Anim. vii. 10.

⁴ Sch. Arist. Acharn. 439.

⁵ Athen. iii. 15.

⁶ Geopon. xi. 18.

⁷ Dioscor. ii. 114.

⁸ Equit. 712. Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. p. 326.

vindicated one to herself.¹ This sweetest of all melodies—

“ Redolent of joy and youth ”

was technically denominated Katabaukalesis, of which scraps and fragments only, like those of the village song which lingered in the memory of Rousseau, have come down to us. The first verse of a Roman nursery air, which still, Pignorius² tells us, was sung in his time by the mothers of Italy, ran thus :—

“ Lalla, Lalla ; dorme aut lacte.
Lalla, Lalla ; sleep or suck.”

The Sicilian poet, whose pictures of the ancient world are still so fresh and fragrant, has bequeathed to us a Katabaukalesis of extreme beauty and brevity which I have here paraphrastically translated :³—

“ Sleep ye, that in my breast have lain,
The slumber sweet and light,
And wake, my glorious twins, again
To glad your mother’s sight.
O happy, happy be your dreams,
And blest your waking be,
When morning’s gold and ruddy beams
Restore your smiles to me.”⁴

The philosopher Chrysippos⁵ considered it of importance to regulate the songs of nurses, and Quintilian,⁶ with a quaint but pardonable enthusiasm, would

¹ Ilgen. de Scol. Poes. p. xxvi. Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. p. 204. seq.

² De Serv. p. 186. seq. Cf. Athen. xiv. 10.

³ A nurse’s lay prevalent among our own ancestors may not inaptly find a place here :

“ Now suck, child, and sleep, child,
thy mother’s own joy,
Her only sweet comfort to drown
all annoy ;

For beauty, surpassing the azured sky,
I love thee, my darling, as ball of mine eye.”

D’Israeli, Amenities of Literature ii. 287.

⁴ Theoc. Eidyll. 24. 7. sqq.

⁵ Quintil. i. 10.

⁶ Instit. Orat. i. 1.

have the boy who is designed to be an orator placed under the care of a nurse of polished language and superior mind. He observes,¹ too, that children suckled and brought up by dumb nurses, will remain themselves dumb, which would necessarily happen had they no other person with whom to converse. When the infant was extremely wakeful the soothing influence of the song was heightened by the aid of little timbrels and rattles hung with bells.

A very characteristic anecdote is told of Anacreon apropos of nurses.² A good-humoured wench with a child in her arms happening one day to be sauntering *more nutricum*, through the Panionion, or Grand Agora of Ionia, encountered the Teïan poet, who returning from the Bacchic Olympos, found the streets much too narrow for him, and went reeling hither and thither as if determined to make the most of his walk. The nurse, it is to be presumed, felt no inclination to dispute the passage with him; but Anacreon attracted, perhaps, by her pretty face, making a timely lurch, sent both her and her charge spinning off the pavement, at the same time muttering something disrespectful against "the brat." Now, for her own part, the girl felt no resentment against him, for she could see which of the divinities was to blame; but loving, as a nurse should, her boy, she prayed that the poet might one day utter many words in praise of him whom he had so rudely vituperated; which came to pass accordingly, for the infant was the celebrated Cleobulos, whose beauty the Teïan afterwards celebrated in many an ode.³

Traces of the remotest antiquity still linger in the nursery. The word baby, which we bestow familiarly on an infant, was with little variation, in use many thousand years ago among the Syrians, in whose nur-

¹ Quintil. Inst. Orat. l. x. c. i.
Herod. ii. 2.

pl. 35. the figure of a nurse
bearing the infant Bacchos.

² See in the Mus. Cortonens.

³ Max. Tyr. Diss. xi. p. 132.

sery dialect *babia*¹ had the same signification. *Tatta*, too, *pappa* and *mamma*² were the first words lisped by the children of Hellas. And from various hints dropped by ancient authors, it seems clear that the same wild stories and superstitions that still flourish there haunted the nursery of old. The child was taught to dread Empusa or Onoskelis or Onoskolon,³ the monster with one human foot and one of brass, which dwelt among the shades of night and glided through dusky chambers and dismal passages to devour "naughty children." The fables which filled up this obscure part of Hellenic mythology, were scarcely less wild than those the Arabs tell about their Marids, their Efreet, and their Jinn; for Empusa, the phantom minister of Hecate,⁴ could assume every various form of God's creatures, appearing sometimes as a bull, or a tree, or an ass, or a stone, or a fly, or a beautiful woman.⁵ Shakspeare, having caught, perhaps, some glimpse of this superstition, or inventing in a kindred spirit, attributes a similar power of transformation to his mischievous elf in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, located on Empusa's native soil.

"I'll follow you, I'll lead you about, around,
Through bog, through bush, through brake, through briar.

¹ Phot. Biblioth. 31. l. 11. Menage shrewdly supposes Baby, Babble, &c. to have been derived from Babel. — D'Israeli, *Amenities of Literature*, i. 5.

² Pignor. de Serv. p. 187. Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 1365.—Pac. 119.

³ Lil. Gyrard. Synt. xii. Hist. Deor. 361 seq. Cf. Lucian. Ver. Hist. lib. 2 § 46. This spectre was said to glide before the sight of persons celebrating the rites of initiation, and therefore the mother of Æschines who performed a part in the rites, and also appeared to the initiated was, with much bad taste, called Empusa by Demosthenes.—De

Coronâ, § § 41. 79. Adam Littleton in his *Cambridge Dictionary* supposes this to have been her real name, which, however, was Glaucis or Glaucos. Stock. and Wunderl. ad loc. Cf. Harpoc. in. v. Sch. Aristoph. Concion. 1056. Ran. 293, 294. ὁρᾷς τὸν Αἰσχίνην ὃς τυμπανιστρίας υἱὸς ἦν. Lucian. Somn. § 12.

⁴ This goddess was also known by the name of Artemis Phosphoros. Aristoph. Concion. 444 et schol.

⁵ Aristoph. Ran. 293. Epicharm. ap. Nat. Com. p. 854. See also Sch. Apol. Rhod. iii. 478. iv. 247.

Sometimes a horse I'll be, sometime a hound,
 A hog, a headless bear, sometimes a fire,
 And neigh, and bark, and grunt, and roar, and burn,
 Like horse, hound, hog, bear, fire at every turn."

It was this spectral being that was said to appear to those who performed the sacrifices to the dead, to men overwhelmed with misfortune,¹ and travellers in remote and dismal roads; as happened to the companions of Apollonios of Tyana who, in journeying on a bright moonlight night, were startled by the appearance of Empusa, which having stood twice or thrice in their way, suddenly vanished.² To protect themselves against this demon the superstitious were accustomed to wear about them a piece of jasper, either set in a ring, or suspended from the neck.³

The Lamia, too, fierce and beautiful, the ancestress of our "White ladies," and of the Katakhanas or Vampire of the modern Greeks, roamed through solitary places to terrify, delude, or destroy good folks, big or little, who might lose their way amid moonlit crags or shores made white with bones and sea-shells. They loved to relate "around the fire o' nights," how Lamia had once been a beautiful woman caressed and made the mother of a fair son by Zeus; how Hera through jealousy had destroyed the boy; and how, thereupon Lamia took to the bush and devoted her wretched immortality to the destroying of other women's children.⁴ According to another form of the tradition there were many Lamiae, so called from having capacious jaws, inhabiting the Libyan coast,⁵ somewhere about the Great Syrtis, in the midst of sand hills, rocks, and wastes of irreclaimable aridity. Formed above like women of surpassing beauty, they terminated below in serpents. Their voice was like the

¹ Meurs. Lect. Att. iii. 17.

⁴ Sch. Aristoph. Vesp. 1035.

² Philost. Vit. Apoll. Tyan. l. ii. c. 2.

Philost. Vit. Apoll. Tyan. iv. 25.

³ Cf. De Boot, De Lap. p. 251. sqq. on the properties and virtues of this stone.

⁵ Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 1035.

hissing of an adder, and whatever approached them they devoured.¹

Another race of wild and grotesque spirits were the Kobaloi,² companions of Dionysos, who doubtless subsist still in our woods and forests under the name of goblins and hobgoblins. Our Elves and Trolls and Fairies appear likewise to belong to the same brood, though in these northern latitudes, they have become less mischievous and more romantic, delighting the eyes of the wayfarers by their frolics and gambols, instead of devouring him.

“ Fairy elves,
Whose midnight revels, by a forest side,
Or fountain, some belated peasant sees,
Or dreams he sees, while overhead the moon
Sits arbitress, and nearer to the earth
Wheels her pale course ; they on their mirth and dance
Intent, with jocund music charm his ear,
At once with joy and fear his heart rebounds.”

Though, as we have seen, weak children were unscrupulously sacrificed at Sparta, they still made offerings to the gods in favour of the strong. The ceremony took place annually during certain festivals, denominated Tithenidia,³ when, in a moment of hospitality, they not only made merry themselves, but overlooked their xenelasia, and entertained generously all such strangers as happened to be present. The banquet given on this occasion was called Kopis, and, in preparation for it, tents were pitched on the banks of the Tiasa near the temple of Artemis Corythalis. Within these, beds formed of heaps of herbs were piled up and covered with carpets. On the day of the festival the nurses proceeded thither with the male children in their arms, and, presenting them to the goddess, offered up as victims a number of sucking pigs. In the feast which ensued loaves baked in an oven, in lieu of the extemporary cake, were served up to the guests. Choruses of Corythalistriæ or dancing girls, likewise performed

¹ Lil. Gyrald. Hist. Deor. Synt. xv. 447. seq.

² Schol Aristoph. Plut. 279.
³ Athen. iv. 16.

in honour of the goddess; and in some places persons, called Kyrittoi, in wooden masks, made sport for the guests.¹ Probably it may have been on occasions such as this that the nurses, like her in *Romeo and Juliet*, gave free vent to their libertine tongues, and indulged in those appellations which the tolerant literature of antiquity has preserved.²

When children were to be weaned, they spread, as the moderns do, something bitter over the nipple,³ that the young republican might learn early how—

“ Full in the fount of joy’s delicious springs
Some bitter o’er the flower its bubbling venom flings.”

¹ Meurs. Græc. Fer. 261. seq.

³ Athen. vi. 51.

² Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. 161.

CHAPTER III.

TOYS, SPORTS, AND PASTIMES.

HAVING described, as far as possible, the management of infants and young children, it may not be uninteresting to notice briefly their toys, sports, and pastimes; for, though children have been substantially the same in all ages and countries, the forms of their amusements have been infinitely varied, and where they have resembled each other it is not the less instructive to note that resemblance. The ancients¹ have, however, bequeathed us but little information respecting the fragile implements wherewith the happiness of the nursery was in great part erected. Even respecting the recreations which succeeded and amused the leisure of boys our materials for working out a picture are scanty, so that we must content ourselves with little more than an outline. Nevertheless, though the accounts they have transmitted to posterity are meagre, they attached much importance to the subject itself; so that the greatest legislators and philosophers condescended to make regulations respecting

¹ Plato had the utmost faith in the power of education over both mind and body; but his system embraced much more than is usually comprehended under the term, even taking charge of the infant before its birth, and immediately afterwards, in the hope of wisely regulating its physical developement. As the child grows most during the first five years, its size in the following twenty being seldom doubled,

most care, he thought, should then be taken that the great impulses of nature be not counteracted. Much food is then consumed, with very little exercise; hence the multitude of deaths in infancy and diseases in after-life, of which the seeds are then sown. For this reason he would encourage the violent romping and sports of children, that the excess of nourishment may be got rid of. De Legg. vii. t. viii. p. 2. seq.

it. Thus Plato, with a view of generating a profound reverence for ancient national institutions, forbade even the recreations of boys to be varied with reckless fickleness; for the habit of innovation once introduced into the character would ever after continue to influence it, so that they who in boyhood altered their sports without reason, would without scruple in manhood extend their daring hands to the laws and institutions of their country.¹

Amongst the Hellenes the earliest toy consisted, as in most other countries, of the rattle, said to be the invention of the philosopher Archytas.² To this succeeded balls of many colours,³ with little chariots, sometimes purchased at Athens in the fair held during the feast of Zeus.⁴ The common price of a plaything of this kind would appear to have been an obolos. The children themselves, as without any authority might with certainty be inferred, employed their time in erecting walls with sand,⁵ in constructing little houses,⁶ in building and carving ships, in cutting carts or chariots out of leather, in fashioning pomegranate rinds into the shape of frogs,⁷ and in forming with wax a thousand diminutive images, which pursued afterwards during school hours subjected them occasionally to severe chastisement.⁸

Another amusement which the children of Hellas shared with their elders was that afforded by puppets,⁹ which were probably an invention of the remotest antiquity. Numerous women appear to have earned

¹ Plat. de Legg. vii. t. viii. p. 21. seq.

² Aristot. Polit. viii. 6. 1.

³ Dion. Chrysost. Nat. viii. p. 281.

⁴ Aristoph. Nub. 862. sqq. et Schol. Rav. in loc. Cf. Suid. v. Ἀμαῖς, t. i. p. 194. b. Pollux, x. 168.

⁵ Damm. v. Ἀθρυμμα.

⁶ Lucian. Hermot. § 33.

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⁷ Aristoph. Nub. 877. sqq. et Schol.

⁸ Lucian. de Somn. § 2.

⁹ Buleng. de Theat. l. i. c. 36. sqq. Muret. ad Plat. Rep. p. 645. Eustath. in Odyss. δ. p. 176. Mount. Not. ad Dem. Olynth. ii. § 5. Perizon. ad Æl. Var. Hist. viii. 7. See also the article Marionnette in the Encyclopédie Française; and Caylus, Rec. d'Antiq. t. vi. p. 287. t. iv. pl. 80. no. i.

their livelihood by carrying round from village to village these ludicrous and frolicsome images, which were usually about a cubit in height, and may be regarded as the legitimate ancestors of Punch and Judy. By touching a single string, concealed from the spectators, the operator could put her mute performers in action, cause them to move every limb in succession, spread forth the hands, shrug the shoulders, turn round the neck, roll the eyes, and appear to look at the audience.¹ After this, by other contrivances within the images, they could be made to go through many humorous evolutions resembling the movements of the dance. These exhibitors, frequently of the male sex, were known by the name of *Neurospastæ*. This art passed, together with other Grecian inventions, into Italy, where it was already familiar to the public in the days of Horace, who, in speaking of princes governed by favourites, compares them to puppets in the hands of the showman.

“ Tu, mihi qui imperitas, aliis servis miser ; atque
Duceris, ut nervis alienis mobile lignum.”²

A very extraordinary puppet, in the form of a silver skeleton, was, according to Petronius Arbiter,³ exhibited at the court of Nero ; for, like the Egyptians, this imperial profligate appears to have been excited

¹ Aristot. de Mund. c. 6. translated by Apuleius, p. 20. Herod. ii. 48. See Comment. ad Poll. vii. 189. Duport. ad Theophr. Char. p. 308. This juggler having, for his ill behaviour, been driven from Athens, flew to Philip, with whom such persons were always in favour. Dem. Olynth. i. § 7.

² Sat. ii. 7. 81. seq. Plerumque simulacra de ligno facta nervis moventur.—Vet. Schol.

³ Satyric. p. 80. Helenop. 1610. Wouwer. Anim. p. 418. Erhard. Symbol. p. 611. Plut. Conv. Sept.

Sap. ch. 2.—A story is told of an Ionian juggler who proceeded to Babylon to perform what he deemed a wonderful feat before the Great King, and the feat was this: fixing a long point of steel on a wall, and retiring to a considerable distance, he threw at it a number of soft round pellets of dough, with so nice an aim that every one of them was penetrated, the last pellet driving back the others. Max. Tyr. Diss. xix. p. 225. Anim. ad Poll. vii. 189. p. 532.

to sensual indulgences by the remembrance of the grave: "Let us eat and drink," cried he, "for to-morrow we die." The skeleton being placed upon the table, in the midst of the tyrant's orgies, threw its limbs strangely about, and bent its form into various attitudes with wonderful flexibility, which having performed once and again, and then suddenly ceasing to move, the master of the feast exclaimed, "Alas, alas! what a mere nothing is man! Like unto this must we all be when Orcus shall have borne us hence. Therefore let us live while enjoyment is in our power." But to return to the children of Hellas. Among the earliest sports of the Greek boy was whipping the *bembyx* or top,¹ which would appear to have been usually practised in those open spaces occurring at the junction of several roads:—

"Where three ways meet there boys with tops are found,
That ply the lash and urge them round and round."²

Sometimes also, as with us, they spun their tops with cord. The amusement is thus described by Tibullus:³

"Namque agor, ut per plana citus tota verbere turben,
Quem celer assuetâ versitat arte puer."

The hoop, too, so familiar to our own schoolboys, formed one of the playthings of Hellenic children. It was sometimes made of bronze, about three feet in diameter,⁴ and adorned with little spherical bells and movable rings, which jingled as it rolled. The instrument employed to urge

"the rolling circle's speed,"

as Gray expresses it, in his reminiscences of the Eton play-ground, was crooked at the point, and called a *plectron*: its exact representation may any day, in the proper season, be seen in the streets of London impelling forward the iron hoop of our own children.

¹ Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 1517.
Diog. Laert. i. 4. 8. Cf. Hyde
Nerdilud. p. 259.

² I. 5. 3.

³ Cf. Caylus, Rec. D'Antiq. t.

⁴ Callim. Ep. i. 9. seq. p. 180. vi. 318. seq.

The passages of ancient authors, in which mention of the trochos occurs, appear to have been imperfectly understood before the discovery of a basso-rilievo, in marble, on the road from Rome to Tivoli, afterwards removed to the vineyard of the Cardinal Alexander Albani. On certain engraved gems also, in the cabinet of Stosch, are several representations of boys playing at hoop, where the trochos in some cases reaches to the waist, in others to the breast, and where the child is very small up to the chin. It has been conjectured by Winkelmann,¹ that a circle represented in one of the paintings of Herculaneum was no other than an ancient trochos. Rolling the hoop formed a part of the exercises of the palæstra, which were performed even by very young children. Thus we find the nurse describing the sons of Medeia returning from playing at hoop the very day that they were slain by their mother.² This amusement has been described briefly by the Roman poets. Thus Martial:³—

“ Garrulus in laxo cur annulus orbe vagatur
Cedat, et argutis obvia turba trochis.”

Propertius⁴ notices the crooked form of the plectron, or clavis:—

“ Increpat et versi clavis adunca trochi.”

Horace⁵ likewise alludes to the game:—

“ Indoctusque pilæ discive trochive quiescit.”

This poet clearly informs us that the Romans received the game from the Greeks:⁶—

“ Ludere doctior,
Seu Græco jubeas trocho,
Seu malis vetita legibus alea.”

Another less innocent amusement was⁷ spinning gold-chafers, which appears to have afforded the Greek

¹ Descr. des Pierres Grav. du Cab. de Stosch. 452. seq.

² Eurip. Med. 45. et Sch.

³ L. xiv. Ep. 169.

⁴ iii. 12.

⁵ Ars Poet. 380. where the ancient scholiast seems doubtful whether the trochus was a hoop

or a top:—“ Trochus dicitur turben, qui flagello percutitur, et in vertiginem rotatur, aut rota quam currendo pueri scuticâ vel virgâ regunt.”

⁶ Carm. iii. 24. 56. sqq.

⁷ On the games at present practised in Greece, see Dodwell, ii.

urchins the same delight as tormenting cockchafers does their successors of the north. This species of beetle making its appearance when the apple-trees were in bloom, was therefore called *Melolanthæ*, or apple-blossom. Having caught it, and tied a linen thread about its feet, it was let loose, and the fun was to see it move in spiral lines through the air as it was twisted by the thread.¹

It was the practice among the children of Greece, when the sun happened to be obscured by a cloud, to exclaim, “Ἐξέρχ’ ὦ φίλ’ ἡλίου!” — “Come forth, beloved sun!” Strattis makes allusion to this custom in a fragment of his *Phœnissæ*:—

“Then the god listened to the shouting boys,
When they exclaimed, ‘Come forth, beloved sun!’”²

It is fortunate that our English boys have no such passion for sunshine; otherwise, as Phœbos Apollo hides his face for months together in this blessed climate, we should be in a worse plight than Dionysos among the frogs of Acheron, when his passion for Euripides led him to pay a visit to Persephone. In some parts of the country, however, the children have a rude distich which they frequently bawl in chorus, when in summer-time their sports are interrupted by a long-continued shower:—

“Rain, rain, go to Spain;
Fair weather, come again.”

The *Muñda* was our “Blindman’s-buff,” “Blind Hob,” “Hobble ’em-blind,” and “Hood-man-blind,” in which, as with us, a boy moved about with his eyes bandaged, spreading forth his hands, and crying “Beware!” If he caught any of those who were skipping around him, the captive was compelled to enact the blind-man in his stead. Another form of the game was for the seers to hide, and the blind man to grope

37. sqq.; and Douglas, *Essay on certain points of resemblance between the Anc. and Mod. Greeks*, p. 127. sqq.

¹ Poll. ix. 124.

² Poll. ix. 123.

round till he found them; the whole probably being a rude representation of Polyphemos in his cave searching for the Greeks who had blinded him. A third form was, for the bystanders to strike or touch the blindfolded boy until he could declare who had touched him, when the person indicated took his place. To this the Roman soldiers alluded when they blindfolded our Saviour and smote him, and cried, "Prophecy who struck thee."¹ In the Kollabismos,² the Capifolèt of the French, one person covered his eyes with his own hands, the other then gave him a gentle blow, and the point was, for the blindfolded man to guess with which hand he had been stricken. The Χαλκή Μύια,³ or Brazen Fly, was a variety of Blindman's-buff, in which a boy, having his eyes bound with a fillet, went groping round, calling out, "I am seeking the Brazen Fly." His companions replied, "You may seek, but you will not find it" — at the same time striking him with cords made of the inner bark of the papyros; and thus they proceeded till one of them was taken. Apodi-draskinda ("hide and seek," or "whoop and holloa!") was played much as it is now. One boy shut his eyes, or they were kept closed for him by one of his suspicious companions, while the others went to hide. He then sallied forth in search of the party who lay concealed, while each of them endeavoured to gain the post of the seeker; and the first who did this turned him out and took his place.

Another game was the Ephedrismos, in which a stone called the Dioros was set up at a certain distance, and aimed at with bowls or stones. The one who missed took the successful player upon his back, and was compelled to carry him about blindfolded, until he went straight from the standing-point to the Dioros.

¹ This has been observed by Hemsterhuis, ad Poll. t. vi. p. 1173, where his commentary alone can render the text intelligible. — Cf. Matthew, xxvi. 68. Mark, xiv. 64. Luke, xxii. 65.

² "Jeu de la main chaude." Steph. Thes. Ling. Græc. v. Κολλαβισμός.

³ Hyde, Hist. Nerdilud. p. 266.

This latter part of the game has been described by several ancient authors, under the appellation of Encotyle, though they are rightly, by Hesychius,¹ considered as different parts of the same sport. The variety called Encotyle, — the “Pick-back” or “Pick-a-back,” of English boys, consisted in one lad’s placing his hands behind his back, and receiving therein the knees of his conqueror, who, putting his fingers over the bearer’s eyes, drove him about at his pleasure. This game was also called the Kubesinda and Hippas,² though, according to the conjecture of Dr. Hyde, the latter name signified rather our game of “Leap-frog,” — the “mazidha” of the Persians, in which a number of boys stooped down with the hands resting on the knees, in a row, the last going over the backs of all the others, and then standing first.

In the game called Chytrinda, in English³ “Hot-cockles,” “Selling of pears,” or “How many plumbs for a penny,” one boy sat on the ground, and was called the chytra or pot, while his companions, forming themselves into a ring, ran round, plucking, pinching, or striking him as they went. If he who enacted the chytra succeeded in seizing upon one of the buffeters the captive took his place. Possibly it was during this play that a mischievous foundling, contrary to rule, poking, as he ran round, the boy in the centre with his foot, provoked from the latter the sarcastic inquiry, “What! dost thou kick thy mother in the belly?” alluding to the circumstance of the former having been exposed in a chytra.⁴ Another form of the Chytrinda required the lad in the centre to move about with a pot on his head, where he held it with his left hand, while the others struck him, and cried out, “Who has the pot?” To which he replied, “I Midas,” endeavouring all the while to reach some one with his foot,—the first whom he thus touched being compelled to carry round the pot in his stead.⁵

¹ In v. Ἐπεὶ δὲ λῆξιν.

² Hyde, Hist. Nerdilud. p. 241.

³ Hyde, Hist. Nerdilud. p. 263.

⁴ Sch. Aristoph. Thesm. 509.

But see above, p. 122.

⁵ Poll. ix. 114.

Another game, peculiar to girls, was the Cheli Chelone, or "the tortoise," of which I remember no representative among English pastimes. It somewhat resembled the Chytrinda of the boys. For one girl sat on the ground and was called the tortoise, while her companions, running round, inquired "Tor-tortoise what art thou doing there in the middle?" "Spinning wool," replied she, "the thread of the Milesian woof;" "And how, continued they, was thy son engaged when he perished?" "He sprang from his white steeds into the sea."¹ If this was, as the language would intimate, a Dorian play, I should consider it a practical satire on the habits of the other Hellenic women, who remained like tortoises at home, carding and spinning, while their sons engaged in the exercises of the palæstra or the stadium. Possibly, also, originally the name may have had some connection with καλλιχέλωνος "beautiful tortoise," the figure of this animal having been impressed on the money of the Peloponnesians; in fact, in a fragment of the Helots of Eupolis, we find the obolos distinguished by the epithet of καλλιχέλωνος.²

The Kynitinda was so called from the verb *κυνία* to kiss, as appears from Crates in his "Games," a play in which the poet contrived to introduce an account of this and nearly all the other juvenile pastimes. The form of the sport being little known, the learned have sometimes confounded it with a kind of salute called the chytra in antiquity, and the "Florentine Kiss" in modern Italy, in which the person kissing took the other by the ears. Giraldi³ says he remembers, when a boy, that his father and other friends, when kissing him, used sometimes to take hold of both his ears, which they called giving a "Florentine kiss." He afterwards was surprised to find that this was a most ancient practice, commemorated both by the Greek

¹ Poll. ix. 125.

³ Opp. ii. p. 880. Theocrit.

² Id. ix. 74. Cf. Suid. v. Καλλιχελώνη. t. i. p. 1359. c. Meurs. De Lud. Græc. p. 41. v. 133. Wart.—Poll. x. 100.

and Latin authors. It obtained its name, as he conjectures, from the earthen vessel called chytra, which had two handles usually laid hold of by persons drinking out of it, as is still the practice with similar utensils in Spain. This writer mentions a present sent from the peninsula to Leo X, consisting of a great number of chytræ of red pottery, if we may so call them, of which he himself obtained one. Crates, as Hemsterhuis¹ ingeniously supposes, introduced a wanton woman playing at this game among the youths in order that she might enjoy the kisses of the handsome.

The Epostrakismos² was what English boys call "Ducks and Drakes," and sometimes, among our ancestors at least, "A duck and a drake and a white penny cake," and was played with oyster-shells. Standing on the shore of the sea at the Peiræus, for example, they flung the shells edgeways over the water so that they should strike it and bound upwards again and again from its surface. The boy whose shell made most leaps before sinking, won the game. Minucius Felix gives a very pretty description of this juvenile sport. "Behold, he says, "boys playing in frolicsome rivalry with shells on "the sea-shore. The game consists in picking up "from the beach a shell rendered light by the constant action of the waves, and standing on an even "place, and inclining the body, holding the shell flat "between the fingers, and throwing it with the greatest possible force, so that it may rase the surface "of the sea or skim along while it moves with gentle "flow, or glances over the tops of the waves as they "leap up in its track. That boy is esteemed the "victor whose shell performs the longest journey or "makes most leaps before sinking."³

The Akinetinda was a contention between boys, in which some one of them endeavoured to maintain his

¹ Comment. ad Poll. t. vi. p. 1180.

² Poll. ix. 119.

³ Seber ad Poll. t. vi. p. 1188.

position unmoved. Good sport must have been produced by the next game called *Schoenophilinda*, or "Hiding the Rope." In this a number of boys sat down in a circle, one of whom had a rope concealed about his person, which he endeavoured to drop secretly beside one of his companions. If he succeeded, the unlucky wight was started like a hare round the circle, his enemy following and laying about his shoulders. But on the other hand, if he against whom the plot was laid detected it, he obtained possession of the rope and enjoyed the satisfaction of flogging the plotter over the same course.

The *Basilinda*¹ was a game in which one obtained by lot the rank of king, and the vanquished, whether one or many, became subject to him, to do whatever he should order. It passed down to the Christians, and was more especially practised during the feast of the Epiphany. It is commonly known under the name of *Forfeits*, and was formerly called "One penny," "One penny come after me," "Questions and commands," "The choosing of king and queen on Twelfth night." In the last-mentioned sense it is still prevalent in France, where it is customary for bakers to make a present to the families they serve, of a large cake in the form of a ring in which a small kidney bean has been concealed. The cake is cut up, the pieces are distributed to the company, and the person who gets the bean is king of the feast. This game entered in Greece likewise into the amusements of grown people, both men and women, as well as of children, and an anecdote, connected with it, is told of Phryne, who happened one day to be at a mixed party where it was played. By chance it fell to her lot to play the queen; upon which, observing that her female companions were rouged and lilled to the eyes, she maliciously ordered a basin and towel to be brought in, and that every woman should wash her face. Conscious of her own native beauty, she began

¹ Poll. ix. 110.

the operation, and only appeared the fresher and more lovely. But alas for the others! When the anchusa, psimmuthion, and phukos had been removed by the water, their freckled and coarse skins exposed them to general laughter.¹

The Ostrakinda was a game purely juvenile. A knot of boys having drawn a line on the ground, separated into two parties. A small earthenware disk or ostrakon, one side black with pitch, the other white, was then produced, and each party chose a side, white or black. The disk was then pitched along the line, and the party whose side came up was accounted victorious, and prepared to pursue while the others turned round and fled. The boy first caught obtained the name of the ass, and was compelled to sit down, the game apparently proceeding till all were thus caught and placed hors de combat. He who threw the ostrakon cried, "night or day," the black side being termed *night*, and the opposite *day*. It was called the "Twirling of the ostrakon." Plato alludes to it in the Phædros.²

The Dielkustinda, "French and English," was played chiefly in the palæstra, and occasionally elsewhere. It consisted simply in two parties of boys laying hold of each other by the hand, and pulling till one by one the stronger had drawn over the weaker to their side of the ground.

The Phryginda was a game in which, holding a number of smooth and delicate fragments of pottery between the fingers of the left hand, they struck them in succession with the right so as apparently to produce a kind of music.³

There was another game called Kyndalismos, played with short batons, and requiring considerable strength and quickness of eye. A stick having been fixed up-

¹ Galen. Protrept. § 10. Kühn. Compare the admirable note of Hemsterhuis ad Poll. t. vi. p. 1066. seq.

² Poll. ix. 111. seq. Plat. Phæd. t. i. p. 29. seq. Bekk.

³ Turneb. Advers. xxvii. 33. Poll. ix. 114. Comment. t. vi. p. 1178.

right in a loose moist soil; the business was to dislodge it by throwing at it other batons from a distance; whence the proverb, "Nail is driven out by nail, and baton by baton."¹ A person who played at this game was called by some of the Doric poets Kyndalopactes.² A similar game is played in England, in which the prize is placed upon the top of the upright stick. The player wins when the prize falls without the hole whence the upright has been dislodged.

The game of Ascoliasmos³ branched off into several varieties, and afforded the Athenian rustics no small degree of sport. The first and most simple form consisted in hopping on one foot, sometimes in pairs, to see which in this way could go furthest. On other occasions the hopper undertook to overtake certain of his companions who were allowed the use of both legs. If he could touch one of them he came off conqueror. This variety of the game appears to have been the *Empusæ ludus* of the Romans. "Scotch hoppers," or "Fox to thy hole," in which boys, hopping on one leg, beat one another with gloves or pieces of leather tied at the end of strings, or knotted handkerchiefs, as in the *diable boîteux* of the French. At other times victory depended on the number of hops, all hopping together and counting their springs,—the highest of course winning. But the most amusing variety of the game was that practised during the Dionysiac festival of the Askolia. Skins filled with wine or inflated with air, and extremely well oiled, were placed upon the ground, and on these the shoeless rustics leaped with one leg and endeavoured to maintain a footing, which they seldom could on account of their slipperiness. However, he who succeeded carried off the skin of wine as his prize.

¹ Vid. Vatic. Append. Proverb. Cent. ii. prov. 12. et Ib. not. And. Schotto. Kühn ad Poll. t. vi. p. 1190.

² Meursius, Græc. Lud. p. 26. and after him Pfeiffer, Ant. Græc. iv. p. 120. read *κινδαλοπαίκτης*,

which Hemsterhuis observes is contrary to the authority of the MSS.

³ Phurnutus, De Nat. Deorum, c. 30. p. 217. seq. Gale.—Poll. ix. 121. Sch. Aristoph. Plut. 1130. Kust.—Meurs. Græc. Fer. p. 52; Græc. Ludibunda, p. 6.

A game, evidently also of rustica, was the Trygodi-phesis, Tantalī ludus, "Bobbing for cherries," "Bob cherry," in which something very nice was thrown into a bowl of wine lees, which the performer, with his hands behind his back, was to fish up with his lips. The fun was to see the ludicrous figure he cut with his face daubed and discoloured by the lees.

Phitta Maliades, Phitta Meliai, Phitta Rhoiai, "Hasten, nymphs!" may be regarded as exclamations of encouragement uttered by Dorian girls, when engaged in a race.¹

Playing at ball was common, and received various names. Episkyros, Phæninda, Aporraxis and Ourania. The first of these games was also known by the names of the Ephebike and the Epikoinos. It was played thus: a number of young men assembling together in a place covered with sand or dust, drew across it a straight line, which they called Skyros, and at equal distances, on either side, another line. Then placing the ball on the Skyros, they divided into two equal parties, and retreated each to their lines, from which they immediately afterwards rushed forward to seize the ball. The person who picked it up, then cast it towards the extreme line of the opposite party, whose business it was to intercept and throw it back, and they won who by force or cunning compelled their opponents to overstep the boundary line.

Daniel Souter² contends that this was the English game of football, into which perhaps it may, in course of time, have been converted. This rough and, it must be confessed, somewhat dangerous sport, originally, in all probability, introduced into this country by the Romans, may still on Shrove Tuesday be witnessed in certain towns of South Wales. The balls consist of bulls' bladders protected by a thick covering of leather, and blown tight. Six or eight are made ready for the occasion, every window in the town is shut by break of day, at which time all the youths of the

¹ Poll. ix. 127. with the note of Hemsterhuis.

² Palamedes, iii. 4. p. 207. Alex. ab Alex. iii. 21.

neighbourhood assemble in the streets. The ball is then thrown up in front of the town-hall, and the multitude, dividing into two parts, strive with incredible eagerness and enthusiasm to overcome their antagonists, each endeavouring to kick the foot-ball to the other extremity of the town. In the struggle severe kicks and wounds are given, and many fierce battles take place. The ball sometimes mounts thirty or forty feet above the tops of the highest houses and falls far beyond, or goes right over into the gardens, whither it is immediately followed by a crowd of young men. The sport is kept up all day, the hungry combatants recruiting their strength from time to time by copious horns of ale, and an abundant supply of the nice pancakes which the women sell in baskets at the corner of every street. To view this sport, thousands of persons assemble from all the country round, so that to the secluded population of those districts it is in some sort what the battle in the Platanistas was to the Spartans, or even what the Isthmian and Nemean games were to the whole of Greece.

The Phæninda¹ is supposed to have received its name either from its inventor, Phænides (called Phænestios in Athenæus² and the Etymologicon Magnum), or from the verb *φωακίζεν*³ "to deceive," because, making as though they would throw at one person, they immediately sent it at another, thus deluding the expectation of the former. It appears at first to have been played with the small ball called Harpaston, though the game with the large soft one may afterwards perhaps have also been called Phæninda. The variety named Aporraxis consisted in throwing the ball with some force against the ground and repelling it constantly as it rebounded; he who did this most frequently, winning. In the game called Ourania, the player, bending back his body, flung up the ball with

¹ Cf. Souter. Palam. iii. 3. p. 201.

² Deipnosoph. i. 26.

³ Cf. Schweigh. ad Athen. t. vi. p. 248. seq.

all his might into the air; on which there arose a contention among his companions who should first catch it in its descent, as Homer appears to intimate in his description of the Phæacian sport. They likewise played at ball in the modern fashion against a wall, in which the person who kept it up longest, won, and was called king; the one who lost, obtained the name of ass, and was constrained by the laws of the game to perform any task set him by the king.¹

A game generally played in the gymnasia was the Skaperda. In this a post was set up with a hole near the top and a rope passed through it. Two young men then seized each one end of the rope, and turning their back to the post exerted their utmost strength to draw their antagonist up the beam. He who raised his opponent highest won. Sometimes they tried their strength by binding themselves together, back to back, and pulling different ways.

The Himanteligmos, "pricking the garter," in Ireland "pricking the loop," was really an ingenious amusement. It consisted in doubling a thong, and twisting it into numerous labyrinthine folds, which done, the other party put the end of a peg into the midst in search of the point of duplication. If he missed the mark the thong unwound without entangling the peg; but if he dropped it into the right ring his peg was caught and the game won. Hemsterhuis² supposes the Gordian knot to have been nothing but a variety of the Himanteligmos. He conjectures that the boys of Abdera were fond of this game, on which account the sophisms of Democritus were called *ἡμαντελικταί*, and hence probably a sophist, as one who twists words together, to *lash* others, was called Himantelictes.

Another game, not entirely confined to children, was the Chalkismos, which consisted in twisting round rapidly on a board or table a piece of money, and

¹ Poll. ix. 106.

² Ad Poll. t. vi. p. 1186. sqq.
Cf. Plut. Symp. i. 1.

placing the point of the finger so dexterously on its upper edge as to put a stop to its motion without permitting it to fall. This was a favourite amusement of Phryne the hetaira, as building houses of cards was of La Belle Stuart.¹ Some of these sports were peculiar to the female sex,² as the Pentalitha, which is still played by girls in some remote provinces of our island, where it is called "Dandies." The whole apparatus of the game consisted in five astragals—knuckle bones—pebbles, or little balls, which, gathered up rapidly, were thrown into the air and attempted to be caught in falling on the back of the hand or between the slightly spread fingers. If any fell it was allowable to pick them up, provided this were done with the fingers of the same hand on which the other astragals rested.³ The girls of France, according to Bulenger, still amuse themselves with the Pentalitha, there played with five little glass balls, which are flung in the air and caught so dexterously as seldom to fall either on the table or on the ground. I have never, however, seen it played myself in that country.

The Astragalismos,⁴ which by the Romans was denominated *talorum* or *taxillorum ludus*, (by Hyde through the Greek *πάσσαλος*, derived from the Hebræo-Punic *Assila*,) by the Arabs *Ka'b* or *Shezn*, by the Persians *Shesh-buzhûl bâzi*, by the Turks *Depshelîm*, (played in their country both by girls and boys,) by the French *Garignon* or *Osselets*, in English "Cock-all."⁵ In the game of astragals the Persians, as is im-

¹ Poll. ix. 118.

² The game of astragals, properly so called, was common to both sexes (Paus. vi. 24. 7), who saw in Elis one of the Graces, represented with an astragal in her hand, while her two companions held the one a rose, the other a branch of myrtle, symbolical of their relationship to Aphrodite. The poets sometimes transfer these sports of earth to the Olympian

halls, where we find Eros and Ganymede playing with golden astragals.—Cf. Apollon. Rhod. iii. 117. seq. Cf. Odys. α. 107. Il. χ. 87. seq.

³ Poll. ix. 126.

⁴ Children, according to Lysander, were to be deceived with astragals, and men with oaths.—Plut. Lysan. § 8.

⁵ Hyde, Hist. Talor. § 2. t. ii. p. 314.

plied in the name given above, often use six bones while the Greeks employed only four, which were thrown either on a table or on the floor. According to Lucian,¹ the huckle bones were sometimes those of the African gazelle.

The several sides of the astragal or huckle bone had their character expressed by numbers, and obtained separate names, which determined the value of the throw.² Thus, the side showing the Monas was called the Dog, the opposite side Chias, and the throw Chios. In cockall as in dice there are neither twos nor fives. The highest number, six, was called the Coan (*συνορικὸς* or *ἑξίτης*); the Dog or one was called the Chian or dog-chance; to which the old proverb alluded *Κῶς πρὸς χῖον*, six to one. To have the Dog turn up was to lose, hence, perhaps, the phrase, "going to the dogs," that is, playing a losing game. The throw of eight was denominated Stesichoros, because the poet's tomb at Himera consisted of a perfect octagon. Among the forty who succeeded to the thirty at Athens Euripides was one, and hence, if the throw of the astragals amounted to forty points, they bestowed upon it the name of Euripides. All animals in which the astragal is found have it in the hough or pastern of the hind legs. The *τὸ πρᾶνός*, the gibbous side or blank, because it counts for nothing; the *τὸ κοῖλον*, the hollow side or "put in;" the *χῶα*, the tortuous side, "cockall," or "take all," so called because it wins the stake; the smooth side *τα χῖα*, "take half," because of the money put in, it wins half. Among the Greeks and Romans the *put in* was called trias, the blank tetras, the half-monas, and the cockall hexas.³ By the Arabs they are denominated the thief, the lamb, the wezeer, and the sultan; by the Turks the robber, the ploughman, the kihaya, or the dog, and the bey; by the Persians

¹ Amor. § 16. Theoph. Char. c. 5. See Nixon. Acc. of Antiq. at Hercul. Phil. Trans. vol. 50. pt. i. p. 88. Hyde. Hist. Talor. p. 137.

² Hyde. Hist. Talor. p. 141. sqq. Poll. ix. 100.

³ Arist. Hist. Anim. ii. 2. p. 30. Bekk.

the robber, the rustic, the wezeer, and the schah; by the Armenians the thief, the ploughman, the steward, and the lord. The number of casts among the Greeks, according to Eustathius, amounted to thirty-five.¹ Pliny² speaks of a work of Polycletos representing naked boys playing at this game, and the reader will probably remember the mutilated group in the British Museum, in which a boy having evidently been beaten at astragals, is biting in revenge the leg of his conqueror.

To play at Odd or Even³ was common; so that we find Plato describing a knot of boys engaged in this game in a corner of the undressing room of the gymnasium. There was a kind of divination by astragals, the bones being hidden under the hand, and the one party guessing whether they were odd or even. The same game was occasionally played with beans, walnuts, or almonds, or even with money, if we may credit Aristophanes, who describes certain serving-men playing at Odd or Even with golden staters.⁴ There was a game called *Eis Omillan*,⁵ in which they drew a circle on the ground, and, standing at a little distance, pitched the astragals at it; to win consisting in making them remain within the ring. Another form of the *Eis Omillan* was to place a trained quail within a circle, on a table for example, out of which the point was to drive it by tapping it with the middle finger. If it reared at the blow, and retreated beyond the line, its master lost his wager. The play called *Tropa*⁶ was also generally performed with astragals, which were pitched into a small hole, formed to receive such things when skilfully thrown. The common acorn, and fruit of the holm oak, were often substituted for astragals

¹ Meurs. Græc. Lud. p. 7.

² xxxiv. 19. Vid. Calcagnin, Dissert. de Talis. J. Cammer. Comment. de Utriusque Ling. c. 846.

³ Hyde, Hist. Nerdilud. p. 261.

⁴ Plut. 817. sqq. Cf. Sch. in loc.

⁵ Suid. et Hesych. in v. Poll. ix. 102. Cf. Meurs. Græc. Ludib. p. 69.

⁶ Cf. Meurs. de Lud. Græc. p. 61. Hesych. v. Τρόπα.

in this game. The Ephentinda seems to have consisted in pitching an ostrakon into a circle, so as to cause it to remain there. The Skeptinda consisted in placing an ostrakon, or a piece of money, on the ground, and pitching another at it so as to make it turn.¹

¹ Poll. ix. 117.

CHAPTER IV.

ELEMENTARY INSTRUCTION.

IN Greece, as everywhere else, education¹ commenced in the nursery; and though time has very much obscured all remaining traces of the instruction which the children there received, we are not left on this point wholly without information. From the very day of his birth man begins to be acted on by those causes that furnish his mind with ideas. As his intelligence acquires strength, the five sluices which let in all that flood of knowledge which afterwards overflows his mind, appear to be enlarged, and education at first, and for some time, consists in watching over the nature and quality of the ideas conveyed inward by those channels. It is difficult to say when actual instruction commenced: but among the earliest formal attempts at impressing traditionary knowledge on the infant mind was the repetition by mothers and nurses of fables and stories, not always, if Plato may be credited, constructed with a religious or ethical purpose.² They, in fact, introduced into the minds of their children the legends of the mythology, under the forms of which truths of the greatest importance, such as Bacon has developed in his "Wisdom of the Ancients," lay sometimes concealed, though more frequently, perhaps, they inculcated no useful lesson, but were the mere sportive creations of fancy, or if they contained any moral kernel the shell in which it was

¹ Among the ancient writers on education, of which the greater number have perished, was Clearchos of Soli, on whom see Voss.

de Hist. Græc. i. Athen. xv. 54. Men. in Diog. Laert. p. 4. b.

² Rep. ii. t. vi. p. 94. — Cf. Adolph. Cramer, 8, 9.

eased was too hard for the teeth of the vulgar. Such, for example, as the legend of Zeus in Hesiod mutilating his father Kronos, which, in Plato's opinion, was not to be delivered to the empty-headed multitude or to untaught children; but, having sacrificed, not a hog, but the most precious victim, in mysterious secrecy to a few.

Wholly different from these, however, were the fables¹ properly so called, which, invented apparently by Hesiod,² (at least his Hawk and Nightingale is the oldest example extant in Hellenic literature,) were afterwards sprinkled by the greatest poets, through their writings, or spontaneously uttered in pressing emergencies to warn their countrymen against the approaches of tyranny. Archilochos' Eagle and Fox³ was famous throughout antiquity, as was likewise the Horse and the Stag, related by Stesichoros⁴ to the people of Himera, to put them on their guard against the Machiavellian policy of Gelon. But the most complete, perhaps, of these ancient compositions is the fable of the lion, delivered by Eumenes to the Macedonian generals under his order, when they had been tampered with by Antigonos, who would have persuaded them to disband.⁵

"It is said," observed the Prince, "that once upon
"a time a lion falling in love with a young maiden
"came to make proposals of marriage to her father.
"The old man replied that he was quite ready to
"bestow on him his daughter upon one condition,
"namely, that he should pluck out his teeth and his
"claws, for that he feared his majesty might upon the
"wedding night forget himself and unwittingly destroy
"the bride. To these terms the lion consented, and

¹ Cf. Suid. v. Καὶ τὸ τοῦ λύκου.
i. 1427.

² Opp. et. Dies, 202 — 212.
Quintil. v. 2.

³ Plat. Rep. l. ii. cap. 8. c. p.
117. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 652.
Philostrat. Imag. i. 3.

⁴ Phot. Bib. 139. b. 8. Hor.
Epist. i. 10. Gyraldi, de Poet.
Histor. p. 462. a. sqq. Aristot.
Rhet. ii. 20.

⁵ Diod. Sic. l. xix. c. 25.

“allowed his teeth and claws to be pulled out, upon which the father seeing he had lost the only things which rendered him terrible fell upon him with a club and beat him to death.” The *Æsopic fables*¹ which Socrates a few days before his death amused himself by turning into verse,² are known to us solely by comparatively modern imitations, and of those which were denominated *Sybaritic* we know nothing³ beyond the name; for though one scholiast informs us that the *Sybaritic fables* brought men upon the scene, as the *Æsopic* did animals, another states the direct contrary. In the earlier and ruder ages of Greece, however, these compositions were in great repute, as they are still among the people of the East. To the infancy of nations as of individuals the wisdom they contain is, in fact, always palatable; for which reason they were highly esteemed by Martin Luther as particularly adapted to the spirit of his times.

Doubtless we know too little of how the foundation of the republican character was laid in the ancient commonwealths; but it was laid by woman, and for centuries cannot have been laid amiss, as the glorious superstructure of virtue and patriotism erected upon it fully demonstrates. On this point we must reject the testimony of Plato's academic dream. The historic fields of Marathon, Plataea, Thermopylae, and a thousand others confute his fanciful theorising, proving incontestably that the love of glory and independence could, in the very polities which he least esteemed, achieve triumphs unknown to the subjects of other governments.

At seven years⁴ old boys were removed from the harem and sent under the care of a governor to a public school, which, from the story of Bedreddin Hassan, we find to have been formerly the practice among the Arabs, even for the sons of distinguished

¹ Aristoph. Pac. 128. Vesp. 1392, sqq. et Scholia.

² Diog. Laert. ii. 5. 22.

³ Sch. Aristoph. Av. 471. Sch. Vesp. 1251.

⁴ Aristot. Polit. vii. 15.

men and Wezeers. "When seven years had passed "over him his grandfather, (Shemseddeen, Wezeer of "the Sultan of Egypt,) committed him to a school-master, whom he charged to educate him with great "care."¹

Mischievous no doubt the boys of Hellas were, as boys will everywhere be, and many pranks would they play in spite of the crabbed old slaves set over them by their parents; on which account, probably, it is that Plato considers boys, of all wild beasts the most audacious, plotting, fierce and intractable.² But the urchins now found that it was one thing to nestle under mamma's wing at home, and another to delve under the direction of a didaskalos, and at school-hours, after the bitter roots of knowledge. For the school-boys of Greece tasted very little of the sweets of bed after dawn. "They rose with the light," says Lucian, "and with pure water washed away the remains of sleep, which still lingered on their eyelids."³ Having breakfasted on bread and fruit, to which through the allurements of their pædagogues they sometimes added wine,⁴ they sallied forth to the didaskaleion, or schoolmaster's lair as the comic poets jocularly termed it,⁵ summer and winter, whether the morning smelt of balm, or was deformed by sleet or snow, drifting like meal from a sieve down the rocks of the Acropolis.

Aristophanes has left us a picture, dashed off with his usual grotesque vigour, of a troop of Attic lads marching on a winter's morning to school.⁶

"Now will I sketch the ancient plan of training,
When justice was in vogue and wisdom flourished.
First, modesty restrained the youthful voice
So that no brawl was heard. In order ranged,
The boys from all the neighbourhood appeared,

¹ Arabian Nights, i. 286.
Lane's Translation.

² De Legg. vi. t. viii. p. 41.
Creuzer. de Civ. Athen. p. 556.

³ Amor. § 44.

⁴ Athen. xiii. 61. sqq.

⁵ Poll. iv. 19.

⁶ Cf. Plato, de Legg. vii. t. viii. p. 41. seq.

Marching to school, naked, though down the sky
 Tumbled the flaky snow like flour from sieve.
 Arrived, and seated wide apart, the master
 First taught them how to chaunt Athena's praise,
 ' Pallas unconquered, stormer of cities ! ' or
 ' Shout far resounding ' in the self-same notes
 Their fathers learned. And if through mere conceit
 Some innovation-hunter strained his throat
 With scurril lays mincing and quavering,
 Like any Siphnian or Chian fop—
 As is too much the fashion since that Phrynis¹
 Brought o'er Ionian airs—quickly the scourge
 Rained on his shoulders blows like hail as one
 Plotting the Muses' downfall. In the Palæstra
 Custom required them decently to sit,
 Decent to rise, smoothing the sandy floor
 Lest any traces of their form should linger
 Unsightly on the dust. When in the bath
 Grave was their manner, their behaviour chaste.
 At table, too, no stimulating dishes,
 Snatched from their elders, such as fish or anis,
 Parsley or radishes or thrushes, roused
 The slumbering passions."²

The object of sending boys to school was twofold :
 first to cultivate and harmonise their minds by arts
 and literature ; secondly, so to occupy them that no
 time could be allowed for evil thoughts and habits.
 On this account, Aristotle enumerating Archytas'
 rattle among the principal toys of children, denomi-
 nates education the rattle of boys.³ In order, too,
 that its effect might be the more sure and permanent,
 no holidays⁴ or vacations appear to have been allowed,
 while irregularity or lateness of attendance was se-
 verely punished.⁵ The theories broached by Mon-
 tagne, Locke, and others, that boys are to be kept in
 order by reason and persuasion were not anticipated
 by the Athenians.⁶ They believed that to reduce the

¹ For an account of this musi-
 cian, see Pollux iv. 66. with the
 notes of Kühn and Iungermann,
 t. iv. p. 709. sqq.

² Aristoph. Nub. 961. sqq. Cf.
 Plaut. Bacchid. iii. 3.

³ Polit. viii. 6. 268. Göetli.

⁴ Casaub. ap. Theoph. Char. p.
 273.

⁵ Plaut. Bacchid. iii. 3. 22.

⁶ Plato, indeed, at one time
 entertained a similar fancy.—De
 Rep. t. vi. p. 385. (Cf. Muret. in
 Aristot. Ethic. 71.) But, after-

stubborn will to obedience, and enforce the wholesome laws of discipline, masters must be armed with the power of correction, and accordingly their teachers and gymnasiarchs checked with stripes¹ the slightest exhibition of stubbornness or indocility.²

Nor did their *pædagogues*³ or governors behave towards them with less strictness. These were persons,—slaves for the most part,—who at Athens as in the rest of Greece, Sparta not excepted, were from the earliest ages intrusted with the care of boys, and whose ministry could on no account be dispensed with. By Plato⁴ even these precautions were deemed insufficient. In his ideal state he would have the *pædagogues* themselves, as at Sparta, under the strictest inspection, making it the duty of every citizen to have an eye upon them, and arming him with the power to correct their delinquencies as well as those of the boys under their charge. There was to be, moreover, a general inspector intrusted with authority to punish neglect, by whichever of the parties committed. Upon these points the views of the Athenians were unquestionably judicious, for since boys did not amongst them pass at once from the hands of their mothers and domestic guardianship into those of the state as at Sparta, such governors were necessary to

wards, in his old age, adopted the general conviction of mankind, that he who spares the rod spoils the child.—*De Legg.* t. viii. p. 12. seq. Varro, however, who wrote much on education, observes, that “*remotissimum ad discendum formido, ac nimius timor, et omnis perturbatio animi. Contra delectatio pro telo ad discendum.*” *Victor. Var. Lect.* l. xv. c. 2. Theodoric, the Gothic king of Italy, had another reason for sparing the rod in education. The child, he said, who had trembled at a rod would never dare to look upon a

sword.—*Gibbon* vii. 19. This Gothic prince was not, therefore, acquainted with the Spartan system of education.

¹ *Sch. Aristoph. Nub.* 959.

² *Cf. Cressoll. Theat. Rhet.* v. 6. p. 471. seq.

³ On these and the other persons engaged in the education of youth, see *Bergmann, ad Isoc. Areop.* § 14.

⁴ *De Legg.* vii. t. viii. p. 42. See p. 11 of Cramer's excellent little pamphlet, which I have frequently found extremely useful.

preserve their manners from defilement and contamination.¹ Their principal duty consisted in leading the lad to and from school, in attending him to the theatre, to the public games, to the forum, and wherever else it was thought fit he should go.² It has been by some conjectured that while the boys continued under the care of the schoolmaster the governors remained in the house, or in a building adjoining denominated the *pædagogeion*, to await their return; but the inference, drawn chiefly from the name of the edifice, is erroneous; *pædagogeion* was employed to signify the school itself,³ and we have the testimony of Plato to prove that the *pædagogue* having delivered the boy to the *didaskalos*, usually returned to his master's house.

On the character of these governors⁴ antiquity appears to have transmitted us more satire than information. If we may credit some writers, it was not merely slaves who were intrusted with the care of boys, but often the meanest and vilest of slaves,—base in mind, depraved in manners,—whose guardianship, when they chanced to be crabbed and morose, could be no other than disgusting to their charges; and, when inclined to indulgence, most pernicious. Nay, were they themselves corrupt, what could be of more evil tendency than their own example? They who take this view of the matter appear to me illogical and inconsistent.⁵ Though aware that these men were chosen by the parents to preserve their children from bad example, from the infection of corrupt manners, from the allurements of vicious companions, these writers persuade themselves that they volun-

¹ Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. ii. 1. 2.

² Plat. Lysis. t. i. p. 118. De Legg. iv. t. viii. p. 325. De Rep. iii. t. vi. p. 128.

³ Poll. iv. 19. Ulp. ad Demosth. de Cor. § 78. Orat. Att. t. x. p. 113. Plat. Lysis. t. i. p. 145.

⁴ Plut. de Lib. Educ. § 7. The Athenians sought to create a high idea of this class of persons by annually offering sacrifice to Connidias, the reputed *pædagogue* of Theseus.—Plut. Thes. § 4.

⁵ Cram. de Educ. Puer. ap. Athen. p. 12.

tarily gave them as companions and guardians men worse than whom could not be found. It is more reasonable to conclude that when these pædagogues proved unworthy of the trust reposed in them they were sufficient masters of hypocrisy to conceal their vices at home, and only revealed themselves to their young masters gradually as their lessons produced their evil fruits. Thus, it is clear, that the father whom the comic writer Plato, in his *Fellow Deceiver*,¹ introduced reproaching the pædagogue who had corrupted his son, knew nothing of his evil ways when he delivered the lad to his keeping.

“ The youth, O wretch, whom I intrusted to thee
Thou hast perverted, teaching him vile habits
Once stranger to his mind ; for now he drinks
Even in the morning, which was not his wont.”

With the greatest reason we may suppose, that of all the domestics in the family the most staid and sober, the most attached, the most faithful, were chosen to fulfil this important duty, such as Plautus describes an honest pædagogue, —

Eademque erat hæc disciplina olim, cum tu adolescens eras ?
Nego tibi hoc annis viginti fuisse primis copisæ,
Digitum longe a pædagogo pedem ut efferres ædibus,
Ante solem exorientem nisi in palæstram veneras,
Gymnasii præfecto haud mediocres pœnas penderes.
Idque ubi obtigerat, hoc etiam ad malum arcessabatur malum
Et discipulus et magister perhibebantur improbi.
Ubi cursu, luctando, hasta, disco, pugillatu, pila,
Saliendo sese exercebant magis, quam, scorto aut saviis :
Ibi suam ætatem extendebant, non in latebrosis locis.
Inde de hippodromo et palæstra ubi revenisses domum,
Cincticulo præcinctus in sella apud magistrum assideres :
Cum librum legeres. Si unam peccavisses syllabam,
Fieret corium tam maculosum quam est nutricis pallium
* * * * * Id equidem ego certo scio.
Nam olim populi prius honorem capiebat suffragio,
Quam magistri desinebat esse dicto obediens.²

Lucian, too, speaking of the attendants of youths in the better times of the republic, describes them

¹ Athen. xiii. 61. 63.

² Plaut. Bacchid. Act iii. Sc. 3.

as an honourable company who followed their young masters to the schools, not with combs and looking-glasses like the attendants of ladies, but with the venerable instruments of wisdom in their hands, many-leaved tablets or books recording the glorious deeds of their ancestors, or if proceeding to the music master bearing, instead of these, the melodious lyre.¹

In fact the fortunes of war often in those days reduced men of virtue and ability to the condition of slaves, when they would naturally be chosen as the governors of youth. Thus we find Diogenes the Cynic purchased by a rich Corinthian, who intrusted to him the education of his sons. The account which antiquity has left us of his sale, reception by his master, and manner of teaching, being extremely brief, we shall here give it entire. Hermippos² who wrote a small treatise called the Sale of Diogenes, observes that when the philosopher was exposed in the slave-market and interrogated respecting his qualifications, he replied that "He could command men;" and then addressing himself to the herald, bade him inquire whether there was any one present who wanted a master. Being forbidden to sit down, he said "This matters nothing, for fish are bought in whatever way they may lie." He remarked also, that he wondered that when people were buying a pot or a dish they examined it on all sides, whereas when they purchased a man they were contented with simply looking at him. Afterwards, when he had become the slave of Xenocrates, he informed his owner that he expected the same obedience to be paid to him as men yield to a pilot or a physician.

It is further related by Eubulos, who likewise wrote a treatise on this incident, that Diogenes conducted with the utmost care the education of the children under his charge. In addition to the ordinary studies,

¹ Amor. §. 44.

² Diog. Laert. Vit. Diog. vi. ii.

4. sqq. with the observation of Menage, t. ii. p. 138.

he taught them to ride, to draw the bow, to use the sling, and to throw the javelin. In the palæstra, moreover, where, contrary to the Athenian practice he remained to watch over the boys, Diogenes would not permit the master of the Gymnasium to exercise them after the manner of the *athletæ*; but in those parts only of gymnastics, which had a tendency to animate them and strengthen their constitutions. They learned also by heart,¹ under his direction, numerous sentences from the poets and historians, as well as from his own writings. It was his practice likewise very greatly to abridge his explanations in order that they might the more easily be committed to memory. At home he habituated them to wait on themselves, to be content with frugal fare, and drink water, from which it may be inferred that others drank wine. He accustomed them to cut their hair close, not to be fastidious in dress, and to walk abroad with him bare-foot and without a chiton, silent and with downcast eyes.² He also went out with them to hunt. On their part they took great care of him, and pleaded his cause with their parents. He therefore grew old in the family, and they performed for him the rites of sepulture.

Now what Diogenes was in the house of Xenocrates numerous *pædagogues* were doubtless found to be in other parts of Greece. But the majority it is thought were open to blame; and so they are everywhere, and so they would be, though taken from the best classes of mankind. That is, they were men with

¹ I may say with Herault de Sechelle "*Apprendre par cœur ; ce mot me plait. Il n'y a guère en effet que le cœur, qui retienne bien, et qui retienne vite.*"—*Voyage à Montbar, &c.* p. 77.

² Cf. Luc. Amor. § 44. Καὶ χλανίδα ταῖς ἐπωμίαις περόνας σπράγας ἀπὸ τῆς πατρῆας ἐστίας ἐξέρχεται κάτῳ κεκυφώς, καὶ μηδένα τῶν ἀπαντῶν τῶν ἐξ

ἐναντίου προσβλέπων. In his exhortation to Demonicos, Isocrates has thrown together numerous precepts which almost constitute a code of morals and politeness. They are far superior to Lord Chesterfield's even where the Graces only are recommended; and have the advantage of almost always subjoining the reason to the rule.

many failings, far from what could be wished; but that their character upon the whole was respectable seems to me demonstrated by the powers delegated to them by the parents. For not only could they use upon occasion, as we have said, menace and harsh language,—they were even permitted to have recourse to blows, in order to preserve their pupils from vices which none would have sooner taught than they, had their characters been such as is commonly believed. For example, would they have made a drunkard the guardian of a boy's sobriety? a thief the guardian of his honesty? a libertine of his chastity? a coarse and ribald jester the inculcator of modesty and purity of language? ¹

At home, of course, the influence and example of the parents surpassed all other influences, of the mother more especially, who up to their manhood retained over her sons the greatest authority. Of this a playful illustration occurs in the *Lysis* of Plato.² Socrates, interrogating the youth respecting the course of his studies, inquires archly whether when in the harem he was not as a matter of course permitted to play with his mother's wool basket, and loom, and spathe, and shuttle?

"If I touched them," replied Lysis, laughing, "I should soon feel the weight of the shuttle upon my fingers."

"But," proceeds the philosopher, "if your mother or father require anything to be read or written for them, they, probably, prefer your services to those of any other person?"

"No doubt."

"And in this case, as you have been instructed in reading and spelling, they allow you to proceed according to your own knowledge. So likewise, when you play to them on the lyre, they suffer

¹ Cf. Dion. Chrysost. ii. p. 261 ; i. 299.

² Opp. t. i. p. 118. The influence of imitation over the ges-

ture, voice, and thoughts of youth is forcibly pointed out in the Republic.—t. vi. p. 124.

“you, as you please, to relax or tighten the chords,
“to touch them with the fingers, or strike them
“with the plectron,—do they not?”

“Certainly.”

From this it would appear that the authority of the parents was equal; though generally at Athens, as Plato¹ elsewhere complains, greater reverence was paid to the commands of the mother even than to those of the father. Indeed to be wanting in respect to her was there deemed the *ne plus ultra* of depravity.² The father, however, of necessity took a considerable share in the instruction and moral training of his son,³ who at home profited by his conversation, and, arrived at the proper age, accompanied him abroad.⁴ When reduced to the state of orphanhood the republic took children under its own protection, not considering it safe to intrust them to the sole guidance of masters or pædagogues.

Care, too, was taken lest those public schools, established for the advancement of virtue and morals, should themselves be converted into nurseries of vice. They were by law⁵ forbidden to be opened before sunrise, and were closed at sunset; nor during the day could any other men be introduced besides the teachers,⁶ though it appears from some of Plato's dialogues that this enactment was not very strictly observed.⁷ To prevent habits of brawling, boys were forbidden to assemble in crowds in the streets on their way to school. Nor were these laws deemed sufficient; but still further to

¹ Repub. viii. 5. t. ii. p. 182. Stallb.

² Aristoph. Nub. 1443.—*Δνοῖν δ' ὀνομάτοιιν σεβασμίον πᾶσαι τιμαὶ μένουσιν, ἐξίσου πατρὶ μητέρα προσκυνοῦντων*.—Luc. Amor. § 19.

³ On the force of example and imitation see Plato. de Rep. t. vi. p. 124.

⁴ Plat. Lach. t. i. p. 269.—Among the public places to which a father might take his sons the

courts of law were not included, though we find Demosthenes, when a boy, contriving to introduce himself, where unseen of the judges he might listen to the eloquence of Callistratos.—Victor. Var. Lect. l. xxx. c. 20.

⁵ Æsch. cont. Timarch. § 5, 6.

⁶ See Theoph. Char. c. 5. Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 180.

⁷ Lysis. t. i. p. 145. Theætet. t. iii. p. 179.

protect their morals ten annual magistrates called Sophronistæ, one from each tribe, were elected by show of hands,¹ whose sole business it was to watch over the manners of youth. This magistracy, dated as far back as the age of Solon,² and continued in force to the latest times, The Gymnasiarch, another magistrate,³ was intrusted with the superintendence of the Gymnasia, which, like the public games and festivals, appeared to require peculiar care; and, if we can receive the testimony of Plautus⁴ for the classical ages of the commonwealth, transgressors received severe chastisement.

It has sometimes been imagined that in Greece separate edifices were not erected as with us expressly for school-houses, but that both the didaskalos and the philosopher taught their pupils in fields, gardens or shady groves.⁵ But this was not the common practice, though many schoolmasters appear to have had no other place wherein to assemble their pupils than the portico of a temple⁶ or some sheltered corner in the street, where in spite of the din of business and the throng of passengers the worship of learning was publicly performed. Here, too, the music-masters frequently gave their lessons, whether in singing or on the lyre, which practice explains the anecdote of the musician, who, hearing the crowd applaud one of his scholars, gave him a box on the ear, observing, "Had you played well these blockheads would not have praised you." A custom very similar prevails in the

¹ Etym. Mag. 742. 38.

² Cramer de Educ. Puer. ap. Athen. p. 13.

³ Vandale Dissert. pp. 584—727.

⁴ Bacchid. iii. 3.

⁵ See Coray, Disc. Prelim. sur Hippoc. de Aër. et Loc. § 41. t. i. p. 46. seq.

⁶ In the Antichita di Ercolano (t. iii. p. 213.) we find a representation of one of these schools during the infliction of corporal

chastisement. Numerous boys are seated on forms reading, while a delinquent is horsed on the back of another in the true Etonian style. One of the carnifices holds his legs, while another applies the birch to his naked back. Occasionally in Greece we find that free boys were flogged with a leek in lieu of a birch. Sch. Aristoph. Ran. 622. Schneid. ad Theoph. Hist. Plant. vii. 4. 10. p. 574.

East, where, in recesses open to the street, we often see the turbaned schoolmaster with a crowd of little Moslems about him, tracing letters on their large wooden tablets or engaged in recitations of the Koran.

But these were the schools of the humbler classes. For the children of the noble and the opulent spacious structures were raised, and furnished with tables, desks,—for that peculiar species of grammateion¹ which resembled the plate cupboard, can have been nothing but a desk,—forms, and whatsoever else their studies required. Mention is made of a school at Chios² which contained one hundred and twenty boys, all of whom save one were killed by the falling in of the roof. From another tragical story we learn that in Astypalæa,³ one of the Cyclades, there was a school which contained sixty boys. The incidents connected with their death are narrated in the romantic style of the ancients. Cleomedes, a native of this island, having in boxing slain Iccos the Epidaurian, was accused of unfairness and refused the prize, upon which he became mad and returned to his own country. There, entering into the public school, he approached the pillar that supported the roof, and like another Sampson seized it in an access of frenzy, and wresting it from its basis brought down the whole building upon the children. He himself however escaped, but, being pursued with stones by the inhabitants, took sanctuary in the temple of Athena, where he concealed himself in the sacred chest. The people paying no respect to the holy place still pursued him and attempted to force open the lid, which he held down with gigantic strength. At length when the coffer was broken in pieces Cleomedes was nowhere to be found, dead or alive. Terrified at this prodigy they sent to consult the oracle of Delphi, by which they

¹ Poll. iv. 18, 19. x. 57. seq.

² Herod. vi. 27.

³ Called the Table of the Gods,

from its beauty and amenity.—
Steph. de Urb. in v. p. 189. b.

were commanded to pay divine honours to the athlete as the last of the heroes.¹

In the interior of the school there was commonly an oratory² adorned with statues of the Muses, where, probably in a kind of font, was kept a supply of pure water for the boys. Pretending often, when they were not, to be thirsty, they would steal in knots to this oratory, and there amuse themselves by splashing the water over each other; on which account the legislator ordained that strict watch should be kept over it. Every morning the forms were spunged,³ the schoolroom was cleanly swept, the ink ground ready for use, and all things were put in order for the business of the day.

The apparatus⁴ of an ancient school was somewhat complicated: there were mathematical instruments, globes, maps, and charts of the heavens, together with boards whereon to trace geometrical figures, tablets, large and small, of box-wood, fir, or ivory⁵ triangular in form, some folding with two, and others with many leaves; books too and paper, skins of parchment, wax for covering the tablets, which, if we may believe Aristophanes,⁶ people sometimes ate when they were hungry.⁷

To the above were added rulers, reed-pens,⁸ pen-

¹ Paus. vi. 9. 6. seq. Plut. Rom. § 28.

² Sch. Æsch. cont. Tim. in Orator. Att. t. xii. p. 376 a.

³ Dem. de Cor. § 78. seq.

⁴ Pollux, iv. 19. Cf. Herod. vii. 239. ii. 21. Sch. Aristoph. Vesp. 529.

⁵ Poll. i. 234. Lucian. Ner. § 9. Amor. § 44. Antich. di Ercol. t. ii. p. 55. t. iii. p. 237.

⁶ Poll. x. 58, 59.

⁷ On this subject Isidorus Hispal. vi. 9. has a curious passage: "Ceræ literarum materies, parvulorum nutrices. Ipsæ dant ingenium pueris primordia sensus, quarum studium primi Græci tra-

didisse produntur. Græci enim et Thusci primum ferro in ceris scripserunt. Postea Romani jusserunt, ne graphium ferreum quis haberet. Undè et apud scribas dicebatur, Ceram ferro ne lædito. Postea institutum est, ut in cerâ ossibus scriberent, sicut indicat Alsa in Satyrâ dicens: Vertamus vomerem in ceram, mucroneque armus osseo. Cf. Pfeiffer, Antiq. Græc. p. 413.

⁸ It was as the instrument of literature that the reed subdued half the world, though Pliny only celebrates its conquest as an arrow. "Ac si quis Æthiopas, Ægyptum, Arabas, Indos, Scy-

cases, pen-knives, pencils, and last, though not least, the rod which kept them to the steady use of all these things.

At Athens these schools were not provided by the state. They were private speculations, and each master was regulated in his charges by the reputation he had acquired and the fortunes of his pupils. Some appear to have been extremely moderate in their demands.¹

There was for example a school-master named Hippomachos, upon entering whose establishment boys were required to pay down a mina, after which they might remain as long and benefit by his instructions as much as they pleased. Didaskaloi were not however held in sufficient respect, though as their scholars were sometimes very numerous,² as many for example as a hundred and twenty, it must often have happened that they became wealthy. From the life of Homer, attributed to Herodotus,³ we glean some few particulars respecting the condition of a schoolmaster in remoter ages.

Phemios it is there related kept a school at Smyrna, where he taught boys their letters and all those other parts of education then comprehended under the term music. His slave Chritheia, the mother of the poet, spun and wove the wool which Phemios received in payment from his scholars. She likewise introduced into his house great elegance and frugality, which so pleased the school-master that it induced him to marry

thas, Bactros, Sarmatarum tot gentes et Orientis, omniaque Parthorum regna diligentius computet, æqua fermè pars hominum in toto mundo calamis superata degit. —Hist. Nat. xvi. 65.

¹ Which was the case even among the sophists, as we find Proclus granting a perpetual admission to his lectures for a hundred drachmæ. —Philost. Vit. Soph. ii. 21. § 3. This he was the better enabled to do from his

carrying on the business of a merchant.—§ 2. Professors' charges appear to have been often disputed, as we find mention, in many authors, of law-suits between them and their pupils. —Lucian. Icaromenip. § 16. "The wages of industry are just and honourable, yet Isocrates shed tears at the first receipt of a stipend." —Gibbon, vii. 146.

² Athen. xiii. 47.

³ Vit. Hom. §§ 5. seq. 25. seq.

her. Under this man, according to the tradition received in Greece, Homer studied, and made so great a proficiency in knowledge that he was soon enabled to commence instructor himself. He therefore proceeded to Chios,¹ and opened a school where he initiated the youth in the beauties of epic poetry, and, performing his duties with great wisdom, obtained many admirers among the Chians, became wealthy, and took a wife, by whom he had two sons.

The earliest task to be performed at school was to gain a knowledge of the Greek characters, large and small, to spell next, next to read. Herodes the Sophist experienced much vexation from the stupidity exhibited in achieving this enterprise by his son Atticus, whose memory was so sluggish that he could not even recollect the Christ-cross-row. To overcome this extraordinary dulness he educated along with him twenty-four little slaves of his own age, upon whom he bestowed the names of the letters, so that young Atticus might be compelled to learn his alphabet as he played with his companions, now calling out for Omicron now for Psi.² In teaching the art of writing their practice nearly resembled our own; the master traced with what we must call a pencil (*γραφίς*), a number of characters on a tablet, and the pupil following with the pen the guidance of the faint lines³ before him, accustomed his fingers to perform the requisite movements with adroitness.⁴ These things

¹ Speaking of the antiquities of this island Chandler remarks: "The most curious remain is that which has been named, without reason, *The School of Homer*. It is on the coast at some distance from the city, northward, and appears to have been an open temple of Cybele, formed on the top of a rock. The shape is oval, and in the centre is the image of the goddess, the head and an arm wanting. She is represented, as

usual, sitting. The chair has a lion carved on each side, and on the back. The area is bounded by a low rim or seat, and about five yards over. The whole is hewn out of the mountain, is rude, indistinct, and probably of the most remote antiquity." i. 61.

² Philost. Vit. Soph. ii. 10.

³ Quint. i. 1. Poll. vii. 128. Aristoph. Thesm. 778.

⁴ Plat. Protag. t. i. p. 181.

were necessarily the first step in the first class of studies, which were denominated *music*,¹ and comprehended everything connected with the developement of the mind; and they were carried to a certain extent before the second division called gymnastics was commenced. They reversed the plan commonly adopted among ourselves, for with them poetry² preceded prose, a practice which coöperating with their susceptible temperament, impressed upon the national mind that imaginative character for which it was preëminently distinguished. And the poets in whose works they were first initiated were of all the most poetical, the authors of lyrical and dithyrambic pieces, selections from whose verses they committed to memory, thus acquiring early a rich store of sentences and imagery ready to be adduced in argument or illustration, to furnish familiar allusions or to be woven into the texture of their style.³

Considerable difference however existed in the practice of different teachers. Some imagining that by the variety of their acquirements they would be rendered eloquent, recommended the indiscriminate study of the poets,⁴ whether they wrote in hexameter, in trimeter, or any other kind of verse, on ludicrous or on serious subjects. Certain poets there were who like Fenelon and the pretended Ossian, wrote their works in prose,⁵ respecting the use of whose compositions Plato was in some doubt.

By other philosophers wandering unrestrained over the vast fields of literature was condemned. They desired to separate the gold from the dross, contend-

¹ See Plat. de Rep. ii. t. vi. p. 93. seq. Sch. Aristoph. Eq. 188. seq.

² In the Homeric age men, we are told, received their mental instruction from the bards, and their physical at the gymnasium.—Athen. i. 16.

³ Cf. Plat. de Rep. t. i. p. 149. Stallb.

⁴ Cf. Plato de Legg. t. viii. p. 44. sqq. On the style of declamation used in the Greek and Roman schools, see Schömann de Comit. p. 187.

⁵ There were likewise poems written in the language of the common people.—Athen. xiv. 48.

ing that persons accustomed from their infancy to the loftier and purer inspirations of the muse will regard with contempt every thing mean or illiberal, whereas they who have learned to delight in low and vulgar compositions will consider all other literature tame and insipid. For so great is the force of imitation, that habits commenced from the earliest years pass into the manners and character of a man, affecting even his voice and corporeal developement, nay, modifying the very nature of the thoughts themselves.

Among the other branches of knowledge¹ most necessary to be studied, and to which they applied themselves nearly from the outset, was arithmetic, without some inkling of which, a man, in Plato's opinion, could scarcely be a citizen at all. For, as he observes, there is no art or science which does not stand in some need of it, especially the art of war, where many combinations depend entirely on numbers. And yet Agamemnon in some of the old tragic poets was represented by Palamedes as wholly ignorant of calculation, so that possibly, as Socrates jocularly observes, he could not reckon his own feet.² The importance attached to this branch of education, nowhere more apparent than in the dialogues of Plato, furnishes

¹ Cf. Plat. de Legg. t. viii. p. 62. where he describes the Egyptian method of teaching arithmetic by rewards and allurements. Locke, however, condemned the practice. "He that will give to his son apples or sugar-plums, or what else of this kind he is most delighted with, to make him learn his book, does but authorise his love of pleasure, and cocker up that dangerous propensity, which he ought by all means to subdue and stifle in him." Education § 52. Vid. Plat. de Rep. t. vi. p. 340. seq. Muret. Orat. iv. 43. Sir Josiah Child has some good remarks on the value of arithmetic

as a branch of education: "It hath been observed in the nature of arithmetic, that, like other parts of the mathematics, it doth not only improve the natural faculties, but it inclines those that are expert in it to thriftiness and good husbandry, and prevents both husbands and wives in some measure from running out of their estates, when they have it always ready in their heads what their expenses do amount to, and how soon by that course their ruin must overtake them."—Discourse of Trade, p. 5.

² Plat. de Rep. vii. t. vi. p. 340. sqq.

one proof that the Athenians were preëminently men of business, who in all their admiration for the good and beautiful never lost sight of those things which promote the comfort of life, and enable a man effectually to perform his ordinary duties. With the same views were geometry and astronomy pursued. For, in the Republic, Glaucon,¹ who may be supposed to represent the popular opinion, confesses at once, upon the mention of geometry, that as it is applicable to the business of war it would be most useful. He could discover the superiority of the geometrician² over the ignorant man in pitching a camp, in the taking of places, in contracting or expanding the ranks of an army, and all those other military movements practised in battles, marches or sieges. To Plato however this was its least recommendation. He conceived that in the search after goodness and truth the study of this science was especially beneficial to the mind, both because it deals in positive verities, and thus begets a love of them, and likewise superinduces the habit of seeking them through lengthened investigation and of being satisfied with nothing less.

In the study of astronomy³ itself a coarse and obvious utility was almost of necessity the first thing aimed at, and even in the age of Socrates, when philosophical wants were keenly felt in addition to those of the animal and civil life, there were evidently teachers who considered it necessary to justify such pursuits, by showing their bearing on the system of loss and profit. For when Socrates comes in his ideal scheme of education to touch on this science, Glaucon, the practical man, at once recognises its usefulness, not only in husbandry and navigation, but in affairs military. Nor are such fruits of it to be despised.

¹ Plat. de Rep. t. vi. p. 349. seq. De Legg. t. viii. p. 371. Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 180. Cf. Cicero de Orat. iii. 32. t. ii. 319. ed. Lallemant.

² See in Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 181.

an anecdote of Thales cutting a new channel for the river Halys.

³ Plat. de Rep. t. vi. p. 357. seq.; de Legg. t. viii. p. 370. Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 860. 208.

But philosophy proposes a higher aim, insisting, in opposition to popular belief, that by means of such pursuits the soul may be purified, and its powers of discovering truth, overlaid and nearly extinguished by other studies, rekindled and fanned into activity like a flame.

The importance of music,¹ in the education of the Greeks, is generally understood. It was employed to effect several purposes. First, to soothe and mollify the fierceness of the national character, and prepare the way for the lessons of the poets, which, delivered amid the sounding of melodious strings, when the soul was rapt and elevated by harmony, by the excitement of numbers, by the magic of the sweetest associations, took a firm hold upon the mind, and generally retained it during life. Secondly, it enabled the citizens gracefully to perform their part in the amusements of social life, every person being in his turn called upon at entertainments to sing or play upon the lyre. Thirdly, it was necessary to enable them to join in the sacred choruses, rendered frequent by the piety of the state, and for the due performance in old age of many offices of religion, the sacerdotal character belonging more or less to all the citizens of Athens. Fourthly, as much of the learning of a Greek was martial and designed to fit him for defending his country, he required some knowledge of music that on the field of battle his voice might harmoniously mingle with those of his countrymen, in chaunting those stirring, impetuous, and terrible melodies, called pæans, which preceded the first shock of fight.

For some, or all of these reasons, the science of music began to be cultivated among the Hellenes, at a period almost beyond the reach even of tradition.

¹ Vid. Ilgen. de Scol. Poes. xiv. — "Post Persica demum bella musicæ assidue operatos Græcos dicit. Et præmia diebus festis nonnullis constituta iis

pueris adolescentibusque, qui lyrica carmina Solonis aliorumque optime cecinissent." — Creuzer. de Civ. Athen. Omn. Hum. Par. p. 55. seq.

The Bards, whom we behold wandering on the remotest edge of the fabulous horizon, have invariably harps or lyres in their hands; and the greatest of the heroes of poetry, the very acme of Epic excellence, is represented delighting in the performance of music, and chaunting on the shores of the Hellespont the deeds of former warriors. In those ages the music of the whole nation possessed evidently a grave and lofty character; but as that of the Ionians became afterwards modified by the influence of a softer climate and imitation of the Asiatic, while the Dorian measure remained nearly unchanged, the latter is supposed to have possessed originally the superiority over the former, which in reality it did not. In process of time, however, the existence of three distinct measures was recognised, the Dorian, the Æolian, and the Ionian: the first was grave, masculine, full of energy, and though somewhat monotonous peculiarly adapted to inspire martial ardour; the last distinguished by a totally different character, rich, varied, flexible, breathing softness and pleasure, adorning the hour of peace and murmuring plaintively through the groves and temples of Aphrodite, Apollo, and the Muses; while the second, which was fiery, with a mixture of gaiety, formed the intermediate step between the two measures, partaking something of the character of each. The Hypermixolydian and Hyperphrygian, at one time cultivated among the Ionians, were comparatively recent inventions.¹

The Phrygian measure distinguished for its exciting and enthusiastic character,² was much employed upon the stage, on which account Agias the poet used to say that the styrax burned on the altar in the orchestra had a Phrygian smell, because its odours recalled the wild Phrygian measures there heard. The national instrument of the Phrygians was the flute, and it is worthy of remark that up

¹ Athen. xiv. 20. sqq. Cf. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 984. Clem. Alex. i. 3. 5.

² Luc. Nigrin. § 37.

to a very late period flute-players at Athens were usually distinguished by Phrygian names. Olympos the greatest musician known to the Greeks, was probably himself a native of Phrygia, since he is said to have been a pupil of Marsyas. In fact the barbarians of antiquity appear, though in a somewhat different way, to have made as much use of music as the Greeks themselves. They chaunted the songs of their bards in going to battle, sang funeral dirges at tombs, and even caused their ambassadors when proceeding on a mission to foreign states to be accompanied by music.¹ No people, however, appear to have carried their love for music to so preposterous a length as the Tyrrhenians, who caused their slaves to be flogged to the sound of the flute.

The music of the flute² was supposed to be peculiarly delightful to the gods, so that those who died while its sounds were on their ears were permitted to taste of the gifts of Aphrodite in Hades, as Philetæros expresses it in his Flute-lover :

“ O Zeus ! how glorious 'tis to die while piercing flutes are near
 Pouring their stirring melodies into the faltering ear ;
 On these alone doth Eros smile within those realms of night,
 Where vulgar ghosts in shivering bands, all strangers to delight,
 In leaky tub from Styx's flood the icy waters bear,
 Condemned, for woman's lovely voice, its moaning sounds to hear.

The teachers of music were divided into two classes : the Citharistæ, who simply played on the instrument, and the Citharœdi who accompanied themselves on the cithara with a song.³ Of these the humble and poorer taught, as we have already observed, in the corners of the streets, while the abler and more fortunate opened schools of music or gave their lessons in the private dwellings of the great. The Cithara, however, was not anciently in

¹ Athen. xiv. 24.

² On the effect of music on the mind, see Magius, Var. Lect. p. 204 b.

³ Kühn ad Poll. iv. p. 711.

Cf. Plat. de Legg. t. viii. p. 49.

use at Athens, if we may credit the tradition which attributes to Phrynis its introduction from Ionia.¹

Damon the great Athenian musician² used to observe, that wherever the mind is susceptible of powerful emotions there will be the song and the dance, and that wherever men are free and honourable their amusements will be liberal and decorous, where men are otherwise the contrary. A very judicious remark was likewise made by Caphesias the flute-player. Observing one of his pupils striving to produce loud sounds, he stamped on the ground and said,—“Boy, that is not always good which is great; but that is great which is good.”³

The power of music in assuaging passion and anger is well illustrated by an anecdote of Cleinias the Pythagorean philosopher, a man distinguished for his virtue and gentleness. If at any time he felt himself moved to wrath, taking up his lyre he would touch the chords and chaunt thereto some ode, and if any questioned why he did so, he would reply, “I am in search of serenity.”⁴

Like the Hebrews, also, the people of Hellas attributed to music still more marvellous virtues,⁵ conceiving it to be able to cure diseases both of the mind and body. Thus the sounds of the flute were supposed to remove epilepsy, and sciatica, and faintness, and fear, and paroxysms of long-established madness,⁶ which will probably remind the reader of David playing before Saul, when his mind was troubled.

In the later ages of the commonwealth drawing likewise, and the elements of art entered into the

¹ Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 958 ; Vesp. 574.

² Cf. Plat. Repub. t. vi. p. 133.

³ Athen. xiv. 26.

⁴ Πραῦρομοι. Cham. Pont. ap. Athen. xiv. 18.

⁵ Thus demons were expelled by the sound of brass bells.—Magius, Var. Lect. p. 205. b.

⁶ Athen. xiv. 18. Apollon. ap. Schweigh. Animad. xii. p. 399. on the story, and bronze votive offerings on the Tænarian promontory of the musician Arion.—Herod. i. 23. seq. Dion. Chrysost. Orat. xxxvii. p. 455. Pausan. i. 24. Ælian. de Nat. Animal. xii. 45.

list of studies pursued by youths, partly with the view of diffusing a correct taste, and the ability to appreciate and enjoy the noble productions of the pencil and chisel, and partly, perhaps, from the mere love of novelty, and the desire which man always feels to enlarge the circle of his acquirements. Aristotle,¹ indeed, suggests a much humbler motive, observing that a knowledge of drawing would enable men to appreciate more accurately the productions of the useful arts; but this perhaps was said more in deference to that spirit of utilitarianism then beginning to show itself than from any conviction of its soundness.

¹ Polit. viii. 3.

CHAPTER V.

EXERCISES OF YOUTH.

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the above studies,¹ that highly intricate and artificial system of exercises denominated gymnastics occupied a considerable portion of the time of youth. Among northern nations the influence of education is requisite to soften the manners and check ferocity; but in the south hardihood must in general be the fruit of discipline, and flourishes only while assiduously cultivated. Thus we find that the Persians,² by acting on the advice of Croesus, and teaching the Lydians to become musicians and shopkeepers, uprooted entirely their martial spirit. In Greece, however, during the flourishing period of her history there was more danger that the passion for war should drown all others, than that its influence should be too feeble. Among the Athenians particularly, that restless energy of character, so marvellous and so distasteful to the Dorians, sought vent in dangerous and distant wars and stupendous schemes of ambition. This characteristic trait is adduced by Plato for the purpose of suggesting a contrast with the rival race. He had been dwelling, to his Cretan and Spartan companions, on the exercises necessary for pregnant women,³ and observing their astonishment, he could understand, he said, how it might appear extraordinary to them, but at Athens his recommendation would be perfectly intelligible; for there, people were rather too active than otherwise. The difficulty always was to find becoming employ-

¹ Cf. Plato, de Rep. t. vi. p. 139, seq.

² Herod. i. 155. Cf. Polyæn. vii. 6. 4. Justin, i. 6.

³ De Legg. vii. t. viii. p. 3. cf. p. 11.

ment. Accordingly, for lack of something better, not merely boys but grown-up men, comprehending nothing of the *dolce far niente*, employed themselves in breeding cocks, quails, and other birds for fighting, and the care of these imposed on them the necessity of much exercise. To be sure, these cock-fighters, during their professional perambulations, presented a spectacle infinitely ludicrous. All regard to appearances was abandoned. With a couple of small cocks¹ in their hands, and an old one under either arm, they sallied forth, like vagabonds who had been robbing a henroost, to give their favourite animals air and gentle exercise, and thus laden often strolled several miles into the country.

To such a people the gymnasium opened up a source of peculiar delight, and in the end became a passion prejudicial to the cultivation of the understanding. But within the bounds of moderation it was prescribed by philosophers in lieu of physic, and as an antidote against those pale faces and emaciated frames, too common where intellectual studies are ardently pursued.² It was a law of Solon, that every Athenian³ should be able to read and to swim ;

¹ Plato, de Legg. vii. t. viii. p. 3. seq.—On the practice of quail-fighting, see Poll. vii. 16. Comm. p. 237. Büd. Com. Ling. Græc. p. 615. Paris. Iungermann ad Poll. vii. 136. p. 427, observes that it was customary to exhibit public quail-fights at Athens. But Lucian who states this (Anach. § 37), confounds the quail with the cock-fighting.—Ælian. V. H. ii. 28. Cf. Ludovic. Nonn. de Re Cib. ii. 22. p. 228. Poliarchos, an Athenian, buried his dogs and cocks magnificently.—viii. 4. In the same spirit, a French lady erected a mausoleum to her cat with this epitaph :

“ Ci-git une chatte jolie,
Sa maîtresse qui n'aima rien
L'aima jusques à la folie.
Pourquoi le dire? On le voit
bien.”

The dog who detected the robber of Asclepios's temple, received while he lived the marks of public gratitude, and was maintained like a hero at the people's expense.—Ælian. V. H. vii. 14.

² Aristoph. Nub. 185. Plat. Repub. t. vi. p. 146.

³ Petit. de Legg. Att. l. ii. tit. iv. p. 162. Æsch. cont. Tim. § 2—4.

and the whole spirit of Attic legislation, leaving the poor to the exercise of industrious and hardy occupations, tended to create among the opulent and the noble a taste for field-sports, horsemanship, and every martial and manly exercise.¹ The difficulty, of course, was to render them subordinate to mental cultivation, and to blend both so cunningly together as to produce a beautiful and harmonious system of discipline, well fitted to ripen and bring to greatest perfection every power and faculty of body and mind.

The practises of the gymnasium may be traced backward to the remotest antiquity, and probably commenced among the warriors of the heroic ages,² in the peaceful intervals occurring between expeditions, from the desire to amuse their leisure by mimic representations of more serious contests. At first, no doubt, the exercises, frequently performed in honour of the gods,³ were few and rude; but by the age of Homer they had assumed an artificial and regular form, and comprehended nearly all such divisions of the art as prevailed in later times. Other views than those with which they were instituted, caused them to be kept up. When reflection awoke, it was perceived that in these amicable contests men acquired not only force and agility, a martial bearing, the confidence of strength, beauty, and lightness of form; but, along with them, that easy cheerfulness into which robust health naturally blossoms.⁴ In fact, so far were the legislators of Greece from designing by gymnastics to create, as Montesquieu⁵ supposes, a nation of mere athletes and combatants, that they expressly repudiate the idea, affirming that lightness, agility, a compactly knit frame, health, but chiefly a well-poised and vigorous mind, were the object of this part of education. In order the better to attain

¹ Plat. de Legg. vii. t. viii.
17. seq.

² Cf. Athen. i. 16.

³ Hom. Hymn. Apoll. 149.

⁴ Plat. Gorg. t. iii. p. 14.

⁵ Esprit des Loix, l. iv. c. 8.

this point, Plato in his republic ordains that boys be completed in their intellectual studies, which in his ideal state they were to be at the age of sixteen, before they entered the gymnasium, the exercises of which were to be the companions of simple music. From converting their citizens into athletes they were prevented by experience; for it was quickly discovered that those men who made a profession of gymnastics acquired, indeed, by their diet and peculiar discipline a huge stature and enormous strength, but were altogether useless in war, being sleepy, lethargic, prodigious eaters, incapable of enduring thirst or hunger, and liable to the attacks of sudden and fatal diseases if they departed in the least degree from their usual habits and regimen.¹

Already in the Homeric age, gymnastics, though not as yet so named, constituted the principal object of education, and many branches of the art had even then been carried to a high degree of perfection.² The passion for it descended unimpaired to the Spartans, whose polity, framed solely for the preservation of national independence and the acquisition of glory in war, inspired little fondness for mental pursuits, but left the youth chiefly to the influence of the gymnasia, which gradually created in them a temper of mind compounded of insensibility and ferocity,³ not unlike that of the North American Indians. This, however, they above all things prized, though as has been justly observed their exercises could in no sense be considered among the aids to intellectual cultivation.⁴

At Athens they came later into vogue, though common in the age of Solon. When, however, this

¹ Cf. Plat. de Rep. t. vi. p. 151. —To express the sweat gained by exercise or labour, the Greeks used to say *ξηρὸς ἰδρὼς*, or 'dry sweat.'—Phæd. t. i. p. 26. Runners, it was observed, had large

legs; wrestlers small.—Xenoph. Conv. ii. 17.

² Feith, Antiq. Homer. iv. 6. 304. Cramer. p. 35.

³ Plat. de Rep. t. vi. 154.

⁴ Hermann. Polit. Antiq. § 26. n. 2.

ardent and enthusiastic people commenced the study of gymnastics, admiring as they did strength and vigour of frame, when united with manly beauty, their plastic genius soon converted it into an art worthy to be enumerated among the studies of youth. In very early ages they imitated the Spartan custom of admitting even boys into the gymnasia. But this was soon abandoned, it being found more profitable first to instruct them in several of the branches of study above described, and a class of men¹ called *pædotribæ* or gymnasts arose, who taught the gymnastic art privately, in subordination to their other studies, and were regarded as indispensable in the progress of education.² These masters gave their instructions in the *palæstræ*,³ which generally formed a part of the gymnasia, though not always joined with those edifices, and to be carefully distinguished from them. It is not known with certainty at what age boys commenced their gymnastic exercises, though it appears probable that it was not until their grammatical and musical studies were completed, that is somewhere perhaps, as Plato counsels, about the age of sixteen. For it was not judged advisable to engage them in too many studies at once, since in bodies not yet endowed with all their strength over-exertion was considered injurious.

Before we enumerate and explain the several exercises it may be proper to introduce a description of the gymnasia themselves. Of these establishments there were many at Athens;⁴ though three only, those of the Academy, Lyceum, and Cynosarges have acquired celebrity. The site of the first of these gymnasia being low and marshy was in ancient times infested with malaria, but having been drained by Cimon and planted with trees it became a favourite

¹ Cf. *Æsch. cont. Tim.* § 37.
Casaub ad *Theophr. Char.* p. 200.

² Cramer, p. 36.

³ Poll. iii. 149.

⁴ There was a gymnasium sacred to Hermes, near the Peiraic gate.—Leake, *Topog. of Attica*, p. 124.

promenade and place of exercise.¹ Here, in walks shaded by the sacred olive, might be seen young men,² with crowns of rushes in flower upon their heads, enjoying the sweet odour of the smilax and the white poplar, while the platanos and the elm mingled their murmurs in the breeze of spring. The meadows of the Academy, according to Aristophanes the grammarian, were planted with the Apragmosune,³ a sort of flower so called as though it smelt of all kind of fragrance and safety like our Heart's-ease or flower of the Trinity. This place is supposed to have derived its name from Ecadamos, a public-spirited man who bequeathed his property for the purpose of keeping it in order. Around it were groves of the moriæ sacred to Athena, whence the olive crowns used in the Panathenaia were taken. The reason why the olive trees as well as those in the Acropolis were denominated moriæ must be sought for among the legends of the mythology, where it is related that Halirrothios son of Poseidon formed the design of felling them because the patronship of the city had been adjudged to Athena, for the discovery of this tree. Raising his axe, however, and aiming a blow at the trunk the implement glanced, and he thus inflicted upon himself a wound whereof he died.⁴

The name of the Lyceum⁵ sometimes derived from Lycus, son of Pandion⁶ probably owed its origin to the temenos of Lycian Apollo there situated. It lay near the banks of the Ilissos, and was adorned with stately edifices, fountains and groves. Here stood a celebrated statue of Apollo, in a graceful attitude, as if reposing after toil, with his bow in the left hand, and the right bent negligently over his

¹ Cf. Xenoph. de Off. Mag. Equit. iii. 14.

² Aristoph. Nub. 1001.

³ Sch. ad Aristoph. Nub. 1003.

⁴ Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 992.

⁵ Pausan. i. 19. 3. Harpocrat. v. Λύκειον, p. 190.

⁶ Here Aristotle taught (Cic. Acad. Quæst. i. 4.) as he had previously done at Stagira, where the stone seats and covered walls of his school remained in the age of Plutarch.—Alexand. § 7.

head. The walls, too, were decorated with paintings. In this place anciently the Polemarch held his court¹ and the forces of the republic were exercised before they went forth to war.²

Appended to the name of the Cynosarges, or third gymnasium surrounded with groves³ was a legend which related that when Diomos was sacrificing to Hestia, a white dog snatched away a part of the victim from the altar, and running straightway out of the city deposited it on the spot where this gymnasium was afterwards erected.⁴ Here were several magnificent and celebrated temples to Alcmena, to Hebe, to Heracles, and to his companion Iolaos. Its principal patron, however, was Heracles,⁵ who, lying himself under the suspicion of illegitimacy, came very naturally to be regarded as the protector of bastards, half citizens, and in general all persons of spurious birth, who accordingly in remoter ages resorted thither to perform their exercises.

Themistocles afterwards, by prevailing upon several of the young nobility to accompany him to the Cynosarges, obliterated its reproach, and placed it on the same level with the other gymnasia.⁶ Here anciently stood a court in which causes respecting illegitimacy, false registry, &c. were tried. But to proceed to the general description. "The gymnasia were spacious
"edifices, surrounded by gardens and a sacred grove.
"The first entrance was by a square court, two stadia
"in circumference, encompassed with porticoes and
"buildings. On three of its sides were large halls, provided with seats, in which philosophers, rhetoricians,
"and sophists assembled their disciples. On the fourth
"were rooms for bathing and other practices of the

¹ Suid. v. "Αρχων. t. i. p. 452. c.

² Aristoph. Pac. 355. seq.
Suid. v. Δέκιον, t. ii. p. 66. b.
Xenoph. de Off. Magist. Equit.
iii. 6.

³ Liv. xxxi. 24.

⁴ Suid. v. Κυνόσαργ. t. i. p. 1550. e.

⁵ In the gymnasia, the statue of Eros was generally placed beside those of this divinity and Hermes.—Athen. xiii. 12.

⁶ Plut. Them. § 1.

“gymnasium. The portico facing the south was double,
 “to prevent the winter rains, driven by the wind, from
 “penetrating into the interior. From this court you
 “passed into an enclosure, likewise square, shaded in
 “the middle by plane-trees. A range of colonnades
 “extended round three of the sides. That which front-
 “ed the north had a double row of columns, to shelter
 “those who walked there in summer from the sun.
 “The opposite piazza was called Xystos, in the middle
 “of which, and through its whole length, they contrived
 “a sort of pathway, about twelve feet wide and nearly
 “two deep, where, sheltered from the weather, and
 “separated from the spectators ranged along the sides,
 “the young scholars exercised themselves in wrestling.
 “Beyond the Xystos was a stadium for foot-races.”¹

The principal parts of the gymnasium were,—first, the porticoes, furnished with seats and side-buildings where the youths met to converse. 2. The Ephebeion,² that part of the edifice where the youth alone exercised. 3. The Apodyterion, or undressing-room.³ 4. The Konisterion, or small court in which was kept the happe, or yellow kind of sand sprinkled by the wrestlers over their bodies⁴ after being anointed with the ceroma, or oil tempered with wax. An important part of the baggage of Alexander in his Indian expedition consisted of this fine sand for the gymnasium. 5. The Palæstra, when considered as part of the gymnasium,⁵ was simply the place set apart for wrestling: the whole of its area was covered with a deep stratum of mud. 6. The Sphæristerion,⁶—that part of the gymnasium in which they played at ball. 7. Aleipterion or Elaiothesion,⁷ that part of the palæstra where the

¹ Barthel. Trav. of Anach. ii. p. 133. sqq.

² Vitruv. v. 11.

³ Plin. xxv. 13.—Even old men performed their exercises naked.—Plat. de Rep. t. vi. p. 221.

⁴ Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. p. 172.

⁵ Poll. iii. 149.

⁶ Suet. Vesp. c. 20. with the note of Torrentius, p. 375.

⁷ In the Gymnasium of Asclepios at Smyrna, Heracleides the sophist erected an anointing-room, containing a fountain or well of oil, and adorned with a gilded roof.—Philostr. de Vit. Sophist. ii. 26. p. 613.

wrestlers anointed themselves with oil. 8. The area: the great court, and certain spaces in the porticoes, were used for running, leaping, or pitching the quoit. 9. The Xystoi have been described above. 10. The Xysta¹ were open walks in which, during fine weather, the youths exercised themselves in running or any other suitable recreation. 11. The Balaneia or baths, where in numerous basins was water of various degrees of temperature, in which the young men bathed before anointing themselves, or after their exercises. 12. Behind the Xystos, and running parallel with it, lay the stadium,² which, as its name implies, was usually the eighth part of a mile in length. It resembled the section of a cylinder, rounded at the ends. From the area below, where the runners performed their exercises, the sides, whether of green turf or marble, sloped upwards to a considerable height, and were covered with seats, rising behind each other to the top for the accommodation of spectators.

Such were the buildings which Athens appropriated to the exercises of its youth; and if we consider the conveniences which they contained, the large spaces they enclosed, and the taste and magnificence which they exhibited, we shall probably conclude that no country in the world ever bestowed on the physical training of its citizens so much enlightened care.

The first step in gymnastics was to accustom the youth to endure, naked, the fiercest rays of the sun and the cold of winter, to which they were exposed during their initiatory exercises.³ This is illustrated in a very lively manner by Lucian, where he introduces the Scythian Anacharsis anxious to escape from the scorching rays of noon to the shade of the plane-trees; while Solon, who had been educated according

¹ Vitruv. v. 11. Cf. on the Xystoi, Xenoph. Œconom. xi. 15. — Cicero, Acad. iv. 3; ad Att. l. 8. Of this covered walk Aristæas makes mention in a fragment of his Orpheus: —

Ἦν μοι παλαίστρα καὶ δρόμος
ἐνσὺν πέλας.

Poll. ix. 43.

² Potter, Book i. chap. 8.

³ Lucian, Amor. § 45. seq.

to the Hellenic system, stands without inconvenience bareheaded in the sun. The step next in order was wrestling, always regarded as the principal among gymnastic contests, both from its superior utility and the great art and skill which the proper practice of it required. To the acquisition of excellence in this exercise the palæstra and the instructions of the pædōtribæ were almost entirely devoted; while nearly every other branch of gymnastics was performed in the gymnasium. These, according to Lucian, were divided into two classes, one of which required for their performance a soft or muddy area, the other one of sand, or an arena properly so called.¹ In all these exercises the youth were naked, and had their bodies anointed with oil.

To render, however our account of the exercises more complete, it may be proper to give a separate though brief description of each. The first or most simple was the Dromos or Course,² performed, as has been above observed, in the area of the stadium, which, in order to present the greater difficulty to the racers, was deeply covered with soft and yielding sand. Still further to enhance the labour, the youth sometimes ran in armour, which admirably prepared them for the vicissitudes of war, for pursuit after victory, or the rapid movements of retreat. The high value which the Greeks set upon swiftness may be learned from the poems of Homer, where likewise are found the most graphic and brilliant descriptions of the several exercises. Some of these we shall here introduce from Pope's version, which in this part is peculiarly

¹ Lucian, *Anach.* §§ 1—3. 28.

² Accumenes, the friend of Socrates, advised persons to walk on the high-road in preference to the places of exercise, as being less fatiguing and more beneficial.—*Plat. Phæd.* t. i. p. 3. On the rapidity of public runners see *Herod.* vi. 106. Cf. on the Pentathlon West, *Dissert. on the Olympic*

Games, p. 77. They appear to have acquired so equable and steady a pace that time was measured by their movements, as distance is by that of caravans in the East. Thus Dioscorides, ii. 96. gives direction that gall should be boiled while a person could run three stadia.

sustained and nervous. Speaking of the race between Oilean Ajax, Odysseus, and Antilochos, he says: —¹

“ Ranged in a line the ready racers stand,
Pelides points the barrier with his hand.
All start at once, Oileus led the race;
The next Ulysses, measuring pace with pace,
Behind him diligently close he sped,
As closely following as the mazy thread
The spindle follows, and displays the charms
Of the fair spinster’s breast and moving arms.
Graceful in motion, thus his foe he plies,
And treads each footstep ere the dust can rise;
The glowing breath upon his shoulder plays,
Th’ admiring Greeks loud acclamations raise,
To him they give their wishes, heart, and eyes,
And send their souls before him as he flies.
Now three times turned, in prospect of the goal,
The panting chief to Pallas lifts his soul;
Assist, O Goddess, (thus in thought he prayed,)
And present at his thought descends the maid;
Buoyed by her heavenly force he seems to swim,
And feels a pinion lifting every limb.”

Next in the natural order, proceeding from the simplest to the most artificial exercises, was leaping, in which the youth among the Greeks delighted to excel. In the performance of this exercise they usually sprang from an artificial elevation (*βαρὴ*), and descended upon the soft mould, which, when ploughed up with their heels, was termed *ἰσχαμμένα*.² The better to poise their bodies and enable them to bound to a greater distance, they carried in their hands metallic weights, denominated *halteres*,³ in the form of a semi disk, having on their inner faces handles like the thong of a shield, through which the fingers were passed. Extraordinary feats are related of these ancient leapers. Chionis the Spartan and Phaÿllos the Crotonian, being related to have cleared at one bound

¹ Il. ψ. 754. sqq. Cf. Odys. η. 119.—As an illustration of the necessity there was of going through all the various exercises, it is mentioned by Xenophon that run-

ners had large legs, wrestlers small ones.—Conviv. ii. 17.

² Poll. iii. 151.

³ Paus. v. 26. 3; 27. 12.

the space of fifty-two, or according to others, of fifty-five feet.

With the latter account agrees the inscription on the Crotonian's statue :

“ Phaÿllos leaped full five and fifty feet,
The discus flung one hundred wanting five.”¹

Homer briefly describes leaping among the sports of the Phæacians :

“ Amphialos sprang forward with a bound,
Superior in the leap a length of ground.”²

To this succeeded pitching the quoit, which in the Homeric age would appear to have been practised with large stones or rude masses of iron. On ordinary occasions it has been conjectured that one discus only was used. But Odysseus, desirous of exhibiting his strength to the Phæacians, converts into a quoit the first block of stone within his reach.³

“ Then striding forward with a furious bound
He wrenched a rocky fragment from the ground,
By far more ponderous and more large by far
Than what Phæacia's sons discharged in air ;
Fierce from his arm the enormous load he flings,
Sonorous through the shaded air it sings ;
Couched to the earth, tempestuous as it flies,
The crowd gaze upwards while it cleaves the skies.
Beyond all marks, with many a giddy round,
Down rushing it upturns a hill of ground.”

The disk⁴ in later times varied greatly both in shape, size, and materials. Generally it would seem to have been a cycloid, swelling in the middle and growing thin towards the edges. Sometimes it was perforated in the centre and hurled forward by a thong, and on other occasions would appear to have

¹ Eustath. ad Odyss. 9. 128.
Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 210.

² Odyss. 9. 128.

³ Odyss. 9. 186. sqq. Cf. Il.
ψ. 836. seq.

⁴ Schol. Hom. Il. β. 774.

approached the spherical form, when it was denominated solos.¹

Other of these exercises were shooting with the bow at wisps of straw stuck upon a pole,² and darting the javelin, sometimes with the naked hand and sometimes with a thong wound about the centre of the weapon. In the stadium at Olympia, the area within which the pentathli leaped, pitched the quoit, and hurled the javelin, appears to have been marked out by two parallel trenches: but if these existed likewise in the gymnasia, they must have been extremely shallow, as we find in Antiphon³ a boy meeting with his death by inconsiderately running across the area while the youths were engaged in this exercise. Instead of throwing for the furthest, they would seem, from the expressions of the orator, to have aimed at a mark.

Wrestling⁴ consisted of two kinds, the first, called Orthopale, was that style, still commonly in use, in which the antagonists, throwing their arms about each other's body, endeavoured to bring him to the ground. In the other, called Anaclinopale, the wrestler who distrusted his own strength but had confidence in his courage and powers of endurance, voluntarily flung himself upon the ground, bringing his adversary along with him, and then by pinching, scratching, biting, and every other species of annoyance, sought to compel him to yield.

An example of wrestling in both its forms occurs in Homer, where Ajax Telamon and Odysseus contend in the funeral games for the prize.⁵

“ Amid the ring each nervous rival stands,
Embracing rigid, with implicit hands ;
Close locked above, their heads and arms are mixt ;
Below their planted feet at distance fixt.

¹ Schol. Hom. Il. β. 774.

⁴ Cf. Sch. Aristoph. Eq. 569.

² Lucian. Hermot. § 33.

³ Tetral. ii. 1. Cf. Plat. de Legg. t. viii. p. 51. sqq. 142.

⁵ Il. ψ. 708, sqq. et Heyne ad loc.

Like two strong rafters which the builder forms
 Proof to the wintry winds and howling storms ;
 Their tops connected, but at wider space
 Fixed on the centre stands their solid base.
 Now to the grasp each manly body bends,
 The humid sweat from every pore descends,
 Their bones resound with blows, sides, shoulders, thighs
 Swell to each gripe, and bloody tumours rise.
 Nor could Ulysses, for his art renowned,
 O'erturn the strength of Ajax on the ground ;
 Nor could the strength of Ajax overthrow
 The watchful caution of his artful foe.
 While the long strife even tires the lookers-on,
 Thus to Ulysses spoke great Telamon :
 Or let me lift thee, Chief, or lift thou me,
 Prove we our strength and Jove the rest decree.
 He said ; and straining heaved him off the ground
 With matchless strength ; that time Ulysses found
 The strength t' evade, and where the nerves combine
 His ankle struck : the giant fell supine.
 Ulysses following on his bosom lies,
 Shouts of applause run rattling through the skies.
 Ajax to lift Ulysses next essays ;
 He barely stirred him but he could not raise.
 His knee locked fast the foe's attempt defied,
 And grappling close they tumbled side by side,
 Defiled with honourable dust they roll,
 Still breathing strife and unsubdued of soul."

Boxing, which has very properly been called a rough exercise, though condemned by physicians and philosophers, was still practised in the gymnasium, sometimes with the naked fist but more frequently with the cestus, which consisted of a series of thongs, bound round the hand and arm up to the elbow, or even higher.¹ This exercise, however, seems to have been little practised, except by those who designed to become *athletæ* by profession. Homer has described the combat with the cestus in its most terrible form.²

" Amid the circle now each champion stands,
 And poises high in air his iron hands :
 With clashing gauntlets now they firmly close,
 Their crackling jaws re-echo to the blows,

¹ Theoc. Eidyll. xxii. 3. et 80. viii. 40. 3. Poll. ii. 150. Scalig.
 Mercurial. de Art. Gymnast. ii. Poet. i. 22. p. 92.
 9. Virg. Æn. v. 401. sqq. Paus. ² Il. ψ. 684. sqq.

And painful sweat from all their members flows.
 At length Epeus dealt a weighty blow
 Full on the cheek of his unwary foe.
 Beneath that ponderous arm's resistless sway
 Down dropped he powerless, and extended lay.
 As a large fish, when winds and waters roar,
 By some huge billow dashed against the shore,
 Lies panting, not less battered with his wound,
 The bleeding hero pants upon the ground.
 To rear his fallen foe the victor lends
 Scornful his hand, and gives him to his friends,
 Whose arms support him reeling through the throng,
 And dragging his disabled legs along.
 Nodding, his head hangs down his shoulders o'er,
 His mouth and nostrils pour the clotted gore.
 Wrapped round in mist he lies, and lost to thought,
 His friends receive the bowl too dearly bought."

Among the exercises of the gymnasium which Hippocrates advises to be practised during winter¹ and bad weather, when it is necessary to remain under cover, is walking on the tight rope. This feat seems to have been so great a favourite among the youths of antiquity, that they applied themselves to it with constant assiduity, and arrived at length at a degree of skill little inferior to that of our mountebanks. It seems, in fact, to have been a common practice in the gymnasium to run upon the tight rope. The Romans, seeking in something to outdo the Greeks, taught an elephant to perform a similar exploit.

Another branch of gymnastics consisted in the various forms of the dance, to be ignorant of which was at Athens esteemed a mark of an illiberal education. To excel in this accomplishment was nearly by all the Greeks² considered absolutely necessary, either as a

¹ But Galen cautions youth against useless acquisitions, which he says are not arts at all: such as *περτευσιπτεῖν*, throwing the tali,—walking over a small tight rope, —whirling round without being giddy, like Myrmecides the Athenian and Callicrates the Spartan.—Protrept. § 9. p. 20. Kühn.—He then speaks very slighting-

ly of gymnastic exercises. The studies he recommends are: medicine, rhetoric, music, geometry, arithmetic, dialectics, astronomy, grammar, and jurisprudence, to which may be added, modelling and painting.—§ 14. Cf. Foës. Œcon. Hip. p. 366.

² Vid. Aristot. de Poet. i. 6. Herm.

preparation for the due performance of the movements and evolutions of war, sustaining a proper part in the religious choruses, or regulating the carriage with the requisite grace and decorum in the various relations of private life. Thus the Cretans, the Spartans, the Thessalians, and the Bœotians, held this division of gymnastics in especial honour, chiefly with a view to war, while the Athenians, and Ionians generally, contemplated it more as a means of developing the beauty of the form, and conferring ease and elegance on the gait and gesture. But because in treating of the theatre I design fully to describe the several varieties of scenic dances, I think it proper to throw together in that place whatever I may have to say on this subject.¹

To all these branches of gymnastics the Grecian youth² applied themselves with peculiar eagerness, and on quitting the schools devoted to them a considerable portion of their time, since they were regarded both as a preparation for victory in the Olympic and other games, and as the best possible means for promoting health and ripening the physical powers. Nor could anything be easily conceived better suited to the genius of their republics. In the first place, as I have already observed, the wild and headstrong period of youth was withdrawn by these agreeable exercises from the desire and thoughts of evil, while a wholesome feeling of equality was cultivated, and something like brotherhood engendered in men destined to live and act together. Besides what could more admirably prepare them for fulfilling their duties as citizens and more especially for defending their country, than a system of physical training, which at the same time brought to perfection their strength, their vigour, and their manly beauty, and fitted them for the acquisition of that peculiar species of glory which success in the sacred games conferred? The acquisition, more-

¹ See Book iv. Chapter. 8.

² Cf. Plat. de Legg. t. viii. p. 97.—The gymnasia in the later

ages of Greece were so little frequented, that their area was sown with corn. Dion. Chrysos. i. 223.

over, of robust health and that vigour of mind which accompanies it, was a consideration second to none. And it will readily be conceived that a judicious system of exercises, such as we have described, would necessarily render men patient of labour, inaccessible to fear, and be productive at once of graceful habits and lofty and honourable sentiments.

CHAPTER VI.

HUNTING AND FOWLING.

AMONG the sports and pastimes of the Greeks, which may be considered as a kind of supplement to gymnastics, we must class first the chase, which Xenophon vainly hoped might be made to operate as a check on the luxurious and effeminate habits of his contemporaries.¹ But each age having its own distinctive characteristic, it profits very little to aim at engrafting the customs of one period of civilisation upon another. The world will go its own gait. Chuckfarthing and Pricking the Loop might as well be recommended to young gentlemen and ladies dying for love, as hunting to the population of a vain and foppish city, to whom wild boars and wolves must seem certain death. However, the country gentlemen, and the agricultural population generally, long in their own defence continued the practice of the chase, though in Attica the absence of wild animals, consequent upon a high and careful cultivation, had reduced it at a very early period to a matter of mere amusement.

But in remoter times, and in those parts of the country where game always continued to abound, there were never wanting persons who delighted in the excitement of the chase. Herdsmen, particularly, and shepherds, considered it part of their occupation.² Thus we find Anchises a young Trojan chief, who

¹ In the early ages of the world, hunting we are assured led to the establishment of monarchy by accustoming youth whose brains were in their sinews

to pay implicit obedience to their leaders in the chase.—Bochart, *Geog. Sac.* t. i. p. 258.

² *Iliad*, λ. 547.

inhabited the hill country, making his lair of bears and lion-skins, the spoils of his own lance.¹ Sport, of course, it would furnish to bold and reckless young men, as lion and tiger hunting still does to our countrymen in Northern India; but from this recreation proceeded in some measure their safety, since where wild beasts are numerous they not only devastate the country,² trampling down the corn-fields and devouring herds and flocks, but occasionally, if they chance to find them unarmed, dine also upon their hunters. Thus the chase of the Calydonian boar, the tally-ho's and view-halloes of which still sound fresh in song, was undertaken by the Ætolians and Curetes, for the purpose of delivering the rustic population from a pest;³ and precisely the same motive urged Alcmena's boy into the famous conflict with the Nemean lion,⁴ which he brought down with his invincible bow and finished with his wild olive club. In like manner Theseus, his rival in glory, slew the Marathonian bull; and delivered the Cretans from another monster of the same kind.⁵ He engaged, too, with a sow of great size at Crommyon on the confines of Corinthia, and slaughtered the pig, an achievement of much utility and no little glory.

The arms and accoutrements of these primitive sportsmen corresponded with the rough service in which they were engaged. Sometimes, to the attack of the wild bull or the boar, they went forth with formidable battle-axes.⁶ But when their game was fleet and innocuous a handful of light javelins and the bow sufficed, as when Odysseus and his companions beat the country in search of wild goats.⁷ In the Æneid, too, we find the hero doing great execution among a herd of deer with his bow. Boar-spears also were in use ere the period of the Trojan war, as

¹ Hom. Hymn in Vener. 160.

⁵ Paus. i. 27. 9. seq.

seq.

² Paus. i. 27. 9.

⁶ Iliad, p. 520. seq. Feith. Antiq. Hom. iv. c. 2. § 2.

³ Iliad, i. 547. seq.

⁴ Theocrit. xxv. 211. seq.

⁷ Odyss. i. 155. seq.

Odysseus, who appears to have been excessively addicted to the chase, is represented going thus armed to the field with the sons of Autolycos when he was wounded by the hog.¹ With the same weapon we find Adrastos engaged in the same sport, killing the son of Croesos.² The chase of the lion, which in Xenophon's time could no longer be enjoyed in Greece Proper, required the most daring courage and the most formidable weapons, spears, javelins, clubs, and burning torches, with which at last they repelled him at night from the cattle stalls. Homer, as usual, represents the contest to the life:³

“ He turned to go, as slow retreats the lion from the stalls,
Whom men and dogs assault while round a shower of javelins falls.
They all night watch about their herds, lest he intent on prey
Should bear the flower of all their fields, the fattest bull away.
Onward impetuously he bounds—the hissing javelins fly
From daring hands, while torches send their blaze far up the sky.
He dreads, though fierce, the dazzling flames thick flashing on his
sight,
And hungry still and breathing rage, retires with morning's light.”

The existence of wild beasts in a country has by some been enumerated among the causes of civilisation, and it may, under certain circumstances, deserve to be so considered, though generally such modes of accounting for things are exceedingly unphilosophical. Mitford, who advances it,⁴ needed but to cast a glance across the Mediterranean to dissipate his whole theory, since nowhere are there more wild beasts or men less civilised than in Africa. Egypt, Chaldæa, Assyria, the earliest peopled countries, enjoyed few of these helps to refinement. The reasons of Greek civilisation lay neither in their country or in the accidents of it, but in the race itself, which, as one family in a nation is distinguished from its neighbours by superior genius, was thus distinguished from other races of men. However, the lion, as we have seen, formerly existed among

¹ Odyss. ι. 465. seq.

² Herod. i. 43.

³ Il. ρ. 657. Cf. Aristot. Hist.

Anim. ix. 31. Oppian Cyneget.
iv. 131. sqq.

⁴ Hist. of Greece, i. 16.

them, though never probably in great numbers, and even in the age of Herodotus was still found in a wild tract of country extending from the Acheloös in Acarnania to the Nestos in Thrace,¹ where in fabulous times Olynthos, son of Strymon,² is said to have been slain in a lion hunt. In the age of Dion Chrysostom, however, this fierce animal was no longer known in Europe.³

Dogs, all the world over and from the remotest times, have been man's companions in the chase, and Homer, the noblest painter of the ancient world, has bequeathed us many sketches of the antique hunting breed. It has above been seen that in company with man they feared not to attack even the lion. Odysseus' famous dog Argos was a hound that

"Never missed in deepest woods the swift game to pursue
If once it glanced before his sight, for every track he knew."⁴

And again when the same sagacious Nimrod makes his rounds in quest of "belly timber," a brace of dogs runs before him "examining the traces," while with boar-spear in hand he follows close at their heels.⁵ But already, even in those days, the habit of keeping more cats than catch mice had got into fashion—that is among the great—since we find grandees with their *κύνας τραπέζης* or "table dogs,"⁶ valued simply for their beauty. Patroclus maintained nine of these handsome animals, and Achilles understanding his tastes, cast two of them into the flames of his funeral pile, that their shades might sit at his board in the realms below.⁷

Fowling too, if we may depend upon Athenæus,⁸ entered into the list of heroic amusements. It is clear, however, that the sportsmen of those days were arrant poachers, for, not content with attacking their

¹ Herod. vii. 125. seq.

² Conon, Dieg. iv. ap. Phot. 131. Rüdig. Prolegg. ad Dem. Olynth. p. 3.

³ Orat. 21. t. i. p. 501. Reiske.

⁴ Odys. ρ. 316. seq.

⁵ Id. τ. 436. seq.

⁶ Id. ρ. 310.

⁷ Iliad ψ. 173. seq.

⁸ Deipnosoph. i. 22. et 24.

prey in open fight, they condescended to spread nets for them and set gins for their feet. But being accomplished bowmen, however, they could occasionally, when pressed for provisions, fetch down a thrush, a pigeon, or a dove with an arrow, dexterously as that Jew in Eusebius¹ who exhibited his marksmanship to demonstrate the fallacy of augury. For in the funeral games of Patroclus, we find one of the heroes hitting from a considerable distance a dove which had been tied by a small cord to the summit of a mast.²

They were given moreover not only to fishing with nets—a practice in nowise unbecoming a hero when in want of a dinner—but even to angling with “crooked O’Shaughnessies,”³ as Homer expresses it; though the passage in the Iliad, indeed, where a net is mentioned, cannot well be adduced in corroboration, since it may refer to fowling as well as to fishing.⁴ Certain verses in the Odyssey, however, prove beyond a doubt that the Greeks had already begun to derive a great part of their sustenance from the sea;⁵ and the Homeric heroes even understood the value of oysters, which, as appears from the Iliad, were procured by diving.⁶

Nevertheless these ancient heroes, though by no means averse as we have seen to pigeons or oysters, delighted chiefly in the chase of the larger animals, in which article of taste they agreed with Plato, who considered all other kinds as unworthy of men. He appears to have entertained an especial aversion for the Isaac Waltons of the ancient world, and in

¹ Præp. Evang. l. ix. c. 4. p. 408. d.

² Iliad, ψ. 853. sqq.

³ Γραμμοῖς ἀγκιστροῖσιν. Odyss. μ. 331. seq. Ludovic. Nonn. de Re Cibar. iii. 4. p. 294. Plut. de Solert. Anim. § 24. Cf. Antich. di Ercol. t. i. tav. 36. p. 191. From an expression of Augustus, if we can regard it as anything more than a figure of speech,

it may be inferred that to increase the luxury of the sport by converting it into a species of gambling, people sometimes fished with golden hooks. — Polyæn. Strat. viii. 24. 6.

⁴ Iliad, γ. 487. seq. Eustath. ad Odyss. χ. 386.

⁵ Odyss. χ. 386.

⁶ Iliad, π. 747. sqq.

his advice to youth earnestly exhorts them to eschew hooks and fish-traps, which he slyly classes with piracy and house-breaking: and so he does fowling. Nor would his generous philosophy countenance poaching with nets and gins and snares. His sportsmen, modelled after the old Homeric type, were to mount their chargers,¹ and accompanied by their dogs come to close quarters with their wild foes in open daylight, and subdue them by dint of personal courage.² Precisely similar views prevailed in the heroic age, when the chiefs and principal men were exercised from boyhood in the chase, as appears from the examples of Achilles and Odysseus;³ of whom the former, according to Pindar, tried his hand at a lion at the age of six years, ἔξις ἑξαῖτον. Being swift of foot as those Arabs of Northern Africa, who, as Leo⁴ says, are a match for any horse, he used without the aid of dogs to overtake and bring down deer with his javelin, and whatever prey he took he carried to his old master Cheiron. This passage Mr. Cary has translated in the following vigorous and elegant manner:—

“ In Philyra's house a flaxen boy
 Achilles oft in rapturous joy
 His feats of strength essayed.
 Aloof like wind his little javelin flew,
 The lion and the brinded boar he slew;
 Then homeward to old Cheiron drew
 Their panting carcasses.
 This when six years had fled;
 And all the after time
 Of his rejoicing prime
 It was to Dian and the blue-eyed Maid
 A wonder how he brought to ground
 The stag without or toils or hound.
 So fleet of foot was he.”

¹ Cf. Poll. Onom. v. 17.

² De Legg. vii. t. viii. p. 71. seq.—In his Republic boys were to be permitted when they could do so with safety to proceed to the field of battle, and there to approach sufficiently near the

scene as to be able like young hounds to taste, so to speak, of blood.—t. vi. p. 367.

³ Pind. Nem. iii. 43. seq. Diss. Odyss. τ. 429. seq.

⁴ Descrip. Afric.

Similar manners, if we may confide in Virgil,¹ prevailed among the old inhabitants of Latium, and Xenophon² in his monarchical Utopia trains the youth in the same habits.

On hunting,³ as practised in the civilised ages of Greece, we possess more ample details, and it is chiefly by the minuter touches that a picture of this kind can be invested with interest and utility. Xenophon, an aristocratic country gentleman, who living in a corrupt age was, as I have said, wisely partial to the nobler manners of the past, considers the chase as a branch of education.⁴ He does not, however, entertain upon this subject the heroic views of Plato, but, looking solely to utility, not only describes the physical conditions and mental qualities of the hunter, but the nets, poles, arms, and every implement made use of by the ancients in the chase.

Not to interfere with the discipline of the schools and the gymnasia, the youths were exhorted to betake themselves to field-sports about the age of twenty. Their notions of a sportsman's costume differed materially from our own, for instead of decking themselves like our fox-hunters in scarlet, they selected the soberest and least brilliant colours both for their cloaks and chitons. The latter were in general extremely short, reaching merely to the hams, as Artemis is usually represented in works of art. But the chlamys was long and ample, that it might be twisted round the left arm in close contest with the larger animals. Their hunting boots reached to the knee, and were bound tight round the leg with thongs. Probably also, as in travelling, they covered their heads with a broad-brimmed hat.

The apparatus of a Greek sportsman would appear somewhat cumbersome, and perhaps a little ludicrous

¹ *Æneid*, ix. 605.

² *Cyneg.* ii. 1.

³ To form a proper idea of the sporting vocabulary of the Greeks,

the reader should consult Julius Pollux, *Onomasticon*, v. 9.—94.

⁴ *Cyneg.* ii. 1.

to a modern Nimrod. But understanding their own object they went their own way to work; their arms and implements, varying with the chase in which they were engaged, consisted of short swords, hunting knives¹ for the purpose of cutting down brushwood to stop up openings in the forest, axes for felling trees, darts furnished with thongs for drawing them back when they had missed their aim, bows, boar-spears, weapons peculiarly formidable, nets small and large, some for setting up in the plains, some for traversing glades or narrow alleys in the woods, and others shaped like a female head-net, to be placed in small dusky openings, where being unperceived the game sprang into them as into a sack, which closed about it by means of a running cord, net-poles, forked stakes, snares, gins, nooses, and leashes for the dogs.² The darts used on these occasions had ashen or beechen handles, and the nets were usually manufactured with flax imported from Colchis on the Phasis, Egypt, Carthage, and Sardinia.³ Generally, too, they took along with them the Lagobalon, a short, crooked stick with a knob at one end, with which they sometimes brought down the hare in its flight.⁴ This practice, common enough among poachers in our country, is by them denominated *squailing*.

Without the aid of dogs, however, hunting is a poor sport. The ancients, therefore, much addicted to this branch of education, paid great attention to the breed of these animals, of which some were sought to be rendered celebrated by heroic and fabulous associations. Thus the Castorides, it was said, sprang⁵ from a breed to which the twin god of Sparta was partial;

¹ Poll. v. 19.

² Cf. Grat. Falisc. Cyneg. p. 14. Wase.

³ Xen. Cyneg. ii. 3. Grat. Falisc. Cyneg. p. 6. Wase. Pollux, v. 26.

⁴ Spanh. Obs. in Callim. Hymn.

in Dian. ii. p. 122. Poll. v. 20,—
Hares are hunted with sticks in
South Guinea by the blacks.—
Barbot. iii. 14,

⁵ Poll. v. 39. Xen. Cyneg. iii. 1.

the Alopecidæ were a cross between a dog and a she-fox; and a third kind¹ arose from the mingling of these two races. Among modern sportsmen, there are also good authorities who prefer harriers with a quarter of the fox-strain.² Other kinds of hounds, as the Menelaides and Harmodian derived their appellation from the persons who reared them.³

But the whole breeds of certain countries⁴ were famous, as the Argive, the Locrian, the Arcadian, the Spanish, the Carian, the Eretrian; the Celtic or greyhound (not known⁵ in more ancient times); the Psyllian, so called from a city of Achaia; the dog of Elymæa, a country lying between Bactria and Hyrcania; the Hyrcanian, which was a cross with the lion; the Laconian, of which the bitch was more generous,⁶ sometimes crossed with the Cretan, which was itself renowned for its nose, strength and courage,⁷ those which kept watch in the temple of Artemis Dictynna having been reckoned a match even for bears; the Molossian, less valued for the chase than as a shepherd's dog, on account of its great fierceness and power to contend with wild beasts;⁸ the Cyrenaic, a cross with the wolf, and lastly the Indian, on which the chief reliance was placed in the chase of the wild boar. This breed, according to Aristotle, was produced by crossing with the tiger, probably the Cheeta.⁹ The first and second removes were considered too fierce and unmanageable, and

¹ Arist. Hist. Anim. viii. 28. Poll. v. 39.

² Letters on Hunting, p. 60.

³ Poll. v. 40.

⁴ Arist. de Gen. Anim. v. 2. p. 344. Virg. Georg. iii. 405. See the enumeration by Grattius, Cynege. p. 20. seq.

⁵ Arrian, de Venat. c. 2.

⁶ Arist. Hist. Anim. ix. 1. Soph. Ajax, 8. Virg. Georg. iii. 405. Ἀλκαίνας σκύλακες, Plat.

Parmen. t. ii. p. 7. had long noses. Arist. de Gen. Anim. v. 2. 344.

⁷ Æl. De Nat. Anim. iii. 2. Pashley, Travels in Crete, i. 33. Hughes, Travels, &c. i. 489, 501.

⁸ Arist. Hist. Anim. ix. i.

⁹ Arist. Hist. Anim. viii. 28, with the observations of Camus, t. ii. p. 215. Cf. Scalig. de Subtilitat. x. p. 383. Æl. de Nat. Anim. viii. i.

it was not until the third generation that these tiger-mules could be broken in to the use of the sportsman. Some sought in mythology the origin of this noble animal; for, according to Nicander, the hounds of Actæon, recovering their senses after the destruction of their master, fled across the Euphrates and wandered as far as India. Strange stories are related of this breed, of which some it is said would contend with no animal but the lion. Alexander's dog, which he purchased in India for a hundred minæ, had twice overcome and slain the monarch of the forest.¹

Let us, therefore, now imagine the hounds exactly what they ought to be, and observe under what circumstances they were led afield. As in England, their principal sport was the hare. In winter,² it was observed that puss, from the length of the nights, took a wider circuit, and therefore afforded the dogs a better chance of detecting her traces.³ But when in the morning the ground was covered with ice or white with hoar-frost, the dogs lost their scent, as also amidst abundant dews or after heavy rains. The sportsman accordingly waited till the sun was some way up the sky, and had begun to quicken the subtile odours communicated to the earth.⁴ The west wind,⁵ which covers the heavens with vast clouds and fills the air with moisture, and the south blowing warm and humid, weaken the scent; but the north wind fixes and preserves

¹ *Æl. De Nat. Anim.* viii. 1. *Poll. Onom.* v. 42. seq.

² See on the subject of scent, *Sport. Mag.* Jan. 1840, and compare *Essay on Hunting*, p. 1. et seq.

³ Cf. *Poll.* v. 11. Σύμβολα ἐν τετυπωμένα τῇ γῇ.

⁴ The phrase in Pollux is ἀποφέρεται ἀπ' αὐτῶν (τῶν ἰχνῶν) τὸ πνεῦμα. v. 12. The author of the *Essay on Hunting* (p. 15.) enume-

rating the several kinds of scent, speaks of them as stronger, sweeter, or more distinguishable at one time than another; and Pollux makes use of much the same language: ἀνοσμα, δύσοσμα, εὔσομα, κ. τ. λ. l. c.

⁵ *Arist. Prob.* xxvi. 23.—Falling stars were regarded as a prognostic of high winds, 24. *Letters on Hunting*, p. 106.

it.¹ By moonlight, too, as the old sportsmen remark, and the warmth it emits, the scent is affected; besides that when the moon shines brightly, in their frolicsome and sportive mood the hares, in the secluded glades of the forest, take long leaps and bounds over the green sward, leaving wide intervals between their traces.²

From a remark of Xenophon it appears that at least on one point the sportsmen of antiquity were less humane than the modern, since they pursued the chase even in breeding time.³ They, however, spared the young in honour of Artemis;⁴ the spirit even of false religion, on this, as on many other occasions, strengthening the impulses of humanity.

Several causes coöperated to render hares un plentiful on the Hellenic continent,—the number of sportsmen, of foxes which devoured both them and their young, and of eagles that delighted in its lofty and almost inaccessible mountains, and shared its game with the huntsman and the fox. Homer, in a few picturesque words, describes the war carried on against puss by this destructive bird.⁵ On the islands, whether inhabited or not, few of these obstacles to their increase existed. Sportsmen rarely passed over to them, and in such as were sacred to any of the gods the introduction of dogs was not permitted, so that, like the pigeons and turtle-doves of Mekka, they multiplied in those holy haunts prodigiously.

It was prohibited by the laws of Attica⁶ to commit the slightest trespass during the chase. The sportsman was not allowed to traverse any ground under cultivation, to disturb the course of running water, or

¹ Cf. Xen. Cyneg. viii. 1.

² Xen. Cyneg. v. 4. Poll. v. 67.

³ See also Spanh. Obs. in Callim. t. ii. p. 123.

⁴ Xen. Cyneg. v. 14. Klaus. Com. in Agam. p. 114.—Leverets,

properly *λαγίδια*, were often in common with the young of all other wild animals denominated *ὀμβρίαι* and *ὀμβρίκια* by the poets.—Poll. v. 15.

⁵ Il. χ. 308. sqq.

⁶ Xen. Cyneg. v. 34.

to invade the sanctity of fountains. The scene of action accordingly lay among the woods and mountains, the common property of the republic, or, if not, abandoned by general consent to the use of the sportsman. Such were, for example, the woodland districts of Parnes and Cithæron on the borders of Bœotia. Towards these the huntsman, well shod, plainly and lightly dressed,¹ and with a stick in his hand, set out about sunrise in winter, in summer before day.² On the road strict silence was observed³ lest the hare should take the alarm and to her heels. Having reached the cover, the dogs were tied separately that they might be let slip the more easily, the nets were spread in the proper places, the net-guards set, and the huntsman with his dogs proceeded to start the game, first piously making a votive offering of the primitiæ to Apollo and Artemis,⁴ divinities of the chase.⁵

And now, exclaims the leader of the Ten Thousand, I behold the hounds, joyous and full of fire, spring forward in the track of their game. Eagerly and ardently do they pursue it—they traverse—they run

¹ Poll. v. 17.

² The pleasure experienced on these occasions is thus enthusiastically described by Christopher Wase: — "What innocent and natural delights are they, when he seeth the day breaking forth, those blushes and roses which poets and writers of romances only paint, but the huntsman truly courts! When he heareth the chirping of small birds perched upon their dewy boughs, when he draws in that fragranciness of the pastures and coolness of the air! How jolly is his spirit when he suffers it to be imported with the noise of bugle-horns and the baying of hounds which leap up and play around him!" — Pref. to Tr. of Gratius, p. 3.

³ See, in the Cyropædia, i. 6. 40, an extremely interesting passage on the chase of the hare.— Cf. Oppian. de Venat. iv. 422.

⁴ Hence the goddess obtained many of the epithets bestowed on her by the poets, as: ἀγροτέρα, καὶ κυνηγέτις, καὶ φιλόθηρος, καὶ ὄρεϊα, ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρέων καὶ Ἰδαία, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰδῆς, καὶ δίκτυνα, ἀπὸ τῶν δικτύων καὶ ἐκηφόλος, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκὰς τὰ θηρία βάλλειν· καὶ πολλὰ ἄλλα ὀνόματα ἀπὸ θήρας. — Poll. v. 13.

⁵ Xen. Cyneg. vi. 1. seq. Poll. v. 13.—It was customary, moreover, to nail the head or a foot of the game to some tree in honour of Artemis.—Sch. Aristoph. Ran. 143.

about in a circle—they advance now in a straight line, now bounding away obliquely—they plunge into the thickets, across the glades, through the paths, known or unknown, hurrying one before the other, shaking their tails, their ears hanging low,¹ their eyes flashing with fire. Drawing near the game they indicate the fact to their master by their movements, kindling up into a warlike humour, bounding emulously forward, scorning all thought of fatigue,—now in a body, now singly,—till reaching the hiding-place² of the hare they spring towards it all at once. In the midst of shouts and barking the swift animal glances from her form with the hounds at her heels. The huntsman, his left hand wrapped in his chlamys, follows staff in hand, animating his dogs, but avoiding, even if in his power, to head the game.³

A singular species of chase, now common in our own rabbit-warrens, appears to have passed over from Africa to the Balearic Isles, in an ancient account of which the first mention of it occurs. Those islands, it is said, were almost entirely exempted from vermin, but, on the other hand, contained prodigious numbers of rabbits, which almost destroyed every herb and plant by biting their roots. At length, however, they discovered a remedy for this evil. They imported ferrets from Africa, which, having first muzzled them, they let loose in the rabbit-warrens. Creeping into the holes they scared forth the inmates, which were caught by the sportsman. Strabo, who relates the circumstance, calls the ferret a “wild cat.” Pliny, having likewise described the devastations of the rabbits, speaks of it under the name of *viverra*, and says it was held in great estimation for its utility in this chase, which in the seventeenth century was practised in the island of Procida, where they procured the animal from Sicily, and denominated it Foretta,

¹ C. Poll. v. 61. ² Οἱ θάμνοι, the technical term for covert. Poll. v. 15.

³ Xen. Cyneg. vi. 14—17.

whence the English name. The common Italian appellation was *donnola*.¹

It is clear, however, that in classic times the ferret was unknown in Greece, otherwise we should never have heard of the proverb of the Carpathian and his Hare² applied to persons who brought evil upon themselves. Originally, we are told, the Island of Carpathos³ was, like Ithaca, entirely destitute of hares; but a pair having been at length introduced, multiplied so prodigiously that they almost depopulated the island by devouring the fruits of the earth. A similar fact is related of the island Porto Santo, near Madeira, for Prince Henry of Portugal, immediately after its discovery, "sent Bartholomew Perestrello with seeds to sow and cattle to stock the place; but one couple of rabbits put in among the rest increased so prodigiously that all corn and plants being destroyed by them it was found necessary to unpeople the place."⁴

A peculiar kind of hare is commemorated by the ancients as found in Elymoea. It is said to have been little inferior in size to the fox, to have been elongated and slender in shape, and blackish in colour, with a long white tip at the end of the tail. It is remarked by the same writer that the scent left by leverets on the ground is stronger and more pungent than that of the grown hare, so that the dogs become furious on getting wind of it.⁵

From the chase of the hare and rabbit we pass on to that of the fawn and the stag, in which they made use of Indian dogs,⁶ animals of great strength, size, speed, and courage. Fawns⁷ were hunted in spring,

¹ Vict. Var. Lect. xxxi. 20. p. 883. seq. Cf. Plin. Hist. Nat. viii. 8, cum notis. Strab. iii. 2. p. 231.

² Suid. v. *Λαγός*. t. ii. p. 3.

³ This island now abounds in cattle and game, particularly quails and partridges.—Dapper,

Descrip. des Iles de l'Archip. p. 173.

⁴ Hist. of Navig. prefixed to Church. Coll. of Voy. and Trav. vol. i. p. xx.

⁵ Poll. v. 74.

⁶ Xen. Cyneg. ix. 1.

⁷ The terms by which, in our old hunting vocabulary, the stag

the season of their birth. The first step was for the sportsman to beat up the woods to discover where the deer were numerous; and having found a proper place he returned thither before day, armed with javelins, and accompanied by a game-keeper with a pack of hounds. The dogs were kept in leash afar off, lest they should give tongue at the sight of the deer. He himself took his station on the look-out. At break of day¹ the does, with their yellowish and richly-speckled skins, were seen issuing from the thickets, followed by their still more delicately-spotted fawns, which they led to the places² where they usually suckled them, while the stags stationed themselves at a distance, as an advanced guard, to defend them from all intruders. The graceful creatures then lay down to perform their matronly office, looking round watchfully the while to observe whether they were discovered. This pleasing task completed, they, like the stags, posted themselves in a circle about their fawns to protect them. Sportsmen have no sentiment. At the very moment when this most beautiful exhibition of mute affection would have warmed with sympathy the heart of the philosopher or the poet, the dogs were let loose, while their master and his companions, armed with javelins, closed upon the game. The fawn itself, unless chilled and drenched by the dew—in which case it frisked about—would remain still in its place and be taken. But on hearing its cries the doe rushed forward to deliver it, and was smitten down by the javelins or torn to pieces by the dogs. The chase of the female elephant in Africa exhibits the same traits of affection in the brute and ferocity in man. In this case the young will fight for his mother, or the mother for her young till death.

was known at the different periods of his life are as follow:—

1. a fawn; 2. a pricket; 3. a sourell; 4. a soure; 5. a buck of the first head; 6. a buck. Wase. Pref. to Gratius, p. 12.

¹ Xen. Cyneg. ix. 3.

² That is on the *ὀρυκταὶ* or lawns, which, according to Pollux they chiefly frequented, v. 15. Cf. Schneid. ad Xen. Cyneg. ix. § 1.

When the fawn had attained any considerable size, and begun to feed among the herd, the chase of it became more arduous. The fidelity of instinctive love, opposed to human sagacity, exhibited all its force. Closing round their young and drawing up in front of them, the stags, emboldened by affection, trampled the dogs under their feet, frequently to death, unless the huntsman, dashing into the midst of them, could succeed in detaching a single animal from the herd. But, supposing this done, the hounds at first remained far behind the fawn, which, terrified at finding itself alone, bounded along with incredible velocity, though, its strength soon failing, it in the end fell a prey to the hunter.

The object of the ancients, however, in the chase not being simple sport, but to obtain possession by the shortest method possible of the game, they set snares in the narrows of the mountains, around the meadows, near the streams and freshes, and in the thickets—wherever, in short, stags could be taken. Pitfalls, too, were dug, as in Africa for the lion,¹ and most of those stratagems resorted to which the Nubians and Egyptian Arabs put in practice against the gazelle. It was in fact common to erect, with rough stones or wood, a sort of skreen, perhaps semicircular, like those behind which the hunters of the desert hide, to conceal themselves when lying in wait for the game.²

For the chase of the wild boar,³ at once a manly and a useful sport, somewhat complicated preparations were necessary. In this the dogs of India, of Crete, of Locris, of Sparta, hunted side by side, and the sportsman took the field armed with strong nets, javelins, hunting-poles, and snares. The boar-spears

¹ Xen. Cynege. ix. 14. sqq.—Ælian describes another method of taking these animals not much practised by modern sportsmen; that is to say by the charms of mu-

sic, as the Egyptian Psylli captured serpents.—De Nat. Anim. xii. 46.

² Poll. v. 36.

³ Cf. Aristoph. Vesp. i. 202. seq. Xen. Cyrop. i. 6. 28.

of the ancients¹ were most carefully fashioned, with a broad sharp head and handle of tough wood. So likewise were their hunting-poles armed with long iron points, fixed in brazen sockets, with a shaft of service wood. Footsnare of great strength were set at intervals. This was not the sport of a solitary hunter. They went out in considerable numbers, and kept close together, finding still, for lack of fire-arms, no small difficulty in coping with the foe. On reaching the spot where they supposed the hog to be ensconced, the dogs were all led carefully in leash with the exception of one Spartan hound, which was let loose and accompanied in all his movements. When he appeared to have found the track, they followed him, and he thus took the lead in the chase. Numerous signs also directed the movements of the hunter; in soft places the track, broken branches in thickets, and in forests the wounds on the bark of trees, given by the boar in sharpening his tusks as he passed.²

Generally the traces were found leading to some sheltered nook, warm in winter, in summer cool, where the boar made his lair. On discovering him the dog gave tongue, but the animal in general refused to rise. The hound was then withdrawn and put in leash with the others, and every opening, save one, leading to the place, closed with nets, the upper ends of which were passed over the forks of trees. The nets were hung so as to belly outwards, and carefully disposed so that they could be seen through. Bushes cut hastily supported them on either side, and closed every aperture through which the game could attempt to force a way. This done the hounds were all slipped, and the hunters, armed with pikes and spears, entered the netted

¹ Xen. Cynege. x. 3.

² The huntsmen give judgment of the wild boar by the print of his foot, by his rooting; a wild swine roots deeper than our ordi-

nary hogs, because its snout is longer, and when he comes into a corn-field, as the Calydonian boar in Ovid, turns up one continued furrow, &c.—Wase, Illustrations, V. p. 64.

enclosure. One of the boldest and most experienced led the dogs; the others followed at intervals, leaving an ample space between them for the boar, which if closely hemmed in might have inflicted on his opponents the fate of Adonis. Presently the hounds sprang all at once upon the game, which rising in sudden alarm tossed the first it encountered into the air, and breaking through the pack made away towards the nets, followed by men and dogs in full cry. On finding the unaccustomed opposition, he would, if running down hill, plunge right forward to force his way through; if in a plain he would stand still, glaring fiercely around.

The dogs, however, soon closed upon his track, while the hunters galled him with javelins and stones, approaching closer and closer till he was driven by his own impetuosity into the nets. Upon this the most daring of his pursuers drew near, pike in hand, and sought to put an end to the contest by piercing him in the head. Sometimes, notwithstanding all they could do, instead of plunging into the toils he would turn upon them; in which case some dexterous sportsman, armed with spear or pike, usually presented himself to receive his charge with one foot advanced, impelling the weapon with the right hand, directing it with the left. Instead, however, of rushing on at once the hog would perhaps pause a moment to reconnoitre, when it behoved his antagonist carefully to mark every movement of his head or glance of his eye.¹ For in the very moment that a blow was aimed at him, he would sometimes dash the spear aside with tusk or snout, and the next moment be upon his enemy, whose only chance of safety now consisted in throwing himself instantaneously on his face, and holding fast by whatever he could grasp, since, the tusks of the boar curving upwards, he found it difficult to gore his enemy thus lying, and failing to turn him over would in his fury trample on him. A second

¹ Cf. Poll. v. 23. sqq.

hunter now rushed forward to deliver his companion, and usually drew off the hog by dexterous attacks in flank. The fallen sportsman, recovering at the same time his feet and his spear, must by the laws of the chase return to the combat, and could only secure his reputation by immolating his foe. By this time, indeed, the task had generally become easier; for, rendered reckless by fury, he would throw himself impetuously on their pikes, which, but for the protecting guards at the head, would have gone through him handle and all. His whole frame now appeared to be kindled with rage, his blood boiling, his eyes flashing, and his tusks so nearly on fire that if brought in contact with hair at the moment of death, they would frizzle it like a red-hot iron.¹

Of the hunting of the bear² the ancients have left us no exact description. As this animal abounded, however, in most parts of Greece, where it was extremely troublesome and destructive, particularly to the fruit-trees, various expedients were hit upon for taking and destroying it. Sometimes it was pursued as game and brought down by the bow; but the common method appears to have been to make use of traps and snares. They dug, for example, a deep trench round one of those trees in the fruit of which the bear particularly delighted, and covering it with

¹ Οὕτω δὲ πολλὴ ἡ δυναμὶς ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ, ὥστε καὶ, ἃ οὐκ ἂν οἰοιτό τις, πρόσσεστιν αὐτῷ· τεθνεῶτος γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐὰν τις ἐπὶ τὸν ὀδόντα ἐπιθῇ τρίχας, συντρέχουσιν· οὕτως εἰς τὴν θερμότητα ζῶντι δὲ διάπυροι, ὅταν ἐρεθίζηται· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τῶν κυνῶν, ἀμαρτάνων τῇ πληγῇ τοῦ σώματος, ἅκρα τὰ τριχώματα περιεπίμπρα.—Xen. Cyneg. x. 17. Cf. Poll. v. 80. Opiat. Venat. iii. 379. seq. Scalig. Poët. v. 14. p. 698.

² Pausanias mentions the bear as an inhabitant of Pendeli. "About

three years since one was shot in the mountains of Parnassos, and brought to Aracooa. The lynx, the wild cat, the wild boar, the wild goat, the stag, the roebuck, the badger, the martin, and squirrel inhabit the steeper rocks of Parnassos, and the thick pine forests above Callidia. The rough mountains about Marathon are frequented by moles, foxes, and jackals; weasels are sometimes taken in the villages and out-houses; hares are too numerous to be particularised." Sibthorp in Walp. Mem. i. 73.

reeds or brittle branches, they sprinkled thereon a thin layer of earth, and concealed the whole apparatus with fresh grass. The bear, proceeding as usual towards the tree on his thievish errand, broke in the roof of the pit with his weight, and was caught. Even in the most civilised times this animal had not been wholly extirpated from Attica,¹ but, as well as the boar, was found on Mount Parnes. In Laconia also, through the whole range of Taygetos, it abounded, together with hogs, deer, and wild goats. Bruin was sacrificed in Achaia to Artemis Laphria. In Thrace the white bear was found.²

Respecting the habits of the Grecian bear the ancients have left us some few facts which may be worth repeating. When it comes forth from the den,³ where it has passed the winter, it is said to chew bits of wood, and to feed on snake-weed, wake-robin, or cuckoo-pint (*arum maculatum*⁴), which has a purgative power. These operations performed, its ravenous appetites immediately awake, and it commences its devastations in the farm-yard, the orchard and the apiary. Delighting greatly in honey it attacks and overthrows the hives which it tears to pieces in order to devour the combs, though Pliny⁵ adduces another reason for this fact, exceedingly characteristic of that writer. He says that the bear, after his winter sleep, finding his eyes dim and his head heavy, applies to the bees as to skilful oculists, that in revenge for robbing them of their honey, sting him angrily about the face, which by letting much blood relieves him at once from his ophthalmia and his headach. The bear, it is well known,

¹ Paus. i. 32. 1.

² Paus. iii. 20. 4. vii. 18. 13. viii. 17. 3.

³ Aristot. Hist. Anim. ix. 6. viii. 17. vi. 30. Ælian de Nat. Anim. vi. 3. Cf. Buffon, Hist. Nat. t. viii p. 27.

⁴ This now we find is the food of swine. "Leaving Pyrgo (in

Bœotia), we advanced along the plain to Eremo Castro; in our road we observed droves of pigs tearing up the ground for the roots of the cuckow-pint (*arum maculatum*) which was called by the swineherds *δρακοντίο*."—Sibth. in Walp. i. 65.

⁵ Nat. Hist. viii. 54.

is omnivorous like man. He accordingly plunders the bean-fields, and feeds on every kind of pulse. In robbing orchards,¹ too, his courage and ability are great, being as I have said as complete an adept as a school-boy in climbing trees, out of which when he has satisfied himself he descends, like the afore-said mischievous beast, feet foremost. When none of the delicacies above enumerated was within his reach, the bear would feed on ants, crabs, or any kind of vermin, but preferred of course the flesh of the larger animals, such as the stag, the wild boar, and the bull. His mode of taking his prey was curious. Upon the boar and stag he probably dropped from his hiding place in the trees, but the stratagem by which he usually got the bull into his power was this.² Throwing himself on the ground directly in his way he provoked the lord of the herd to gore him, upon which, seizing his horns, and fastening ravenously upon his shoulder, he brought him to the ground, where he fed upon his carcass at leisure. When flying from the more terrible face of man, the female usually drove her young before her, or taking them up in her mouth or on her back, she would endeavour to escape with them into the trees.³

As the lion was not found in Greece in the civilised periods of its history, the chase of it cannot be said to have formed an Hellenic amusement.⁴ They might, however, by proceeding a little beyond the borders in their colonies of Thrace and Asia Minor, on Mount Pangæos, on the Mysian Olympos, and in Syria, enjoy this dangerous pastime if they desired it. In all those countries, however, both the lion,⁵ the panther, the pard, the lynx, and other

¹ Aristot. Hist. Anim. viii. 5.

² Ælian. de Nat. Anim. vi. 6.
Aristot. ut sup.

³ Aristot. Hist. Anim. ix. 6.
Ælian. de Nat. Anim. vi. 6.

⁴ Xen. Cyneg. xi. 1.

⁵ Pollux (v. 14.) observes that in his time lions were chiefly found in mountainous tracts as wild boars were in marshes and pardales in the depths of the woods.

animals of this destructive class had been confined to the mountains, where, as an acute and experienced observer has remarked, they lose much of their force and ferocity. The expression made use of by Xenophon proves in fact that the dread of man had driven them almost into inaccessible fastnesses, whither they could not be pursued by the hunter, so that they were chiefly taken in their descent to the lowlands by poisoning, with aconite,¹ the waters or the baits which they set for them: sometimes, indeed, when want compelled them into the plains, parties of hunters on horseback, and armed to the teeth, would assault and destroy them, not without imminent peril. Pitfalls, too, of ingenious construction were dug for them, having an earthen pillar in the centre on which a goat was tied.² The encircling moat, like that above described, destined for the bear, was concealed by a covering of slender bushes which, breaking under them, they were precipitated to the bottom and there killed. The wolf, though a sacred animal³ in Attica, had by the laws a price set upon his head, at which Menage⁴ wonders, though the Egyptians also slaughtered their sacred crocodiles, when they exceeded a certain size.

In the chase of the wild goat the bow, among the mountains of Crete, was made use of, and so skilful as marksmen were the Cretans⁵ that from the depths of the valleys they would bring down

¹ Xen. Cynege. xi. 2. Poll. v. 82. Plin. viii. 27. Dioscor. iv. 77. Foxes were supposed to be killed by baits steeped in the juice of bitter almonds (Id. i. 176); wolves, panthers, dogs, &c. by dog's-bane.—Id. iv. 81.

² Oppian. de Venat. iv. 85. sqq.

³ Cf. Hesych. v. Λυκάς.

⁴ Ad D. Laert. p. 20. b. c. Meurs. Solon, c. 19.

⁵ The very name of the Cretans has by some been derived from the use of the bow. Κρητες, παρὰ τὸ ἐπὶ κέρασι βιοτεύειν· κυνηγετικοὶ γάρ. Etym. Mag. 537. 54. See in Homer a description of the bow of Pandaros where we are told it was made from the horns of a wild goat.—Il. δ. 105. sqq.

their game from the pinnacles of the loftiest cliffs.¹ They were fabled to have been taught the art of hunting by the Curetes, and, practising it constantly in steep and difficult places, they acquired great suppleness and agility of body, and were exceedingly swift of foot.²

The Macedonians, too, were both practised and enthusiastic sportsmen, and delighted in the amusement even whilst engaged in their most toilsome expeditions. Thus during the campaigns of Alexander in Asia, we find the generals Leonatos and Menelaos or Philotas³ carrying about among their baggage, linen skreens, ten or twelve miles in length, which during their halts they caused to be stretched round a given district, where they hunted as in a park. An anecdote is related strikingly illustrating the high estimation in which the chase was held at the court and among the nobles of Macedonia, where it was customary for the son to sit upright on a chair at his father's table and not to recline among the guests until he had slain a wild boar out of the toils. Cassander, son of Antipater, continued, it is said,⁴ up to his thirty-fifth year bolt upright at the regal board, because, though a brave man and a skilful hunter, fortune had constantly denied him the pleasure of despatching the hog after the prescribed fashion.

There is one department of the chase, and that perhaps the most curious and interesting, which was not practised by the Greeks of classical times, though it cannot be said to have been unknown to them; I mean falconry, described by several ancient writers

¹ Ælian. Var. Hist. i. 10. On the cothurnos which these hunters wore, see Spanheim ad Callim. in Dian. 16. p. 142. sqq. Boettig. Les Furies, p. 37. The high half-boot worn by Artemis in the chase is represented in Mus. Chiramon. pl. 18.

² Athen. xii. 28. Meurs. Cret. p. 177.

³ Athen. xii. 55. Plut. Alex. § 40. See in Wase's Illustrations, p. 68. an account of the Polish royal hunts in which, on a smaller scale, the same practice prevailed.

⁴ Athen. i. 31.

as it was pursued in India and in Thrace. If I give a short description of it, therefore, it must be regarded as a digression introduced for the purpose of completing, as far as possible, the circle of ancient amusements. Ctesias,¹ who was contemporary with Socrates, and published his Indian history four hundred years before Christ, seems to be the oldest writer by whom falconry is mentioned. He tells us that among the Hindûs hares and foxes were hunted with kites, ravens, and eagles, and minutely describes the way in which the birds were broken in. Having been caught while young, they were first taught to fly at tame hares and foxes in the following manner. The animals with pieces of flesh tied to them were started in sight of the falcons, which were immediately let loose and sent in pursuit. When they caught and brought back the game the flesh was given them as their reward, and by this bait and allurements they were encouraged to persevere. When sufficiently trained, they were taken to the mountains and flown against wild hares and foxes. The passion for falconry is still kept alive in the East, particularly in Persia, where the shâh-baz, or royal falcon, is flown against hares and antelopes, occasionally invested with leathers, which protect him from being torn asunder.² But the most daring and dangerous service in which falcons have ever been employed is the chase of the wild horse by the Turcomâns of Khiva on the eastern shores of the Caspian.³ A more detailed description of ancient falconry than that given by Ctesias is found in a work attributed to Aristotle.⁴ It is said, observes this writer, that the youth of Thrace, who were addicted to hunting, pursued their game by the assistance of hawks. On arriving upon

¹ Ap. Ælian. de Nat. Anim. iv. 26.

² Sir John Malcolm's Sketches of Persia.

³ Anthony Jenkinson in Hackluyt, v. i. p. 368.

⁴ De Mirab. Auscult. 128. Beckm. Hist. of Discov. and Inven. i. p. 321.

the ground, the falcon, which had evidently been trained for the purpose, obeyed the calls of the sportsmen and chased the birds into the thickets, where they were knocked down with hunting-poles and taken. Even when the falcons themselves captured the game, they brought it to the hunters, who as in modern times gave them, as a reward, some portion of the animal.

In their fowling they made use of great cruelty:—Pigeons and turtle-doves were commonly blinded, to be used as decoys, and in this condition would sometimes live eight years.¹ Partridges were employed for the same purpose in a different manner. The male bird having been tamed was put out in the neighbourhood of a covey, upon which the boldest of the wild birds came forward to fight him, and was secured with the net. The challenge was usually accepted by every male bird in the covey until one after another they were all taken. When the female was employed she drew them successively to the nets by her call.² The first that is deluded is generally the principal cock in the covey, which the others collecting together seek to drive away. To elude their pursuit the leader sometimes drew near the decoy in silence, that he might not have to contend with the other males. Not unfrequently they would descend and allow themselves at such times to be caught on the roofs of the houses.³

The Greeks established at Alexandria had, according to Athenæus, who was a native of Egypt, a kind of chase peculiar to themselves, viz. that of the horned owl. The sophist of Naucratis has indeed been suspected of confounding the *ὠτὸς* with the *ὠτὶς*,

¹ Arist. Hist. Anim. ix. 8. Xenoph. Cyrop. i. 6. 39. has introduced many particulars respecting fowling.

² Cf. Xen. Memorab. ii. 1. 4. Their nets were denominated

νεφέλαι, Schol. Aristoph. Av. 194. Cf. Schol. Pac. 1144. The man who watched the nets bore the name of *λινόπτης*.—Aristot. ap. id. *ibid*.

³ Athen. ix. 42.

that is, the owl with the bustard;¹ but it having been in his power to examine what he relates, I shall lay his account before the reader, who will judge for himself. This bird, it is said, is found in great numbers in the desert near Alexandria, (though I myself saw none there,) and is as much given to mimicry as a monkey. Above all things he is ambitious of imitating man, and, as far as possible, will do whatever he sees done by the fowler. Aware of his propensity in this way, these gentlemen, when desirous of taking an owl, carried along with them into the desert a thick tenacious glue, with which on coming within eyeshot of the Otos they affected to anoint their eyes. Then laying down the glue-pot on the sand they retreated to some hollow for concealment. Upon this the owl having watchfully observed their movements, approached, and covering his eyes with the treacherous ointment was blinded and taken.

Another mode of catching this bird also prevailed. It having been discovered that he was as partial as the Bedouin Arab to the company of a horse, the fowlers covered themselves with horses' skins, and in this disguise approaching the flock were enabled to catch as many as they pleased. A third method of taking the Otos was one which exposed the unfortunate bird to the ridicule of the comic poets. The fowlers setting out upon the chase in pairs, separated at coming in sight of the game. One of the two then stepped out in front of the game and commenced a jig, upon which the thoughtless mimic immediately did the same, beating exact time with his feet, and keeping his eye fixed upon his wily teacher. While the merry victim was thus engaged, capering, springing, and pirouetting like a feathered Taglioni, the other bird-catcher approached from behind and seized him by the neck.

The same story is related by other writers of the

¹ Alexand. Myndius calls it the probably mean the *Ptarmigan*.
 λαγῶδας in which case it may

Scops or mocking-owl, in imitation of whose movements, the ancients had a celebrated dance.¹

Quails in certain seasons of the year frequent Greece in vast numbers, as they do Egypt and Southern Italy.² It has been supposed that the island of Delos received the name of Ortygia from the quails (*ὄρτυγες*), which alighted on it in great numbers during their migration towards the north. They were likewise plentiful in Phoenicia,³ where they sacrificed them to Heracles. Numerous contrivances were resorted to for catching this bird. During pairing time it was taken as follows: mirrors were set up in the fields with snares in front of them, and the quail running towards the imaginary bird was there entrapped. Clearchos of Soli describes a curious mode of capturing jackdaws. In places frequented by those birds they used, he says, to lay broad vessels filled to the brim with oil. Presently the jackdaws, curious and prying in their temper, would alight on the edges, and, being vastly pleased with the reflection of their own beauty, would chuckle over it and clap their wings, till becoming saturated with oil the feathers stuck together and they could no longer fly.

¹ Athen. ix. 44. seq. Arist. Hist. Anim. viii. 12 ad fin.

source of revenue to the bishop of that island.

² They are taken in so great numbers in the island of Capri that they constitute the chief

³ Phanodem. l. iii. ap. Ath. ix. 47.

CHAPTER VII.

SCHOOLS OF THE PHILOSOPHERS AND SOPHISTS.

HAVING thus drawn as complete a picture as the plan of our work would permit, of the physical training of the Greeks in all its branches, comprehending Gymnastics properly so called, together with those other exercises which under the name of field-sports were enjoyed rather than studied under the lead of no master but experience, we now return to that mental discipline, which for the most part exerted its influence in the developement of the intellectual faculties at the same time that the foregoing bodily discipline brought forth all the energies of the frame. We shall thus have traversed the whole circle of Hellenic education, when we shall have exhibited the youth passing through the schools of the philosophers and sophists into the world.¹

Their mode of teaching differed very materially from ours. It scarcely seemed an object with them to devour large quantities of learning, but going leisurely again and again over the same ground they appeared to give the lessons they received time to sink like gentle rain into their minds. Some advantage, too, arose from their method of teaching, as far as possible, orally. The master was to them instead of a library. A book has but one set of phrases for all. But the living teacher, if he found his pupils could not rise to his language, could lower it to meet them half-way, could be brief or expansive, or general or minute, as the necessities of the moment required. There was a familiarity, too, in the relation,

¹ Cf. M. Ant. Muret. Orat. vii. p. 70. sqq.

scarcely compatible with our manners. The youth forgot he was learning, and rather supposed himself to be searching in the company of a friend for truths equally unknown to both. This appears to have been more particularly the case in their moral studies,¹ at least in the Socratic schools, where all the pomp of wisdom was laid aside that it might be the more popular.

It has been already remarked that the first lessons in morals were learned from the poets, whom, in my opinion, Plato wrongs most egregiously when he arraigns their fables as so many sources of immorality.² He appears, in fact, wilfully to confound them with those impostors, the purificators and diviners, who furnished the Popes with the original hint of penitences and indulgencies, and expiating crimes by proxy. But this is unjust. It is visiting the sins of low and sensual versifiers upon the divine heads of bards whom heaven itself had inspired. However this may be, upon the Greeks young and old no teachers exercised so powerful an influence as the poets, who, from Homer down to Callistratos,³ whether in epic or after-dinner song, wielded the empire of their feelings despotically, prompting them to actions pregnant with renown. And the avidity with which their lessons were imbibed, is compared to that of a swarm of bees alighting (*ἐπισπόμενοι*)⁴ on a bed of spring flowers. In fact, what Jason of Pheræ said of himself,—that he was devoured by the love of empire⁵—appears to have been true of the Athenian youth, in their irrepressible thirst after knowledge. Such of them, at least, as were *εὐφρεῖς καὶ ἱκανοί*, are said

¹ Vid. Ant. Muret. Orat. iv. 43. sqq.

² Plat. de Rep. ii. t. i. p. 112. sqq. Stallb. Cf. Hardion, Dissert. sur l'Eloquence, iii. Biblioth. Acad. t. iii. p. 194. p. 210. sqq.

³ See Schoel. Hist. de la Lit.

Grecq. i. 288. Lowth. Poes. Sacr. Hebr. p. 12. Leipz.

⁴ Plat. de Rep. ii. t. i. p. 115. Stallb. On the ardent and noble temperament of Athenian youth, see the note of Valckennaer, ad Xenoph. Mem. iii. 3. 13. p. 286. Schneid. Cf. Plat. de Rep. v. t. i. p. 345. ⁵ Aristot. Polit. iii. 4.

to have hungered fiercely after philosophy, and that not for any particular part but for the whole. And Socrates declares that he who while young is fastidious in his studies, rejecting this, disliking that, before mature reason has taught him which is useful and which is not, may consider himself what he pleases, but can never be great in learning or philosophy. To excel in these it is necessary insatiably to covet every kind of instruction, and joyfully to enter on the acquisition of it. He says, indeed, that they resemble sight-seers, greedy of every spectacle; or musical people, who are led by the ear wherever fiddling and singing are going forward; except that, with the latter pleasure is the sole motive, with the former an exalted passion for truth.¹ But what truths are the object of philosophy? Those which have regard to the nature and attributes of goodness, from which, as from a fountain, flow all the usefulness and advantages of virtue. Philosophy in Greece comprehended religion, and to be religious was to act justly, benevolently, mercifully towards men, humbly and piously towards God. To live thus, that is, to be virtuous, they considered it necessary to possess a knowledge of the whole theory of ethics, since virtue, in their opinion, is incompatible with ignorance. But man, besides being a moral being, accountable to God, is a political being, accountable to the laws of his country. He has duties also to perform towards that country. To perform these properly he must comprehend the nature of a state, and the relations subsisting between the state and the individuals who compose it; that is, he must be acquainted with the science of politics. Again in all free states, reasoning and persuasion, not blind will and brute force, are the instruments of government. The citizen must, therefore, be versed in logic and eloquence,² that he may think correctly and explain clearly and

¹ Plat. de Rep. v. t. i. p. 393.
seq. Stallb.

² Plat. Gorg. t. iii. p. 27. De
Rep. t. vi. p. 358. sqq. Bekk.

forcibly to others the convictions which determine his own judgment. We have thus a cycle of Greek studies with the reasons on which they were founded.

With regard to their religious education, which commenced in the nursery and was interwoven with every other study, it may be observed that without it no person at Athens could rise to any eminence, or command, even in private life, the respect of his fellow-citizens. To be in favour with them a man must be supposed to stand well with the gods. They conceived, in fact, that while conscience remained unstifled, there would be a sense of religion, and that when this went, probity, for the most part, and honour fled along with it. For regarding the deity in the light of a parent,—“we are all his offspring,”—irreligion appeared to them something like a disposition to parricide, a compound of injustice with the basest and most atrocious ingratitude. Arrived at this pitch, a man to compass his ends would scruple at nothing. They, therefore, regarded every symptom of impiety as a blow aimed at the democracy, of which Zeus was king. He who tramples on his country's religion, which is the basis of all its laws, will infallibly, if it be in his power, trample next on those laws themselves, and next on his fellow-citizens whom the laws protect. Hence the terror, the vengeance, and, indeed, the cruelty arising out of the mutilation of the Hermæ, and the profanation of the mysteries, and the prosecution which followed, of Alcibiades, Andocides, and the rest. An attempt had been made to break down that enclosure of reverential sanctity which surrounded the commonwealth, and commended it to the protection of heaven. They considered the act a formal renouncing of the Almighty, and feared,—so imperfect were their notions,—lest the impiety of the few should redound to the detriment of the whole.

The remark is common in the mouths¹ of men

¹ See on this part of the subject Destutt de Tracy. Com. sur l'Esprit des Loix, p. 25. sqq.

that the education of the people should be conformable to the spirit of their institutions. But this is a mere truism, and means no more than this,—that men should not be enjoined one thing by their laws and political constitution, and another by the habits and maxims taught in youth. The grand difficulty, however, always has been to make them so to harmonise in practice that they should be but two parts of the same system.

In monarchies¹ a spirit of exclusion, something like that on which the system of castes is built, must pervade the whole business of education. The nobility must have schools to themselves, or, if wealthy plebeians be suffered to mingle with them, superior honour and consideration must be yielded to the former. The masters must look up to them and to their families, not to the people for preferment and advancement; and the plebeians, though superior in number, must be weak in influence, and be taught to borrow their tone from the privileged students.

In an oligarchy, properly so called, there should be no mingling of the classes at all. Schools must be established expressly for the governors, and others for the governed. The basis of education should be the notion that some men were born for rule and others for subjection; that the happiness of individuals depends on uninquiring submission to authority; that their rulers are wise and they unwise; that all they have to do with the laws is to obey them; and all teachers must be made to feel that their admission among the great depends on the faithful advocacy of such notions.

In free states, again, the contrary course will best promote the ends of government; the schools must

¹ In an ill-constituted state, observes Muretus, a good man cannot be a good citizen, for he

will desire to alter the government, which being bad he cannot respect.—In Aristot. Eth. p. 398.

be strictly public, and not merely theoretically but practically open to all. There should be no compulsion to attend them, but ignorance of the things there taught should involve a forfeiture of civil rights as much as being of unsound mind; for in truth, an ignorant man is not of sound mind, any more than one unable to use all his limbs is of sound body. Here the discipline must be very severe. A spirit rigidly puritanical must pervade the studies and preside over the amusements. Every tendency irreligious, immoral, ungentlemanly, as unworthy the dignity of freedom, should be nipped in the bud. The students must be taught to despise all other distinctions but those of virtue and genius, in other words the power to serve the community. They should be taught to contemplate humanity as in other respects wholly on the same level, with nothing above it but the laws. The teachers must be dependent on the people alone, and owe their success to their own abilities and popular manners. And this last in a great measure was the spirit of Athenian education.¹

The best proof² that could be furnished of the excellence of a system of education would be its rendering a people almost independent of government, that is swayed more by their habits than by the laws. This was preëminently the case with the Athenians. They required to be very little meddled with by their rulers. Instructed in their duties and the reason which rendered them duties, accustomed from childhood to perform them, they

¹ The advantages of which were so much coveted by foreigners, that they sent their children in crowds to be educated at Athens. —Æsch. Epist. Orat. Att. xii. 214.

² A commonwealth, says Plato, once well constituted will proceed like an ever rolling circle. For by persevering in good training and instruction, the minds and dispo-

sition of the people will be rendered good, and these again in their turn will improve the system of training and instruction, and even the race of man itself, as the breed of other animals, is rendered more excellent by care. —De Rep. t. vi. p. 173. Cf. Isocrates, Areop. § 14. seq.

lived as moral and educated men live still, independent of the laws.

This was the effect. The causes must be sought in their discipline and studies. I have observed that among them a principal subject of investigation was the science of politics, that is the science according to the principles of which states are framed and preserved. Nor did they, as some do, conduct their studies in that cold manner in which men investigate matters of mere curiosity, or things they are never to do more than converse or write about. They studied it as a profession, as a means of rising to power, and through power to fame, that is with all the ardour and earnestness of which enthusiastic youth is capable. Education by this means exerted an influence unknown under other forms of government. A consciousness that they were engaged in a sort of sacred contest, of which all Greece was spectator, pervaded the youth of every rank, and impelled them irresistibly into that course of studies which promised the greatest probability of success. Hence, no doubt much of the enthusiasm with which philosophy was cultivated. It was often not so much the abstract love of wisdom as a conviction of the political value of that wisdom which filled the schools of the great men who taught at Athens, whether they were physiologists, mathematicians, masters of music, of strategy, or of eloquence. The example of Pericles applying himself to natural philosophy under Anaxagoras, and deriving thence those streams of pure and masculine eloquence which overflowed the Pnyx, operated forcibly on public opinion. By the same arts and studies men hoped to mount to equal elevation, forgetting that Anaxagoras only watered the plant spontaneously produced by nature.

However, the hopes and aspirations I have described filled the schools first of the philosophers, then of the sophists. And this is the natural course of things. Few pursue wisdom for its own sake, in

order that it may purify and render holy their own minds. And by this dispensation of Providence society is a gainer; for, as man is constituted, no sooner does he possess any mental excellence, any knowledge or art or experience, which can be rendered available, than he comes eagerly forward with it to extort praise or reward from the community by conferring benefits upon it. The examples of reserve in this matter are few, nor, in fact, are they to be commended who in this or in any thing else hide their light under a bushel; and therefore Plato is wrong when he teaches that wise men will as a rule abstain from intermeddling with state affairs, unless constrained thereto by fines and menaces. He confesses, indeed, that the worst of all punishments is to be governed by evil men, and that to avoid this even philosophers will consent to hold the reins of government.¹ But where they do not, they are always in free states the masters of those who do. Their schools were the colleges and universities of the ancient world, and so long as freedom endured the great object of their philosophy was to create able citizens and a happy state. On this account their remains are still instinct with life. Their object was gradually to ripen human nature into perfection by perfecting its education and its institutions. They knew how completely a people is in the power of its teachers for good or for evil, and accordingly, with some few exceptions, applied themselves to elevate the conceptions, the moral tone, the feelings of their countrymen, seldom descending to trifling disquisitions excepting for relaxation in the intervals of more important inquiries.

The physical sciences,² save in the case of their earliest cultivators, were regarded as simple handmaids to ethics and politics. Nevertheless, in the

¹ *Repub.* i. t. vi. p. 42. seq. Bekk.

² *Vid.* *Athen.* ii. 18.—That

geography entered but very little into their studies may be inferred from *Thucydides*, vii. 1.

study of them much earnestness was exhibited. For, where knowledge is at all held in honour, men will always be found sufficiently prone to the palpable and visible. But even these pursuits assumed a peculiar form in Greece. The genius of the nation, essentially creative, developed its force and its peculiar energy in framing systems of physics, explaining the origin of the world, the birth of the human race, its early fortunes and fabulous history. Every great philosopher became, like an intellectual sun, the centre of a system of physics, and his disciples like satellites revolved around him, receiving and reflecting his light. This, despite of some inconveniences, was highly favourable to science. It compelled men to the study of the philosophical art of attack and defence. Each school became the reviewers and critics of its rivals, sought out their weak points, studied them profoundly, called up all its acuteness, all its subtlety, both to assault others and defend itself; and thus, whatever became of the system, the professors of it carried, as far as might be towards perfection, their intellectual powers, invested their reasonings with every grace of which they were susceptible, culled from the most recondite arts and hidden resources of style and eloquence.

But, while this golden currency was circulating through Greece, enriching its mind and augmenting its chances of independence and happiness, a race of men sprang up, who brought into use a number of ingenious and beautiful counters,—I mean the sophists.¹ The influence of these men in the education of the Greeks has seldom been correctly appreciated. It has been more common to vituperate than to study them. They corrupted, we are told, the mind and manners of youth. But how? No

¹ Vid. Herod. i. 29. And Cf. Schœll. Hist. de la Lit. Grecq. ii. 134. Isoc. de Perm. § 26. Mu- ret. in Arist. Ethic. p. 477. Menag. ad Diog. Laert. p. 5. a. b. &c.

one, as far as I know, has observed that to them is to be traced the extinction of the republican spirit and the opening of a way for despotism.¹ That they created the yearning after innovation I will not affirm; but their epoch constituted a period of transition from republican to monarchical institutions, and the only way in which they can be said to have corrupted the youth was by undermining that love of liberty and of country, the feeling of disinterestedness on which chiefly a commonwealth must be founded, and inculcating in lieu thereof a system of ethics more in conformity with the modifications of civil polity prevalent in modern times. In this way only did they corrupt and undermine the morals of their country. But in so far they effected it, and that the more easily, in that circumstances conspired, about the time they arose, to fling the whole business of teaching into their hands, insomuch that to be a sophist, and to teach youth, grew to be synonymous terms.²

They were themselves, however, but a corruption of what in its origin was good, and always continued in the opinion of the undiscerning to be confounded with the men they aped.³ Whether we have sophists among us at the present day, I will not determine;

¹ Hobbes, the great representative of this class of men in modern times, living under the despotism of the Stuarts, sought to turn the tables upon the philosophers, and accused them of corrupting the minds of youth. "As to rebellion, in particular against monarchy, one of the most frequent causes of it is the reading of the books of policy and histories of the ancient Greeks and Romans; from which young men, and all others that are unprovided of the antidote of solid reason, receiving a strong and delightful impression of the

"great exploits of war, achieved by the conductors of their armies, receive withal a pleasing idea of all they have done besides; and imagine their great prosperity not to have proceeded from the emulation of particular men, but from the virtue of their popular form of government."—*Leviathan*. pt. ii. c. 29. vol. iii. p. 315.—Edition of Sir William Molesworth.

² *Poll.* iv. 17.

³ *Plat. de Rep.* t. vi. p. 286. seq. Cf. *Schol. Aristoph. Nub.* 331.

but this is the way they arose in Greece. It was soon discovered by shrewd and calculating men, that since philosophy excited much admiration and rendered its teachers objects of mark and reverence, it might by a little ingenuity be converted into a source of profit.¹ But by what means?—The philosophers at the outset were in possession of the popular ear, more through the sanctity of their lives, of which all could judge, than through their doctrines, necessarily comprehended in their fullest extent by few. They despaired, therefore, of the people. There existed, however, in Greece, and will ever exist in free states, young men of immeasurable ambition, who, impatient of the restraint of laws, would gladly cast them off, seize the reins of government, and become the tyrants of their country. The mere conception of such a design implies the possession of wealth and powerful friends. Eager for any help they enthusiastically welcomed all who seemed capable of promoting their views, and when the sophists appeared, enriched with a variety of knowledge, specious, eloquent, unscrupulous, they eagerly threw themselves into their arms, became their pupils, and in conjunction with them framed the subjugation of Greece.

In tracing this class of men to their origin, we must look back a great way, and endeavour to detect them, under a variety of forms, different from that in which they ultimately settled. They arose with the first philosophers, or the first poet who made self the centre of his researches, and sought to render the investigation of science a means of personal aggrandisement. Protagoras describes in Plato the rise of his own art; where, though a side blow be wrongfully aimed at poetry itself, the truth of the accusation against a

¹ That money was the sole object of the sophists is observed by Isocrates, *Hel. Encom.* § 4. Elsewhere, with a stroke of sly humour not usual with him, he says, they would sell anything short of immortality for three or four minæ.

—Cont. *Sophist.* § 3, p. 576. See on the whole subject of the Sophists, *Hard. Dissert.* v. *Bibl. Acad.* t. iii. p. 240. sqq. *Muret.* in *Arist. Ethic.* p. 533. *Cressol. Theat. Rhet.* v. iii. p. 447.

number of poets cannot be denied. He makes good at the very outset what I have asserted above. They travelled, he says, over all Greece, alluring the noblest youths to abandon the company of their friends and fellow-citizens, to become their pupils, and be guided wholly by their maxims, the nature of which I shall presently unfold. The feelings they thus excited, he denominates envy and malevolence, though in truth it was nothing more than that patriotic and parental jealousy and hatred experienced by the good when they behold those they love led astray. The better to escape this hostility, the ancient sophists adopted various disguises, sometimes enveloping their art in the folds of poetry as Homer, Hesiod, and Simonides, on other occasions affecting to be the interpreters of foreign rites and oracles, as Orpheus and Musæus; while a third class concealed the features of their art under the less suspected mask of gymnastics, such as Iccos of Tarentum, and that Herodicos of Silymbria a man of Megarean origin who in the art of sophistry was second to none of his age. Occasionally they made their entrance into cities as professors of music. In this capacity Damon conversed with Pericles, and Agathocles, an Athenian by birth, diffused through the state the seeds of sophistry; Pythocleides, too, the Coan, pursued the same course; and thus a youth, while ostensibly engaged in gaining a proficiency on the lyre or cithara, was initiated in the mysteries of tyranny, irreligion and injustice.¹

By degrees, however, it was discovered that all disguise might be very safely laid aside.² In fact the object at first aimed at,—to escape the notice of men in power,—was found impracticable; and as to the people, against whom all these shafts were directed, it was easy to delude them, since what their leaders recommended they praised. Protagoras, accordingly,

¹ Plat. Protag. t. i. p. 163. seq. Bekk.

² At a late period, by a decree of Sophocles, the sophists were

driven out of Attica.—Athen. xiii. 92. Cf. Cressol. Theat. Rhet. i. 12. p. 87.

boldly professed himself a sophist, trusting for safety to his eloquence, and that growing laxity of manners which was rapidly undermining the old republican constitution and preparing the way for a new order of things. His candour was praiseworthy, but lamentable were the circumstances which rendered it safe.

I would not, however, be understood to share the opinions of those, who can discern nothing but evil in the doctrines of the sophists. On many points their notions harmonised altogether with those of the wisest philosophers. Accordingly it was not precisely what they inculcated, but the principles which regulated their teaching, that rendered them sophists. They taught with a view to enrich themselves, which is wholly incompatible with a strict allegiance to truth; since, with such views, men will always be found to prophesy agreeably in order that they may effect their purpose.

This circumstance has not been sufficiently considered by the writers who undertake their apology. They compare them with the literary men of modern times, and imagine this comparison a defence. But does it not rather substantiate the accusation? It is true that, like modern literary men, they haunted the houses of the great, whom they regarded as their patrons; that to them, rather than to the people, they looked for support; that, like them, they worshipped wealth and abhorred poverty; that their studies, their discourses, their writings, diffused far and wide through society a taste for arts and elegance; that they furnished the public in their declamations, satires, novels, of which they were the inventors, with inexhaustible sources of amusement:—but what virtue did they inculcate? On whom did they urge the necessity of sacrificing private to public good? On what occasion did they dare to stem the torrent of immorality, of impiety, of unpatriotic maxims, which the base and the selfish were pouring forth against the old bulwarks of freedom? That among them there were men of a

very high order of genius, it is impossible to deny. Gorgias of Leontium, from whose name we have borrowed an epithet to express whatever is most glorious in nature or dazzling and elaborate in art, Protagoras, Prodicos, Hippias of Elis, Polos of Agrigentum, Thrasy-machos of Chalcedon, have left behind them an imperishable memory;¹ but so have Busiris and Phalaris and Catiline. They are remembered for the good they might have done, and the evil they did.

Since, however, the sophists acted so important a part in the education of the Greeks, the space I devote to them is clearly their due: it is necessary to the thorough comprehension of the subject. Almost from the moment they arose they aimed at a monopoly of the art of teaching, and the father of the art, properly so called, was Gorgias. Few names of antiquity, as Geel² has well observed, are better known or more celebrated than that of this distinguished sophist, among the causes of whose amazing popularity must be reckoned the number of great men whom he instructed in eloquence, and the splendid vices of style which his example and precept brought into vogue. The exact date of his birth is not known:³ he is, however, supposed to have been born at Leontium in Sicily, about the seventy-third Olympiad. His father's name was Charmantes.⁴ Nearly all the particulars of his early life are unknown, the ancients having been as much

¹ Muretus considers the word sophist to be synonymous with a teacher of eloquence: "Sophista, id est, dicendi magister;" and, speaking of this same Thrasy-machos, cites a passage from Cicero which attributes to him the invention of the rhetorical style. Orat. § 12. Suidas regards Thrasy-machos as the first who made use of the period and the colon; and supposes him to have been pupil to Plato and Isocrates, whereas he preceded both. — Muret. Comm. p. 631. seq.

² Hist. Sophist. p. 13.

³ Clinton, Fast. Hellen. ii. 28. 65. 67. Geel (Hist. Sophist. p. 14) assumes the seventieth Olympiad as the date of his birth; but as it seems to result from the text of Pausanias that he was still living in 380. B.C. this would extend the duration of his life beyond that assigned to it by any ancient writer.

⁴ Of whom, as Muretus (Comm. p. 631. seq.) observes, no mention occurs save in Plato de Repub. i. § 2. t. i. p. 8. Stallb.

too negligent as we are too lavish of biographical details. Under whom he studied, with whom he conversed, how much he owed to others, and how much to his own genius and industry, are points not easy to be determined, though we cannot adopt the opinion of Ælian,¹ who sends him to school to Philolaos; or of Diogenes Laertius, who will have Empedocles to have been his teacher, since the latter was very little older than himself, and the former much younger. Empedocles is indeed said to have invented the art of rhetoric, in which case we might suppose Gorgias to have been his scholar. But how invented? He may have been the first who sought to reduce it into an art, or who so called it; but as Aristotle observes, every man who reasons persuasively is a rhetorician, whether his eloquence be based on the formal study of the art or not. In philosophy, indeed, he would seem² to have been the disciple of Empedocles; but in rhetoric they both very probably derived instruction from Corax and Tisias, who flourished and taught rhetoric in Sicily about the period of their youth.³

These, however, are mere conjectures. He would probably have died in obscurity, and been forgotten with the kings who reigned *ante Agamemnona*, had not the misfortunes of his country brought him, in old age, to the great workshop of Fame. The immediate occasion was this; the people of Leontium having engaged and been worsted in war by the Syracusans, sent ambassadors to demand succour of the Athenian people, and among these the principal speaker was Gorgias. Practised in a style of oratory new at Athens, indulging in a profusion of metaphors and other figures bordering on the licences of poetry, he immediately hurried away captive his hearers, fulfilled

¹ Var. Hist. i. 23. Diog. Laert. viii. 58.—Mr. Clinton, however, adopts the opinion of Diogenes (Fast. Hell. ii. 365); and, to render it probable, supposes Empe-

docles to have been a few years older than his pupil.

² Plat. Men. p. 14. g.

³ Cic. Brut. § 12. Geel, Hist. Sophist. p. 15. seq. Sext. Empir. p. 306. seq.

the desires of his fellow citizens, and established for himself a reputation¹ where all men most desired to possess one. To augment his glory it has not been unusual to enumerate Pericles and Thucydides among those who became his scholars. But this embassy took place in the fifth year of the Peloponnesian war when Pericles had been dead two years. That Thucydides heard him, however, is not at all improbable, since his exile did not take place² till the eighth year of the war. Among his admirers are mentioned two other men, whose principles and history afford the best illustration of what fruit the teaching of the sophists was likely to produce,—Critias and Alcibiades, whose ability, courage, and profligacy rendered them the scourges of their country. It has been with great probability supposed that, having on his return to Leontium rendered an account of his mission, he quitted Sicily for ever, for the purpose of becoming a professor of eloquence in Greece. This is Diodorus's account, but the Scholiast on Hermogenes supposes him to have remained at Athens. Whether this was the case or not, he soon considered one city, however great or celebrated, too confined a theatre for the display of his merit. He, therefore, adopted the profession of an itinerant lecturer, with the double view of gratifying his vanity and filling his purse. And he thoroughly understood the art of dazzling mankind, for, not supposing it enough to unfold before his auditors his magazines of tropes and figures, stored up, like theatrical thunder and lightning, to be introduced at the proper moment, he had recourse to other dramatic arts for producing effect, appearing in magnificent attire, flowing purple robes, embroidered sandals, his fingers sparkling with gold and gems. But though the oldest of the sophists, he was not the first who adopted this course. Protagoras, and perhaps others, had previously commenced their peregrinations, and begun to prac-

¹ Diod. Sicul. xii. 53.

Sophist. p. 18. Cf. Clint. Fast.

² I cannot, therefore, see the reason of Geel's doubt.—Hist.

Hellen. ii. p. 68.

tise on the credulity and weakness of the multitude. Among the Athenians they were paid chiefly with praise; "the solid pudding" was to be sought elsewhere. And accordingly we find, as Plato sarcastically expresses it, that upon the advent of the sophists, the Thessalians, usually celebrated for their full purses and fine horses,¹ grew all at once remarkable for their love of wisdom, that is, paid the sophists handsomely, in the hope of thus enticing knowledge to remain among them. In fact they supposed that wisdom is like a candle and lantern, by which you may have light,—or a saint's shirt, by wearing which you infallibly become holy,—or the lamp of Epictetus, which a rich man bought at three thousand drachmas, in the hope that it would light him into the very adyta of philosophy. However this may be, it is very certain that the Thessalians became the patrons of the sophists, who disposed in that country of more wisdom and eloquence than in any other part of Greece, and the principal purchasers of it were of the rich family of the Aleuadae, the earliest Mæcenases, I believe, on record.

But the sophists, to their credit be it acknowledged, were no misers. What they easily gained they spent freely; and not merely so, but in many instances converted the effects of their personal vanity into public ornaments of the whole country. Thus Gorgias, enriched by the spoils of Thessaly, erected at Delphi a golden statue² of himself, which argued a more generous spirit than he would have shown by setting it afloat in the channels of trade or husbandry or usury, in the hope of rendering himself a great capitalist.

Gorgias was long absent from Athens, and visited during his travels the most considerable cities of Greece. Among other places he came to Delphi, where from the steps of the altar, probably during the games, he delivered that oration called the Pythian, in celebration of which he erected the above-mentioned statue.³ From thence perhaps,—for the

¹ Plat. Hip. Maj. t. v. p. 416.

² Cressol. Theat. Rhet. i. 8.

³ Geel. Hist. Sophist. p. 23.

chronology of his journey is not exactly known,—he proceeded to Olympia, where he also assisted at the games for the purpose of exhibiting his oratorical talents in the presence of all Greece, and reaping as it were in an hour a harvest of glory. This declamation, delivered during the Peloponnesian war, had at least the recommendation of being patriotic. Standing in front of the temple of Zeus, the god of concord and of peace, he earnestly recommended union and harmony.¹ If war they must have, there were the barbarians,—let their arms be turned against them. With what success he spoke, history has informed us; but the satirists of antiquity, ever naturally addicted to scandal, are careful to remark that this great advocate of concord and unanimity kept up a civil war in his own house, where the charms of some beautiful-cheeked *Σεραπαινίδιον*² excited the jealousy of Madame. At the same time the old gentleman, to adopt the most moderate computation, must have been hard upon three-score and ten, though some would make him eighty.

Over the latter days of Gorgias³ hovers the same

¹ They sometimes selected more humble subjects for their panegyric, for example, the bumble-bee, or salt.—Isocrat. Hel. Encom. § 4. p. 461. Plutarch, too, speaks of a learned work on salt, which he considered very edifying.—Sympos. § 5. A French author of the same class devoted twenty years of his life to a treatise on the nightingale. Another member of this confraternity is celebrated by Rousseau:—"On dit qu'un allemand a fait un livre sur un zeste de citron; j'en aurais fait un sur chaque gramin des prés, sur chaque mousse des bois, sur chaque lichen qui tapisse les rochers; enfin, je ne voulais pas laisser un poil d'herbe, pas un atome végétal qui ne fût amplement décrit."—*Réveries*, t. iii. p.

106. On the verbal trifling of the sophists see Muret. in Aristot. Ethic. p. 79. By Le Conte, in his Commentary on the Anabasis, Gorgias is transformed into "a prudent and experienced officer," because Proxenos is said to have studied under him.—t. i. p. 246.

² Plut. Conj. Præcept. § 43. whom Geel follows.—Hist. Sophist. p. 25. But Isocrates, who had been himself a hearer of Gorgias in Thessaly (Cic. Orat. § 22), relates that he was never married, and had no children.—De Permut. § 26. 10. Another tradition however speaks of his son Philip as having been condemned by the Heliasts.—Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1700.

³ See Athen. xii. 71.

darkness which conceals from view the commencement. It is known with no degree of certainty where he spent the close of his long life or where he died, though as no account exists of his return to Sicily, it probably was in Greece.

Next to Gorgias in reputation was Protagoras, whose history is still less known. In the opinion of some writers he was the oldest of the sophists. Though the date of his birth be later than that of Gorgias, he preceded him in the profession of the art. He was certainly, I think, born much earlier than is supposed either by Clinton or by Geel, who take him to have been almost exactly of Socrates' age, that is to have come into the world about 479 B. C. But in this opinion I cannot concur. It is in direct contradiction with a passage in Plato¹ who, however careless in matters of chronology, would, I am persuaded, never push his negligence so far as to make one man say to another, born in the same year with himself, that he was old enough to be his father. To me, therefore it appears necessary that we throw back ten or twelve years the date of his birth. He was ten years, it is admitted, older than Democritos. The latter, who had made considerable progress in philosophy when he saw Protagoras in the capacity of a wood-carrier and undertook to initiate him in his system, could hardly have been less than seven or eight and twenty, so that the former was little short of forty. He exercised the profession of sophist during forty years,

¹ Addressing Socrates, among many others, he says in one place, ἀλλὰ πότερον ὑμῖν, ὡς πρεσβύτερος νεωτέροις, μῦθον λέγων ἐπιδείξω. κ. τ. λ.—Protag. i. 170. But this is nothing to what he elsewhere says: οὐδενὸς ἔστου οὐ πάντων ἂν ὑμῶν καθ' ἡλικίαν πατήρ εἴην.—Id. p. 165.—which without extreme absurdity a man could not say to a person exactly

of his own age. Meiners. (Hist. des Arts et des Sciences, iii. 258), evidently refers to this passage; as does also Hardion. Dissert. vii. Bib. Acad. iii. 295. Yet it must have wholly escaped Geel, who (Hist. Sophist. p. 71) says: "Deinde *nescimus* quomodo efficiatur e Platonis Protagorâ, sophistam ejusdem nominis *multo* majorem fuisse Socrate."

and died about 406 B. C. He must therefore have been born about 484—485 B. C.¹

But I cannot here pursue the history of the sophists, which no further belongs to my work than as it is connected with the subject of education. On their writings, however, and manner of teaching it is necessary that I should be more explicit. Whether Gorgias first published or Protagoras is of little moment; both evidently wrote with the same aim, which was to confound truth and error, right and wrong, not perhaps through any enmity to truth or to virtue, but from the sheer vanity of being thought capable of any thing, and the desire of converting their talents to account. One distinguishing quality of the class was fertility. They piqued themselves on being able to pour forth volume after volume, treatise after treatise, speech after speech. This, indeed, it was that constituted their principal claim to superiority over the philosophers, a pains-taking race, among whom the period of intellectual gestation was longer than that of the elephant; whereas your true sophist, without meditation, study or experience, astonished his admirers by the copiousness of his invention, by imagery, gorgeous and glittering, generally stolen from the poets, and by a piquant air of profoundness and originality, which the art of

¹ Diog. Laert. ix. 55. observes that, according to some writers, he died, at the age of 90, during a journey.—Geel, p. 81. It is sufficiently remarkable that most of the Sophists attained to a very great old age, and the same thing may be said generally of the philosophers of antiquity. Lord Bacon undertakes to account for the fact. Having given the palm of long life to hermits and anchorites, he says: "Next unto this is a life
"led in good letters, such as was
"that of Philosophers, Rhetori-

"cians, Grammarians. This life is
"also led in leisure, and in those
"thoughts which, seeing they are
"severed from the affairs of the
"world, bite not, but rather de-
"light through their vanity and
"impertinency: they live also at
"their pleasure, spending their
"time in such things as like them
"best, and for the most part in
"the company of young men,
"which is ever the most cheer-
"ful."—History of Life and
Death, p. 24.

seeming to doubt all that other men believe never fails to confer.

Besides, comprehending enough of human nature to know that whoever amuses is listened to, whatever atrocities he may utter, they were careful to invest their doctrine with a light and graceful exterior. No man ever excelled them at a joke. They in fact managed matters so that in their hands every thing became a joke, and to overthrow an antagonist demanded nothing more than to be able to raise a laugh at his expense; for, all the world over, in the opinion of the vulgar, whoever is ridiculous is wrong. From calculation, they eschewed the uphill task of correcting error, or advancing truth, or reforming manners. To upbraid men for their faults and counsel amendment, is to incur their enmity. Reformers, prophets, apostles of truth have always been persecuted, often put to death. The sophists felt no ambition to be martyrs. Poverty, too, and obscurity, spare diet, a coarse mantle, and the solitude in which the poor great man walks the world, they could not away with. To their happiness crowds of admirers, opulence, costly robes¹ and all the refinements of luxury formed a *sine quâ non*; and accordingly in the choice of their doctrines they were guided by one consideration only, viz. how they might amuse mankind, and reap all the advantages of popularity.

The eloquence which statesmen employed to recommend their measures, the sophists applied to fictitious uses, imagining themselves in impossible circumstances, reversing times, confounding manners, and

¹ Herault de Sechelles, who, had he lived, would have excelled Boswell in biography, describes with singular felicity the passion of that arch-sophist, Buffon, for the splendours of dress. Even among the peasants of Montbar, a race of primitive simplicity, the French Hippas

would never appear but in an embroidered suit, curled and decorated as if at court. He had nicely calculated the effect of external appearances on the mind; and we must forgive him, since he shared the weakness with Lord Bacon and Aristotle.—See Voyage à Montbar, p. 42, seq.

attacking or defending men long since dead. In all such cases the interest would chiefly depend on the novelty or ingenuity of the thoughts and the subtle artifices of style. Hence the extravagance, the coldness, the perversion of imagery, the distortion and monkey tricks of language, for which their manner of compositions became remarkable. The false position they took up led, in philosophy, to results equally disastrous. To aim at truth, would have been to throw themselves into the wake of the philosophers, to share, without worldly compensation, their dangers, labours, and comparative insignificance. They struck out, therefore, a new course for themselves. Taking philosophy as it was, they undertook to dispute on all and every part of it; to show that for a skilful dialectician there was no proposition that might not with nearly equal facility be attacked or defended; that by means of syllogisms or enthymemes, artfully arranged, darkness may be proved to be light, and light darkness; that between lying and speaking the truth there is no difference; that in fact both veracity and falsehood are nonentities, all our notions being mere arbitrary fictions; and that to beat your dog and to beat your father is the same thing.

Of this novel and ingenious style of argumentation,¹ in which Hudibras was an adept, we are furnished with abundant examples by Plato, more especially in the *Euthydemus*, where two old fellows, with arguments longer than their beards, luxuriate in the felicitous inventions by which, like another Circe, they are enabled to transform their hearers into hogs and bulldogs. In humorous extravagance the dialogue scarcely falls short of an Aristophanic comedy or a Christmas pantomime. Socrates² plays the Clown, Ctesippos the Harlequin, and the blows dealt upon the magicians in the course of the piece, are such as, were they fully

¹ Another example may be found in *Athen.* iii. 54.

² Socrates has been confounded with the Sophists, because he fre-

quented their company to refute them; but there was between them the same difference, as between a thief-taker and a thief.

comprehended, would set all Drury Lane or Covent Garden in a roar. But the length of the scenes prevents their transplantation into my pages, and the abridgment of a joke is a very dull thing. Let us, however, hear by what logic they proved Socrates to have been a second "man without a navel."

"Answer me," cried Dionysidoros.

"Well then," replied Socrates, "I answer that Iolaus was the nephew of Heracles, and, as far as I can see, no nephew of mine. For my brother Patrocles was not his father, but quite another guess sort of person, Iphicles the brother of Heracles."

"And Patrocles was your brother?"

"By the mother, not by the father."

"Then he was your brother, and not your brother?"

"By the father's side he was not," answered Socrates, "since he was the son of Charidemos, and I of Sophroniscos."

"But Sophroniscos, no less than Charidemos, was a father."

"Exactly; the former was my father, the latter Patrocles'."

"Then was Charidemos other than a father?"

"He was other than mine."

"Then he was a father, and not a father? But, come, are you the same thing as a stone?"

"I fear," replied Socrates, "I shall appear to be no better in your hands, though I do not discover the identity."

"Well, being other than a stone, you are not a stone; being other than gold, you are not gold. And must not the same thing happen to Charidemos? Being something else than a father, he is not a father."

"So it seems," replied the philosopher.

"And what is true of Charidemos," replied the younger sophist, "must be true of Sophroniscos. Being other than a father, he is not a father: from which, my good friend, it follows that you never had any father at all!¹"

¹ Plat. Opp. iii. 444, seq.

Socrates being thus placed on a level with the first man, his friend Ctesippos took up the ball, and sent it with so much force into the face of the sophists, that it somewhat startled them.

"Come, then," said he, "is not your own father in precisely the same circumstances? Is he not different from my father?"

"Not at all," answered Euthydemos.

"What, then, he is the same?"

"Exactly."

"I should be sorry to think so. However, is he my father only, or is he everybody else's father?"

"Everybody's, of course; for can you imagine him to be a father, and not a father?"

"I should have thought so," answered Ctesippos.

"What! that gold is not gold, and that a man is not a man?"

"Not so, friend Euthydemos; but you do not, as the saying is, mingle flax with flax; and your assertion, that your father is the father of all men, seems very extraordinary."

"But he is, though."

"Very good; but is he not only the father of men but of horses and every other animal?"

"Of everything!"

"And your mother, in like manner, is the mother of all things?"

"Certainly."

"Then she is the mother of the sea-hedgehog."

"And so is yours!"

"And you are the full brother of gudgeons, cubs, and sucking-pigs."

"So are you!"

"And your father is a dog."

"And yours, too!"

It was now evident they were in anger, and accordingly Dionysidoros interposed, and observed jocularly,—

"Provided you will answer me, Ctesippos, I undertake to make you confess that your father is just

what my brother has said. So, tell me, have you a dog?"

"I have, and a snappish cur he is, too."

"And has he young ones?"

"Ay, and they are more snappish than himself."

"Well, now, is not the dog their father?"

"No doubt."

"And the dog is yours?"

"Certainly."

"It follows then, if he be a father and yours, that he must be your father; so that his cubs are your brothers."

Before the young man could reply to this compliment the sophist proceeded:

"Answer me, Ctesippos, a little longer. Do you ever beat that dog?"

"That I do," replied Ctesippos laughing; "and I wish I could administer the same discipline to you in your turn."

"Then you beat your own father!"

"The beating," answered the young man, "would be more justly inflicted on yours, for having knowingly let loose two such sages upon mankind!"¹

But these, after all, were but laughing sophists, who, though they had succeeded in confounding and obliterating from their own minds every trace of difference between right and wrong, fell short of that superb degree of wickedness at which Polos, Callicles, and Thrasymachos arrived, at least in speculation. The former were mere babblers, who corrupted a pupil or two whom bad luck threw in their way. Thrasymachos flew at higher game. His sophistry was politi-

¹ Plat. Opp. t. iii. p. 245.—The amusing manner of teaching introduced by these sophists was sometimes imitated by the philosophers. Thus Theophrastus, who, before proceeding to his school, used to anoint himself with oil and perform his exercises, had recourse to extraordinary drollery

for the purpose of charming his pupils, adapting all his gestures and movements to his discourses; so that when describing the manners and character of a glutton, he used, like a comic actor, to thrust out his tongue and lick his lips.—Athen. i. 38.

cal,¹ and his aim the destruction of freedom, by extinguishing that sense of justice on which it must ever be based. The genius of the man was considerable. He had deep thoughts, and investigated boldly; but his sympathies having somehow been early perverted, he grew sombre, fierce, and unsociable, and without the slightest disguise advocated, like our Hobbes,² tyrannical maxims and morals. Money, like the rest, he of course worshipped. Nay, in the conversation at the house of Cephalos he even ventures to sneer rudely at Socrates' poverty; upon which Glaucon³ observes: — "Don't fear to go unpaid for the instruction you may give him, for we will enter into a subscription on his behalf."⁴ Thrasymachos, however, was still more

¹ Cf. Dem. Lacrit. § 10. Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 118.

² The modern Thrasymachos is as frank in his hatred of philosophers as the ancient. He compares their enthusiasm in favour of freedom to the virus imparted by the bite of a mad dog, imagining that nothing is so sedulously to be guarded against as liberty. He would, if possible, have the study of ancient statesmen and historians prohibited, or at least that care should be taken to counteract their maxims by the teaching of discreet sophists. "I cannot imagine," he says, "how anything can be more prejudicial to a monarchy than the allowing of such books to be publicly read, without present applying such correctives of discreet masters, as are fit to take away their venom; which venom I will not doubt to compare to the biting of a mad dog, which is a disease the physicians call *hydrophobia*, or *fear of water*. For, as he that is so bitten has a continual torment of thirst, and yet abhorreth water, and is in such an

estate, as if the poison endeavoured to convert him into a dog; so, when a monarchy is once bitten to the quick, by those democratical writers, that continually snarl at that estate, it wanteth nothing more than a strong monarch, which, nevertheless, out of a certain *tyrannophobia* or fear of being strongly governed, when they have him, they abhor."—Leviathan, Pt. ii. c. 29. iii. § 15. Count Capo D'Istria, if he was ignorant of the language of ancient Greece, appears at least to have understood something of the spirit of ancient philosophy, for, designing to establish a tyranny, he prohibited the reading of Plato in the public schools. He may possibly have learned his maxims of government from Hobbes, as well as that the master of the academy deserved his hatred.—Thiersch. Etat Act. de la Grèce, ii. 121.

³ Plat. Rep. i. § 11. t. i. p. 41. Stallb.

⁴ *Ἐρανος*. Cf. Sympos. t. iv. p. 379. Bekk.

vain than avaricious. He thirsted to exhibit his notions in order to enjoy the satisfaction arising from shocking those who heard him. He maintained that justice is nothing more than what in any state the rulers think proper to establish ; and that, consequently, the ordinances of a tyrant are as binding and as just as the laws of a free state, since by nature all actions are indifferent.

It was, in fact, a part of the sophistical doctrine, to maintain in politics, what Hobbes afterwards advocated, the right of the stronger : —

—— “ The good old rule, the simple plan,
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can.”

But because there is in every man's heart a rooted prejudice in favour of justice, they were fain to argue that all governors, in as far as they deserved the name, would ordain what was best for themselves, and that, whatever it might be, was just :¹ a very satisfactory doctrine, which has never grown wholly out of fashion. They laughed to scorn, as persons who required nurses to look after them and wipe their noses,² whomsoever they found entertaining the notion that governments were instituted for the good of the governed.

Their staple comparison was always a flock or a herd. What shepherd, they inquired, ever looked after his flock for their benefit, and not for his own use ? In like manner magistrates, who, as is proper, hold the chief place in cities, look on the public exactly as if they are so many sheep or oxen, and think of nothing, night or day, but how they may derive most advantage from them. Justice, therefore,

¹ Upon this point Father Paul observes : — “ We must reduce “ under the title of justice every- “ thing that may contribute to the “ service of the state ; for the prince “ has no greater justice than to

“ preserve to himself the quality “ of prince, and, in order to this, to “ keep his subjects in a dutiful sub- “ jection to his authority.” — Max. of the Gov. of Venice, chap. i. § 1.

² Plat. Rep. t. vi. p. 34.

is what promotes the interests of the governors, though it may be loss to the governed. The man, esteemed just and pious and holy by the philosopher, was merely, in their opinion, a fool. Whenever anything is to be gained he gets less than any man, and when anything is to be done for the community he does more. He is always ready with his purse whenever anything is to be paid; always out of the way when gain is afloat. The unjust man, on the contrary, knows what he is about. He pays and does as little as possible for the public, and takes from it all he can. The former renders himself disagreeable to his friends and domestics, by refusing to commit any unjust action on their behalf. The latter, on the other hand, unscrupulous in acquisition, is able to oblige many by his wealth if he happens to require their services. Thus even in private life and small matters injustice is to be preferred; but when it operates on a grand scale, plunders whole cities, and usurps over them supreme authority, it reaches the acme of felicity, is saluted by the name of prince, and becomes an object of envy to all mankind.

Nor did they pause even here. It was not enough to show the happiness of vice as vice; they undertook to prove that vice is virtue and virtue vice, which may be considered as their magnum opus. They went to work boldly, but, like the fox of Archilochos,¹ always kept something of their figure concealed, that, if any necessity arose, they might be able to retreat by treating their whole chain of argumentation as a mere rhetorical exercise. "You appear to be in earnest," observed Socrates on one occasion. "What does it signify to you whether I am in earnest or not," replied the sophist, "if you cannot refute what I advance?" With this prudent reserve, they taught that injustice is a powerful and beautiful principle, reckoning it among the virtues, and attributing to it all the characteristics usually attributed to justice.² Pascal,

¹ Plat. Rep. t. vi. p. 72. Bekk.

² Id. i. t. vi. p. 44. seq.

in developing the morals of the Jesuits, describes their principles exactly. They patronised even cutting purses, providing the operator had the ingenuity to conceal his performance. No doubt, in thus arguing, they did violence to their secret convictions, and might, by an able dialectician, be made to feel, though never to acknowledge, the deformity of their doctrines, as Thrasymachos, driven up in a corner by the logic of Socrates, blushes and is chap-fallen;¹ but as sophistry was their occupation, the misery and degradation was, that, convinced or not convinced, they must still sing the old song. It is evident, in fact, that, like many sophists of other days, they were bold with the lips while the heart within trembled. The light of conscience could not be wholly quenched. They conceived the gods to be armed with power and disposed to exert it, not only against evil doers but against evil speakers also. Pressed upon this point, whether the bad be not obnoxious and the good agreeable to the deities, Thrasymachos would not deny it. And why? Lest he should render himself hateful to them, *ἵνα μὴ τοῖς δὲ ἀπὲχθῶμαι*. So that in the worst times of paganism, religion, how corrupt soever, failed not to preserve some influence over men's minds, to save them from the bestial recklessness into which they seemed desirous to plunge.²

Nevertheless, the sophists on many points did but methodise, condense and embody in florid language the maxims and modes of thinking current in corrupt ages among the vulgar. Their doctrines were but an echo of what was heard in the ecclesiæ, in the law courts, in the theatres, and in the camps. It would have been to little purpose, therefore, to have silenced them, unless, at the same time, the above schools could have been purified, wherein young and old, men and women, imbibed the opinions, maxims, prejudices, which constituted the

¹ Plat. de Rep. vi. 49. i. 76.
Stallb. Cf. Vict. Var. Lect. iii. v.

² Plat. Rep. t. vi. p. 52.

system of the sophists.¹ And Plato, who observes this, supplies us, in doing so, with a fresh proof that women frequented the theatre. In one of these four places, he says, they were corrupted: but they were not soldiers, and, therefore, not in the camp; they were not dicasts, and, therefore, not in the law courts; they were neither orators nor voters, and, therefore, not in the ecclesiæ. The evil doctrines they imbibed, therefore, must have been imbibed at the theatre.² Here, too, the youth, disciplined and principled in better things by his philosophical teachers, received a new education which overthrew the former. Deeds and words, condemned by his teachers, he often found to be greeted here with rapturous applause, re-echoed by rocks and walls; while hisses, sneers, or vociferous vituperation would, perhaps, be showered on things he had been taught most to revere. In his feelings, therefore, and internal convictions a revolution was soon effected. He grew ashamed of the notions implanted in him at school. Every lingering sentiment of honour seemed to him an unfortunate prejudice despised by men of the world, and he hastened to shift his notions as a clown does his dress to prepare for admittance into fashionable company.

The sophists, skilled in the study of mankind, soon discovered, that to please and ultimately to rule the ignorant, it was necessary to humour their failings, and, in appearance at least, to adopt their opinions. In a commonwealth, governed by wholesome principles, great men obtain influence, not by resembling the majority but by differing from them. They are popular by the authority of their virtues. They are revered with the reverence due to a father from his child, who confides in him from long experience in his love and implicit faith in his honour, and will submit to be rebuked and chastised, and determined

¹ Id. vi. 290.

² Plat. Rep. vi. t. vi. p. 289.
Cf. Athen. ii. 54.

by him in his actions from the conviction that his superior wisdom and probity and affection entitle him to rule. But the sophists, and their political disciples, despaired of thus governing the people. In their manners there was none of the dignity, in their minds none of the wisdom, in their resolutions none of that inflexible firmness arising from consciousness of right, which neither threats nor clamour can subdue. They regarded the populace as a huge beast, whose ways and temper they must study, whose passions and desires they must know how to raise and how to satisfy; by what arts they might safely enter his den, stroke his terrible paws, or mount, if they thought proper, on his back and direct his irresistible might against their enemies. And this they esteemed as wisdom, and upon those who excelled in it they bestowed the name of statesmen and philosophers.¹ Among the arts by which this influence was acquired were flattery and boasting; by the former they disposed people to listen, by the latter they sought to justify them for listening, by dwelling on the wonders they could perform. If they might be believed, they could convert fools into wise men, which philosophers regarded in the light of a miracle. This disposition τὸ θρασὺ καὶ τὸ ἱταμὸν,² as Basilus expresses it, is admirably painted by Plato in the character of Thrasymachos. And the contrast afforded by Socrates makes good, as Muretus observes, the wise remark of Thucydides ὅτι ἀμαθία μὲν δάεστος, φρόνησις δ' ὄκνον φέρεται.

Such, however, as they were, the reputation of the sophists spread far and wide. Even among the barbarians of Asia a desire was felt to have the ear tickled by their eloquence, as we may gather from the letter of Amytocrates, an Indian king, to Antiochos, requesting him to ship off for India as soon as possible, some boiled wine, dried figs, and

¹ Plat. de Rep. vi. 293.

Muret. Adnot. in Repub. p. 667,

² Plat. de Rep. vi. 333. Cf. seq. 677, seq.

a sophist, observing that he would very willingly pay the price of him. But Antiochos, either loth to part with so useful a servant of the monarchy, or out of pity for the Indians, whom he suspected to be already sufficiently tormented, replied, that as for boiled wine and figs he might be supplied to his heart's content, but that with respect to sophists the law prohibited their exportation.¹ He had all the while, however, without knowing it, abundant specimens of the race in his own realms, where the Brahmins have, time out of mind, cultivated and thriven by the same arts, and maintained the same opinions, as conferred celebrity on the followers of Gorgias and Protagoras. Their practices, indeed, as well as those of the Yoghis, are in India modified by the state of society and public opinion. The wonder which among the Greeks was excited by the advocacy of monstrous doctrines, on the banks of the Ganges, arises out of physical pranks. The Greek sophist tortured his mind, the Indian tortures his body for the edification of the public, but the result is the same; the practitioners thus contrive to subsist in idleness on the earnings of the industrious and credulous.

¹ Athen. xiv. 67.

CHAPTER VIII.

EDUCATION OF THE SPARTANS, CRETANS,
ARCADIANS, ETC.

A DIFFERENT picture is presented to us by the education of the Spartans,¹ which, almost perfect in its kind, aimed chiefly at unfolding the powers of the body. Mental acquirements in the states of Doric origin were few, and the object even of these seems to have been rather connected with the developement of the animal than the spiritual nature of man, though they were not utterly destitute of all those arts and accomplishments which embellish a life of peace. Little stress, however, can be laid on the elaborate divisions of youth into numerous classes, the intention of which is not stated. There can, nevertheless, be no doubt that much art, reflection and wisdom was exhibited in the forming of the system whose object was the creation of a military character, and through this the enjoyment of the hegemonia or lead in the public affairs of Greece, an honour which Sparta attained to and held during many years.²

¹ See Müll. Dor. ii. 313, sqq. Cf. Pfeiff. Ant. ii. 57. p. 370.

² To destroy the power of Sparta the Achæans could imagine no better means than to change their system of education. —Plut. Vit. Philop. § 16. Paus. vii. 8. 5. The Mityleneans, too, desirous of breaking the military spirit of certain of their allies, forbade them to give the least instruction to their children.—

Ælian, V. H. vii. 15. With the same view the Emperor Julian closed the public schools against the Christians.—Gibbon, iv. 111. Among our ancestors, too, when a blow was meditated against Dissenters, no measure more severe could be devised than to deprive them of education.—Lord John Russell, Hist. of Eur. i. 273.

A modern writer has correctly remarked that by permitting the state to decide on the lives of infants, the institutions of Lycurgus recognised the authority of the community to regulate, how it pleased, the education they were to receive. The authority of parents over their children was thus all but annihilated, for, although the recognition and feeling of relationship continued after the state had undertaken the training of youth, their influence was exceedingly weakened, a circumstance to which may be attributed the seeming heroism of the Spartan women, who could stoically bear the death of their sons because they had been in a great measure estranged from them.

As, however, the institutions of Lycurgus differed in all things else from those of other Grecian legislators, it is not surprising they should also differ on the subject of education. But it may greatly be doubted whether we altogether comprehend his system. The accounts transmitted to us are in many points contradictory, and it may in general be remarked that on no subject whatever do modern ideas differ so much from those prevalent in antiquity, as on the subject of education. Plutarch and Xenophon, or rather the sophist who assumed his name, two of the authors on whom in this discussion most reliance is usually placed, were prejudiced and credulous, and often, to speak frankly, extremely ignorant. Both were unwilling, even if they possessed the power, to criticise the system, and yet by modern writers their opinions have generally without scruple been adopted. Xenophon himself, as well as the sophist who here apes him, was in predilections a Spartan, and as strongly disposed to satirise and underrate the institutions of his own country as to exaggerate the merits of the Laconian. Even were the trifling essay on the Lacedæmonian republic proved to be his, we should yet lay little stress upon its testimony, unless when corroborated by the evidence of other and better writers.

Elsewhere in Greece,—observes the author of this

tract,¹ whoever he was,—persons, the most solicitous respecting the education of their children, placed over them at the first dawn of intellectual development, pædagogues, who at the outset undertook their instruction, and afterwards conducted them to the schools where letters, music, and gymnastics were taught. In this respect, however, as a modern writer has shown, the institutions of Sparta were in no degree superior, since Helots were there the instructors of young children; and, on this account, he rejects the story of Plutarch,² that they were compelled to intoxicate themselves, to exhibit to the youths a practical proof of the deformity of drunkenness.³ It was contrary, he says, to common sense. But as common sense had very little to do with any part of the system, this is a poor argument, and will not weigh against positive testimony.

Another evil which the Pseudo-Xenophon discovers in the common Hellenic plan of training,⁴ was that lads were indulged with the use of shoes, and rendered effeminate by frequent changes of clean linen, while their appetite, generally keen in boyhood,⁵ was suffered to be the measure of what they ate. Lycurgus, he remarks, managed all these things differently. Instead of remaining under the superintendence of their parents, and frequenting what schools and masters they might judge proper, boys at Sparta passed under a sort of camp discipline regulated by the laws and intrusted to the guardianship of a particular magistrate, whom they

¹ Rep. Lac. ii. 1. Cf. Pfeiff. Ant. p. 370.

² Lycurg. 28. Müll. Dor. ii. 39. Commonly, also, the nurses of the kings were Helots.—Plut. Ages. § 3.

³ Plut. Inst. Lac. § 29.

⁴ De Rep. Laced. ii. 5. Cf. Plut. Lycurg. § 17.

⁵ And keen it must needs have been before they could have relished their black broth, with a

dose of which Dionysios once made an experiment upon his stomach. Having put a spoonful of the compound into his mouth, he instantly spat it out again, declaring that he could not swallow it, for it was the filthiest stuff he had ever tasted; upon which his Spartan cook remarked, "You should have first bathed in the Eurotas." —Plut. Inst. Lac. § 2.

denominated a Pædonomos. This part of the system Xenophon¹ prefers to the Athenian practice of intrusting youth to the care of servile pædagogues. The Pædonomos, however, resembled in many respects the Athenian Gymnasiarch, and, so far as I can perceive, possessed no superiority over him, except that his authority extended beyond school hours. He was, indeed, a kind of despot, vested with the power to call the boys together when he pleased, and inflict chastisement, at his own discretion, on any whom he detected exhibiting the least symptom of effeminacy. To enable him to carry his resolutions instantly into effect he marched about the town like an executioner, attended by men having whips, who at his nod seized the boy delinquent and subjected him at once to the torture. Thus possessing the power of enforcing obedience, a great show at least of reverence attended him.

The privilege of sharing the paternal cares of the Pædonomos was not rigidly confined to the sons of Spartans (πολιτικοὶ παῖδες);² the Mothaces also, Spartans of half blood, and even strangers might share it. Who the Mothaces were it is extremely difficult to determine. Some contend that they were slaves brought up in the family.³ But Athenæus, and Phylarchos whom he quotes, state most distinctly that they were free, ἐλεύθεροι μὲν εἰσί. In order to remove the unfavourable impression made on mankind by the accounts transmitted to us of Spartan slavery, it has been pretended that they, as well as the Neodamodes, were Helots. Of the Neodamodes, however, the very author on whom reliance is placed asserts the contrary. They were originally slaves indeed, he says, but different from the Helots, ἐτέρους ὄντας τῶν εἰλώτων. With respect to the Mothaces,⁴ notwithstanding the testimony of Hesychius and other grammarians, it seems clear that they were the sons of free though poor Laconians, who, desirous

¹ De Rep. Lac. ii. 2. Lycurg. § 17. Cf. Hesych. v. Παιδονόμος.

² Athen. vi. 102.

³ Müll. ii. 314.

⁴ Harpocrat. v. Μόθωνες.

of obtaining for them the rights of Spartans, sent them to be the companions of such youthful citizens as would consent to receive them. It is moreover added that the youth, according to their means, chose one, two, or more of these companions; which shows that although the right of controlling the studies of its children was vested in the state, the expenses, in whole or in part, devolved upon the parents.

The *Mothaces*, or *Mothones* as they are sometimes called, were identical with the *σύντροφοι*:¹ but the *τρόφιμοι* were such youthful strangers — for example, the sons of Xenophon² and Phocion — as, by submitting to the severities of Spartan discipline, acquired the freedom of the city, the privilege of aspiring to political distinction, and, according to some writers, even a share of the land. This, if true, would render credible the statement of the philosopher Teles,³ who affirms that even Helots, by the means above described, could rise to the rank of Spartans; while they who in this point disobeyed the laws, were they even the children of kings, sank to the condition of Helots, and of course forfeited their estates, otherwise there would have been no land to bestow on the military neophytes. Three of the most remarkable men in Spartan story, Lysander, Gylippos, and Callicratidas were *Mothaces*, whose fathers were obscure.⁴ It will be seen that we have here the original of that system of education sketched by Xenophon in his *Persian Utopia*, and designed to recommend monarchy to his countrymen, as that of Sir Thomas More was framed for the contrary purpose.

According to the laws of Lycurgus the heir-apparent

¹ De Rep. Lac. iii. 3. 3. Schneid.

² Diog. Laert. ii. c. vi. § 10. Xen. Hellen. v. 3. 9. Plut. Ages. § 6.

³ Ap. Stob. Florileg. 40. 8. Gaisf. Cf. Plut. Inst. Lac. § 21, 22. Athen. vi. 103. Müll. Dor. ii. 315. note p. — In Xenophon's

Persian Utopia such citizens as were too poor to maintain their children at school lost the benefits of public training; but, according to law, the advantages of the Spartan system were open to all. — Arist. Polit. iv. 9.

⁴ Ælian, Var. Hist. xii. 43.

to the throne was exempted from the necessity of mixing with his fellow-citizens in the public schools, though the younger members of the royal family occupied the same level with other boys.¹ That this was an unwise regulation, however, will be at once evident, since no man stands so much in need of severe discipline as a prince, who in spite of correction is too apt to be guided by his unbridled passions. Fact, too, bears out this view, for two of the noblest sovereigns of Sparta, Leonidas and Agesilaos, had been subjected, while boys,² to the correction of their teachers.

It has been already remarked that the spirit of Spartan education was severe. It was, in fact, precisely the same as that which, in the last generation, pervaded the discipline of the Seneka and Mohawk Indians, and produced those numerous examples of patience, fortitude, and magnanimity, together with that force, agility and suppleness of body so greatly admired and, perhaps, envied by civilised nations. It was this stern and martial system that constituted the secret model, according to which Locke fashioned his plan of youthful training, designed rather to produce a sound mind in a sound body than to shatter and enervate the latter by the piling up in the brain of miscellaneous and often useless knowledge. But in his attempts at hardening the frame and rendering it invulnerable to the stings of suffering, our countryman did not dare to go the lengths of the Spartan legislator, who in this, at least, exhibited superior wisdom, that he did not consider the chastisement of stripes to have any tendency towards creating a base and servile habit of mind.³

Consistently with the general aim of his institutions, Lycurgus, instead of ordaining, like Locke, that his alumni should wear leaky shoes, dispensed with the incumbrance altogether. And, certainly,

¹ Plut. Ages. § i.

² Müll. Dor. ii. 315.

³ On the democratic tendency

of Spartan discipline see Bœckh. in Plat. Min. 181. sqq. Isocrat. Areop. § 14—16.

in a soldier, the habit of trampling with the naked foot on ice and snow and the sharpest rocks, is worthy of acquisition.

Institutions are generally based on the actual circumstances of society. Lycurgus legislated for a people to whom it was important to be able easily to climb steeps, or descend them with a sure foot, to spring forward also, to run, to bend, and perform innumerable acts of personal dexterity. He, therefore, commenced with boyhood the inculcating of those habits and exercises which their manhood would imperatively require of them.

It has been seen that for change of linen an especial aversion was entertained at Sparta. Children were, therefore, taught to be content with one clean shirt per annum, at the termination of which period it was probably as well peopled as the Emperor Julian's beard, particularly as, during all that time, it was considered low and unfashionable to bathe or make use of the ordinary ointments, an indulgence permitted to them but for a few days in the course of the year. All this time, however, they might more properly, perhaps, be said to be shirtless, since the himation only was left them, the chiton being taken away.¹ They were compelled also, as incipient soldiers, to lie hard on pallet beds, made with the tops of reeds collected, perfunctorily, without the help of the knife or dagger, from the banks of the Eurotas. To this, as an especial indulgence, they were in winter permitted to add a quantity of thistle-down, which material was supposed to contain much warmth.²

The initiation into these accomplishments commenced at the age of twelve. At the same time, acting upon the Galenian maxim, that "a fat stomach makes a lean wit," the boys were reduced to short commons, the Bouagor, or leader of the juvenile troop, being instructed to pinch them as closely

¹ Plut. Lycurg. § 17. Inst. Lac. § 5. Xen. de Rep. Lac. ii. 4.

² Plut. Inst. Lac. § 10.

as possible on that score, in order that when the chances of war should reduce them to the necessity of subsisting on famine rations, they might be prepared without murmuring to submit to it. Persons so educated, moreover, would be little delicate in the choice of provisions. Anything, from a sea hedgehog to a snail, would suit their stomachs; and it would be hard indeed if war could ever place them in circumstances where such food as they were accustomed to might not be found. Health, too, and light spirits, as Lycurgus well understood, are the offspring of an abstemious diet. The spare warrior, clean-limbed and agile, would leap round the man puffed out and bloated with overfeeding, and, therefore, to be fat was at Sparta an offence punishable at law.¹ However, not to be too hard on the young gentlemen, it was always permitted, when hunger grew troublesome, to have recourse to what, for want of a fitter name, we must call stealing.²

In modern times it would be thought a poor compliment to any system of education to represent

¹ Ælian. V. H. xiv. 7. Plut. Inst. Lac. § 13. Athen. xii. 74. — Apropos of this subject, the ancients have left us a very curious anecdote. Dionysios, son of Clearchos, the first tyrant of Heraclæa, having succeeded to the government of his country, became insensibly so corpulent by his daily excess and extreme niceness in the choice of his viands, that he was nearly suffocated by the enormous mass of his fat. Every time he fell into a deep slumber it was feared he would never wake again; and, to rouse him from his lethargy, the physicians were often compelled to thrust long, sharp needles into his body until they reached the quick, upon which he would again exhibit signs of animation. Of this

prodigious obesity his majesty was so much ashamed, however, that, when transacting business or giving audience to strangers, he would ensconce himself behind a large trunk, so that no part of him was visible but his face. Yet, in spite of this infirmity, he lived fifty-five years and reigned thirty-three; and, to the honour of corpulence be it remarked, that no tyrant ever before exhibited so much mildness and moderation.—Id. xii. 72.

² Xen. Rep. Lac. ii. 6.—This writer observes, that what might be filched was determined by law.—Anab. iv. 6. 14. And Plutarch explains, that they might take as much food as they could.—Inst. Lac. § 12.

it as an admirable method for rendering a man an accomplished thief. But the Spartan sophists, whose wisdom Plato, in a jocular mood, so greatly extols, held a different theory. They did not undertake the teaching of morals, but such habits as became a soldier, among which thieving always maintains a distinguished place. Xenophon, however, is careful to guard us against the supposition that this habit of appropriation arose from want. The object of the legislator was, without the incurring of moral guilt, to nourish all the useful habits commonly found in a thief,—as, the power to watch by night, to wear the mask of honesty by day, craftily to lay snares, and even to set spies upon the individual to be plundered. To men designed to spend their lives in war such qualities are, doubtless, of the highest importance, since they enable them to procure provisions and overreach the enemy.¹ To this practice Xenophon alludes in the *Anabasis*, where the army is placed in circumstances of much difficulty. “I understand,” he says to Cheirisophos, “that among you Lacedæmonians the habit of stealing is carefully cultivated from childhood; and that, so far from being disgraceful, it is considered a necessary accomplishment, so long as you keep within the bounds prescribed by law. When detected, however, it is equally lawful to be scourged.”²

Were they scourged, then, for stealing? Not at all, but simply for being caught; and Xenophon is right in remarking, that, in all human arts, they who unskilfully perform what they undertake are punished, and so should a bungling thief.³ The passage immediately following is mutilated or inextricably corrupt,⁴ but, from an attentive examination, it would appear that the boys detected on these occasions were selected to be flogged⁵ during the

¹ Xen. de Rep. Lac. ii. 7.

² Anab. iv. vi. 14.

³ De Rep. Lac. ii. 8.

⁴ Schneid. in Xen. de Rep. Lac. ii. 9.

⁵ Sometimes to death.—Plut.

festival of Artemis Orthia, or Orthosia, whose altar was thus annually smeared with human blood. This impartial superstition extended its empire over all ranks and conditions of men, servile or free, from the beggar to the prince; for here, we are told, Helots had sometimes the honour to be scourged in company perhaps with a scion of the Eurypontid or Agid kings. At Alea, in Arcadia, women, by the command of an oracle, were subjected to the same discipline. "Here," says Pausanias,¹ "during the festival of Dionysos women, by command of an oracle, were flogged like the youth of Sparta at the altar of Artemis Orthia."

The above ordinance of Lycurgus led in the next instance to the hybernation of the youth upon the mountains:² to inure them still further to hardships, and, practically to teach them the art of providing for themselves, they were sent forth with a roving commission to prowl about the highlands and less frequented parts of Laconia, armed for self-protection, and that they might be able to bring down their game. At first, perhaps, they confined themselves within the limits prescribed by law. But almost of necessity they would become involved in quarrels with the Helots, by plundering whose farms and villages they chiefly subsisted. The Helots would sometimes resist and sometimes resent their incursions.

Inst. Lac. § 39. Vit. Aristid. § 17. Pausan. iii. 16. 6. Sext. Empir. Pyrrh. Hypot. iii. 24. p. 153. c. Spanheim ad Callim. in Dian. 174. The Scholiast on Pindar derives this name of Artemis from Mount Orthion or Orthosion in Arcadia.—Olymp. iii. 54. Cf. Lycoph. 1330. with the Schol. of Tzetzes. Schol. Plat. de Legg. p. 224. Ruhnke.

¹ Arcad. viii. 23. 1. Meurs. (Græc Fer. p. 256,) understands *sese flagellabant*.

² The Platonic Scholiast confounds this practice with the Crypteia, so called, he says, because the youth were compelled to conceal themselves while they subsisted on plunder. Ἀπολύοντες γὰρ ἕκαστον γυμνόν, προσέταττον ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον ἔξω ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι πλανᾶσθαι, καὶ τρέφειν ἑαυτὸν διὰ κλοπῆς, καὶ τῶν τοιούτων, οὕτω δὲ ὥστε μηδενὶ κατάδηλον γενέσθαι· διὸ καὶ κρύπτεια ὠνόμασται· ἐκολάζοντο γὰρ οἱ ὅπου δῆποτε ὀφθέντες.—Ad Legg. p. 225. Ruhnke.

Ill blood would be engendered. Hot and fiery youths, abandoned to their own guidance, would easily discover excuses for cruelty and revenge. From quarrels they would proceed to blows—from blows to assassination; and beaten, perhaps, by day, they would fall suddenly on the defenceless peasants in the dead of night, and butcher whole hamlets to avenge an affront offered to them perhaps by an individual. Thus, out of a custom blameless enough in its origin, grew the terrible institution of the *Crypteia*,¹ or annual massacre of the Helots, denied by some modern writers, but too well authenticated, and too much in keeping with the Spartan character and general policy, to allow of our indulging in any scepticism on the point.

But, in addition to the above, there were other branches of education taught at Sparta,—that is gymnastics and music. Writers, desirous of enhancing the mental acquisitions of the Dorians, adhere somewhat too strictly to the meaning often affixed by the Greeks to the word *music*, which they employed to signify literature. But Xenophon, in his treatise on the Lacedæmonian Commonwealth, appears invariably to use it in its limited and modern signification.

To gymnastics the Dorians, upon the whole an unintellectual people, were naturally much addicted,—far too much according to ancient writers; but here again their modern historian steps in to their defence. He will have it, that it was in later times that they became philogymnasts, and quotes Dion Chrysostom as if he was the principal witness. Plato, to be sure, is referred to as a parasitical authority, and so is Aristotle;² but then the latter only says, that their constant

¹ For a fuller account of this institution see Book V. Chapter VIII.

² Polit. viii. 3. 3. — To this may be added the testimony of Plato, who evidently, without na-

ming them, means to describe the Spartans, where he speaks of a people wholly given up to the study of bodily exercises, and by that means becoming brutal and ferocious.—De Rep. t. vi. p. 154.

violent exercises rendered them brutal, in which the historian appears to discover no harm. "This want of moderation, however, though it occurred in later times, is never perceivable in the maxims and ideas of the Dorians, who in this, as in several other cases, know how to set bounds to youthful ardour, and check its pernicious effects."¹ This, it appears to me, is the language of an apologist. If they had such knowledge, how culpable must they have been not to check it in the matter of the Crypteia?

It may be observed, however, that though they devoted to gymnastics too much of their leisure, the fault lay in them, not in the system of exercises, which was in itself one of extreme beauty and simplicity. Its object, — which it was excellently calculated to attain, — was not to create *athletæ* but soldiers, not gigantic strength, but an elastic, agile, beautiful frame, adapted for all the movements of war. Boxing, accordingly, and the pancration² were banished from their *gymnasia*, a regulation evincing at the same time their wisdom and their taste; the former being the most barbarous and useless, the latter the most unseemly portion of gymnastics, often exhibiting the antagonists rolling and struggling, like savages or animals devoid of reason, on the ground.

As the ancient idea of education included every thing employed to develop the powers of body or mind, we must regard in this light the military games peculiar to the Spartans and Cretans.³ Among the former the youth, having sacrificed to Ares in a temple at Therapne, passed over into an island dyked round and called *Platanistas*, where, dividing off into separate parties, they engaged in a contest which

¹ Dorians, ii. 319. seq.

² Ταῦτα μόνα μὴ κωλύσαντος ἀγωνίζεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας, ἐν οἷς χεὶρ οὐκ ἀνατείνεται. — Plut. Lycurg. § 19. The exercises, in which the admission of being vanquished was made by holding up

the hand, are elsewhere named :

— Πυγμῆν δὲ καὶ παγκράτιον ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἐκώλυσεν, ἵνα μὴδὲ παίζοντες ἀπανδῶν ἐθίζωνται. — Reg. Apophtheg. Lycurg. 4. Apophtheg. Lacon. Lycurg. 23.

³ Müll. ii. 26.

wanted nothing but arms to render it a genuine battle. A learned historian, seldom sparing of words, avoids describing this interesting scene; and wherefore?—Because a faithful description of it must convey a striking idea of Spartan ferocity. “They exerted” says he, “every means in their power to obtain the victory.”—Exactly; but what were those means? “Adolescentium greges Lacedæmone vidimus ipsi indibili contentione certantes, pugnis, calcibus, unguibus, morsu denique; quum exanimarentur priusquam se victos faterentur.¹” Yet were these battles carried on under the eyes of magistrates, the five Bidiæi² appointed to superintend these exercises as well as those performed elsewhere. The little island where they fought was a spot of great natural beauty, encircled by a sheet of clear water, and approached on all sides through thick and lofty groves of platane trees. A bridge thrown over the canal led to the island on both sides, and on the one stood a statue of Heracles, on the other of Lycurgus. This battle was reckoned among the institutions of the latter, and under the protection probably of the former. The preliminaries to the fight were as follow. They first sacrificed in the Phœbaion which stands without the city, not far from Therapne. Here each of the two divisions of the youth offered up a dog’s whelp to Ares, the bravest of domestic animals, sacred in their opinion to the bravest of the Gods. No other Grecian people sacrificed the dog excepting the Colophonians, who offered up a black bitch to Hecate. In both cities the sacrifice was performed by night. After the ceremony two tame boars were brought forward, one by each party, which they compelled to fight; and they whose brute champion proved superior, thence augured that victory awaited them in the Platanistas. On the following day, a little before noon, they entered by the bridges into the island, one party by one bridge, the other by the other. But the choice was not left to them, having been determined

¹ Cic. Tusc. Disput. v. 27.

² Paus. iii. 11. 2.

on the preceding night by lot. Being arrived, they faced each other, and commenced the battle, striking with the fist, kicking, leaping on each other, tearing one another with their teeth, and gouging after the most approved Kentucky fashion. Thus they struggled, man to man, urging forward together and thrusting each other into the water.¹ From these words, as well as from the testimony of Cicero cited above, it is clear the combat was conducted with no other arms than those furnished by nature, though Lucian, misemploying the verb *όπλομάχαιν*,² would lead us to a different conclusion. But this kind of battle is always enumerated among the gymnastic exercises or contests; and what necessity would there have been to have recourse to fists, feet, teeth, and nails, had they been permitted the use of arms? Fatigued with this violent exertion they betook themselves for a short time to repose, refreshed by which they resumed their exercises, dancing in most intricate measures to the sound of the pipe.³ Akin in spirit to the contests in the Platanistas were the ever-recurring battles fought by the young men with the three hundred followers of the Hippagretæ; three inferior magistrates appointed by the Ephori, who selected each one hundred followers from among the healthiest and bravest of the youthful population. Against this chosen band all the other young men of the city were bound by custom to make war; and, but that they could be parted by any citizen who might happen to be passing by, it is probable that these fierce boxing matches would often have terminated fatally.

Similar customs prevailed in Crete, where, as in most other parts of Greece, the business of education appears to have commenced at the age of seven years, when the cake called Promachos was given to the boys, because, as it has been conjectured, they were thenceforward to be trained for fighting. Up to the age of seventeen they were denominated Apageli,

¹ Paus. iii. 14. 8. sqq.

² Anachars. § 38.

³ Cf. Ubb. Emm. Antiq. Græc. iii. 89. sqq.

since they were not until then admitted into those Agelæ¹ or bands, in which they thenceforward performed their exercises. Here, as in Sparta, the greatest possible care was taken to extirpate from the character every germ of effeminacy. They ate whatever food was given them squatting on the ground, not being permitted to join their elders at the board, and went abroad in all weathers clad in a single garment, like the boys of Sparta during their hibernation. However, the youth of the several Agelæ, armed with stones, and iron weapons, marching to the sound of flutes, and assailing each other, converted their exercises into something very like real warfare. Our cudgel-playing, single-stick, &c. are pastimes of the same description; and boxing now nearly exploded, can plead classical precedent. They were habituated, says Ephoros, to labours and arms, and taught to despise both heat and cold, rough roads and cliffs, and the blows they received in the gymnasium and their mock battles. The use of the bow formed part of their education, as well as the armed dance, at first taught by the Curetes, and afterwards named the Pyrrhic; so that a warlike spirit breathed through the whole system of their education.²

With all these facts before him, though many of them he has suppressed, the historian of the Doric race, in direct contradiction to Plato and Aristotle, contends naïvely that it would be erroneous to conclude that the aim of bodily exercise among the Dorians was war, or that in their result they rendered the youth either brutal or ferocious. Their object, in his opinion, was to obtain something like ideal beauty of form, strength, and health, which, he says, they accordingly attained, being, about B. c. 540, the healthiest of the Greeks and most renowned for beautiful men and women. But Xenophon whom, on the subject of health he quotes, does not authorise his superlative:

¹ 'Αγέλη for the boys, συσσίτιον for the men.—Strab. x. 4. p. 379. Müll. (Dor. ii. 326.) uses both indiscriminately.

² Strab. x. 4. p. 380. seq.—This agrees with what Plato relates of the Cretan polity.—De Legg. t. vii. p. 260. t. viii. p. 86.

—“It would not be easy,” are his words, “to find “healthier or more active men.”¹ Again, the language of Herodotus by no means bears him out. He, indeed, affirms that Callicrates, a Spartan, was the handsomest man in the army at Plataea, but says nothing of the Spartans being handsomer than the other Greeks; but rather the contrary. He was not merely the handsomest man among his countrymen, but, which he evidently considered more remarkable, among all the other Greeks.²

Not, however, to insist on such points as these, let us proceed to examine the intellectual cultivation of the Dorians.³ That the art of writing never flourished very generally at Sparta appears to be on all hands admitted, though we can by no means doubt that among them numerous individuals possessing this accomplishment might always be found. Thus, in the old story of the combat of the three hundred Spartans and Argives, it is related that Othryades, the sole survivor of the Laconian band, having remained last on the field of battle, erected a trophy and wrote upon it with his blood *Λακσ-δαιμόνιοι κατ' Ἀργείων*, immediately after which he died of his wounds.⁴ Generally, however, no great stress was laid on a knowledge of the art of writing, which, in the opinion of some authors, was of comparatively little value where the people were taught to chant their laws as well as their songs. Similar customs and regulations prevailed on this head in Crete, where, nevertheless, letters appear to have been viewed with a more favourable eye.⁵ In ad-

¹ De Rep. Lac. v. 9.—At a later period the reputation of being the handsomest men in Greece was enjoyed by certain young men of Athens.—Æschin. cont. Tim. § 31.

² Herod. ix. 72.

³ Cf. Ælian. Var. Hist. xii. 50.

⁴ Stob. Florileg. vii. 67.

⁵ Plut. Inst. Lac. § 14. seq.—The

Spartans sacrificed to the muses before going to battle in order that they might perform something worthy of notice by them.—Id. § 16. It is remarked of king Cleomenes that he studied philosophy under Sphæros the Borysthenite who was likewise permitted to impart his system to the other youth.—Id. Cleom. § 2.—Cf. Diog. Laert. vii. 6.

dition to their body of legal poetry, which was probably less voluminous than a metrical version of the statutes at large, the youth were taught to sing hymns in honour of the gods and the praises of illustrious men.¹ In music, too, they were permitted to make some proficiency, though generally, we are told, it was their ambition to excel rather in the regularity of their manners than in the extent of their acquirements.

With respect to the Spartans it is probable, though the testimony of ancient writers be sufficiently contradictory, that no great stress was laid even on the ability to read; for, while Plutarch² conceives this art to have been among their ordinary acquirements, Isocrates, a grave and more competent authority, is decidedly of the opposite opinion.³

Ælian,⁴ too, coming in the rear of Plutarch, observes that the Lacedæmonians were ignorant of mental culture (*μουσικῆς*) meaning evidently as Perizonius has already observed, not "music" as Kühn would translate it, (for in this they were learned,) but a knowledge of poetry and eloquence.⁵

That the Spartans were noted for their indifference to literature, is well known. Even Xenophon, their apologist, instituting a comparison between their system of education and that prevailing among the other Greeks, observes that the latter sent their boys to school that they might learn their letters, music, and the exercises of the palæstra, while the former placed them under the care of a grave man who might punish them if slothful and inactive, and

¹ In later times learning grew to be more highly valued. Thus it was ordained by law that the youth should assemble annually in the Hall of the Ephori to hear the work of Dicæarchos on the constitution of their country read to them.—Suid. v. *Δικαίαρχ.* t. i. p. 730. d.

² Inst. Lac. § 4. Lycurg. § 16.

³ Panathen. § 83. *Τοσοῦτον ἀπολειμμένοι τῆς κοινῆς παιδείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας εἰσιν ὥστ' οὐδὲ γράμματα μανθάνουσιν.*

⁴ Var. Hist. xii. 50.

⁵ So again in Ælian. Var. Hist. iv. 15. Gelo, king of Syracuse, an illiterate person is termed *ἄμουσος*.

inculcate great modesty and obedience in lieu of the usual accomplishments. Plato also, in the Greater Hippias,¹ having observed that their laws were averse from the reception of foreign learning, adds immediately after that the majority of them were even ignorant of arithmetic. In another place,² indeed, the philosopher appears to hold a different language, and is literally understood by Perizonius. But the reader who examines the passage attentively, will probably agree with me in considering it nothing more than one of those profoundly ironical strokes in which, above all writers, he abounds. He in fact remarks, what in another sense may have been very true, that no countries were more fertile in sophists than Crete and Lacedæmon, but that they dissembled their wisdom and feigned ignorance, lest they should appear to excel all their countrymen in sapience, of which in reality there was very little danger. He observes, however, no less ironically, that those rude and unrhetorical nations were of all men most philosophical and eloquent, and that it had long been understood by a great many that to *laconise*, or act the Spartan, was rather to be a philosopher than a diligent student of gymnastics. Perizonius,³ indeed, conceives that all this is to be understood of natural sound sense, applied to morals and those brief and pithy sayings or *λογολ*, which constituted the science of laconics.

But, after all, there never was, as Cicero observes, a single orator among the Spartans; nor could it be otherwise, since all the arts which beget and foster eloquence, and, more important still, every political institution which favours it, were unknown in their state. Nay, so far did they push their aversion for the oratorical art, that if any citizen of Sparta acquired, in his experience abroad, the

¹ T. v. p. 418.

² Protag. t. i. p. 209.

³ Not. ad Ælian. xii. 50.—From

an ironical passage of Plato we may likewise infer that they were able genealogists and story-tellers. —Hipp. Maj. t. v. p. 419.

skill artificially to wield a syllogism or a trope, he was subjected to punishment,¹ while rhetoricians were expelled the city.² Ignorance, therefore, of whatever learned nations prize, was their chief boast. To them the sublime speculations of the Academy, and the logic, sharp and irresistible, of the Lyceum, were equally strangers; yet their discipline, and the habits of youth, imparted to them what in modern jargon is termed a kind of practical "philosophy." They understood the great art, at least among them, how to command their passions; as Maximus Tyrius³ relates of Agesilaos who, though educated in no school of philosophy, was nevertheless not a slave to love, which therefore the sophist infers could not be a matter of great difficulty. However there were limitations to their aversions for learning. They opened in their state an asylum for those antique teachers of mankind, the poets,⁴ proscribed by Plato, and were in this respect so superior in good taste to that philosopher, that they at length, in imitation of the Great Preceptors of Greece, instituted public recitations of Homer. And this, Maximus Tyrius adduces as a proof that many well-constituted states had existed in which Homer was not publicly studied, for he could not mean that he was once entirely unknown at Sparta.⁵

Into the character of the Greeks, generally, there entered an element but faintly discernible in the moral composition of modern nations, I mean a most exquisite and exalted sensibility, which rendered them to the last degree susceptible, and liable to be swayed irresistibly for good or for evil by poetry and music.

¹ The laws of Sparta were in this respect, as in many others, merely imitations of those of Crete. —Sext. Empir. adv. Mathemat. l. ii. p. 68. Plutarch having remarked that they did learn to read, adds—*τῶν δὲ ἄλλων παιδευμάτων ξηνηλασίαν ἐποιούντο, οὐ μᾶλλον*

ἀνθρώπων ἢ λόγων.—Instit. Lac. § 4.

² Cressol. Theat. Rhet. i. 12. p. 88

³ Dissert. ix. p. 118.

⁴ Cf. Athen. xiv. 33.

⁵ Dissert. vii. p. 91.

And this characteristic distinguished in some degree the Doric as well as the Ionic race. They could be excited, past belief, by the agency of sound. Music, therefore, with us at least a mere source of enjoyment, among them was invested with a moral character, and employed in education as a powerful means of harmonising, purifying, ennobling the principles and the affections of the heart. For this reason the government, which in Greece was in reality a Committee of Public Safety,¹ watched over the music no less sedulously than over the morals of the people; which it powerfully influenced. It must, nevertheless, be confessed that many ancient authors are little philosophical in relating or reasoning upon the effects of music. They often confound consequences with causes. Thus, in the example which certain authors undoubtedly adduce of the Sicilian Dorians,² whose morals we are told were corrupted by their fiddlesticks, they omit to inquire whether it was not rather the natural and necessary degeneracy of a wealthy people, which corrupted the music. This is my interpretation. For, in the history of the ancient Sicilians, I can discover causes enough of lax and imperfect morals, without calling in the aid of lyre or cithara. But some writers on this point have an easy faith. They suppose that the strict domestic discipline of Sparta "would hardly have been preserved"³ without the old-fashioned music.

In whatever way we decide on the metaphysics of the matter, certain it is that in old times music was an universal accomplishment in most parts of Greece; but this was when it was little more than the chanting of savages, in which, however ignorant,

¹ Plut. Inst. Lac. § 17.

² Max. Tyr. iv. p. 54. Cic. de Legg. ii. 15.—Cicero, though apt in most cases to defer to the opinion of Plato, hangs back here. He does not, indeed, consider it a matter of indifference what songs

are sung, or what airs prevail in a state; but neither does he credit the inferences drawn too subtilely by the great philosopher from his musical theory.

³ Dorians. ii. 340.

any one may join. Exactly in proportion as it rose into an art its cultivators diminished in number, until, when a high degree of perfection had been attained, it was abandoned almost wholly to professional musicians. The Athenians had been commanded by the Pythian oracle to chant chorically in the streets, a divine service in honour of Bacchos.¹ At Sparta similar performances took place during the gymnopædia, when choruses of naked men and boys, with crowns of palm leaves on their heads, proceeded through the streets singing the songs of Thaletas and Alcman and the pæans of Dionysidotos.² Mr. Müller, who loves to complete or round off the accounts he finds in ancient authors, says that, *doubtless*, a large portion of the inhabitants of the city took part in these exhibitions. Perhaps they did, but we have no authority for such a supposition. The place in the agora which contained statues of Apollo, Artemis and Leto, was called *Choros*,³ because there the Ephebi danced in choruses in honour of Apollo. On these occasions unwarlike persons were sometimes thrust into the least honourable places,⁴ while bachelors were excluded; so that, as Schneider has well remarked, cowardice was less dishonourable than celibacy. But it does not at all appear that the Spartans themselves were ever good musicians, though they were not incapable of relishing good music;⁵ and hence the foreign musicians who flocked thither found a welcome reception. The development of the warlike constitution of the state threw the favourable side of their discipline into the shade.⁶

The Arcadians, likewise, made great use of music in their system of education, and, though otherwise a rude race, continued to practise it up to the age of thirty. Among them alone, in fact, were children

¹ Demosth. in Mid. § 15.

² Athen. xv. 22.

³ Paus. iii. 11. 9.—Müller, ii. 341., supposes the whole agora may have been thus denominated.

⁴ Xen. de Rep. Lac. ix. 5. Plut. Lycurg. § 15.

⁵ Aristot. Pol. viii. 5.

⁶ Cf. Müll. Dor. ii. 342.

accustomed from infancy to sing, in certain measures, hymns and poems, in which they celebrated the praises of the gods and heroes of their country. After this, observes Polybius,¹ they learned the *nomoi* of Timotheus and Philoxenos, and every year during the Dionysia formed choruses in the théâtre, where they danced to the sound of the flute. Here boys contended with antagonists of their own age, and the young men with those more advanced towards their prime. During the whole of their lives they frequented these public assemblies, where they instructed each other by their songs, and not by means of foreign actors. With respect to other branches of education they considered it no disgrace to profess themselves ignorant; but not to know how to sing would, in Arcadia, have been a mark of extreme vulgarity. They habituated themselves to walk with gravity to the sound of the flute, and, having been thus instructed at the expense of the state, proceeded once a year in public procession to the theatre. Their ancestors introduced these customs, not with any view to pleasure, or that they might grow rich by the exercise of their talents, but in order to soften the austerity of character which their cold and murky atmosphere would otherwise have engendered. For the character of nations is invariably analogous to the air they breathe, and it is the geographical position of races which determines alone their temper of mind and the colour and configuration of their bodies.

Besides what has already been said of the Arcadians, it may be added, that it was customary among them for the men and women to unite in chanting certain odes, and to offer up sacrifices in common. There were also dances in which the youth of both sexes joined, and their object was to create and diffuse humane and gentle manners.

But the same habits were not prevalent throughout

¹ iv. 20. 7. Athen. xiv. 21. seq.

the whole country. The Kynæthes made no progress in these humanising arts, and as they dwelt in the rudest districts of Arcadia, and breathed the crudest air, their ferocity became proverbial; they addicted themselves to strife and contention, and degenerated into the fiercest and most untameable savages in Greece. In fact, obtaining possession of several cities, they shed so much blood that the whole nation was roused, and at length united in expelling them the land. Even after their departure the Mantinæans thought it necessary to purify the soil by sacrifices, expiations, and the leading of victims round the whole boundary line.

Dancing very naturally constituted a separate branch of education at Sparta as in Crete. In both places the execution of the Pyrrhic appears to have been regarded as a necessary accomplishment, the youths, from the age of fifteen or earlier, having been taught to perform it in arms.¹ It was or is—for the Pyrrhic still lingers in Greece,

“Ye have the Pyrrhic dance as yet—”

an exhibition purely military. The dancers, accoutred with spear and shield, went gracefully and vigorously through a number of movements, wheeling, advancing, giving blows or shunning them, as in real action.² In other parts of Greece, however, the Pyrrhic quickly degenerated in character, becoming little better than a wild dance of Bacchanals.³ It has been rightly observed that at Sparta “the chief object of the Gymnopædia was to represent gymnastic exercises and dancing in intimate union, and, indeed, the latter only as the accomplishment and end of the former.”⁴ One of the dances, resembling the Anapale, partook of a Bacchanalian cha-

¹ Athen. xiv. 29.—The armed dance was in particular favour with Plato.—De Legg. vii. t. viii. p. 17. Boys danced in armour during the Panathenaia at

Athens.—Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 935.

² Plat. de Legg. vii. t. viii. p. 54.

³ Athen. xiv. 29.

⁴ Müll. Dor. ii. 351.

racter."¹ The youth, also, when skilled in these exercises, danced in rows behind each other to the music of flutes, both military and choral dances, at the same time, repeating an invitation in verse to Aphrodite and Eros to join them, and an exhortation to each other.²

It will be seen from the above details that the object of education at Sparta was rather the formation of habits and the disciplining of the mind to act in exact conformity with the laws, than to develop to their fullest extent the intellectual powers of individuals. They desired to amalgamate the whole energies of the people into one mass, upon the supposition that being thus impelled in any particular direction they would prove irresistible. No account was made of private happiness. Everything seems to have been devised for the effecting of national purposes, though from the known laws of the human mind even the restraint and tyrannical interference of such a system would with time be reconciled to the feelings and contribute to individual content. But very much of what renders life sweet, was sacrificed. Letters and arts, that subordinate creation, that world within a world which the beneficence of Providence has permitted man to call into existence, were at Sparta unknown. They enjoyed little or nothing of that refined delight which arises from multiplying the almost conscious fruits of the soul, from sending winged thoughts abroad to move, enchant, electrify millions, from deifying truth and confounding error, from ascending to the greatest heights of mortality, and diffusing from thence a light and a glory to warm and illuminate and gladden the human race for ever. This greater felicity was reserved for the education of Athens, which must, therefore, in all enlightened times, bear away the palm of excellence and utility.

¹ Creuz. Com. Herod. i. 230.

² Lucian de Saltat. § 10. seq.

CHAPTER IX.

INFLUENCE OF THE FINE ARTS ON EDUCATION.

It behoves us now to quit the circle of studies, which, taken together, are commonly supposed to constitute the whole of education, and consider the influence exercised by other elements on the minds of the Hellenic youth. Even in these days we speak intelligibly and correctly of that experience which young men gain on their first entrance into life, from travel and fashionable society, as of a particular stage in their education, it being during that period that they learn to estimate the value of their school acquirements, how advantageously to conceal or display them according to circumstances, and to bend the neck, perchance, of their lofty theories and sublime speculations to the yoke of the world. But in Greece this was more palpably the case; for, though escaped from the formal rule of preceptors and pædagogues, the youth had still to master several departments of study, either by their own independent exertions or under the guidance of judicious friends: I mean those infinitely varied creations of art and literature, which, as they are in harmony with them or otherwise, confirm or subvert the principles and discipline of the schools.

Thoroughly to comprehend, therefore, the nature and extent of that sway which the state and its institutions directly or indirectly exerted over the minds of the citizens, it is necessary briefly to inquire into the character of the plastic and mimetic arts which found encouragement in the Grecian commonwealths, and afterwards to examine for a mo-

ment the stores of thought and sentiment and passion, and piety and virtue, which the literature and religion of Greece laid open to the contemplation of those who were entering upon the career of life. We shall begin with the arts, as they were the inculcators of the principle of the beautiful, advance next to literature, the teacher of wisdom and patriotism, concluding with religion, which opened up to their view a prospect, though dim, of heaven, and directed their footsteps thitherward.

It is certain that, to the generality, the vast superiority of the Greeks in the arts, which like an universal language need no translation, is more palpable and apparent than their superiority in literature; though Demosthenes be in reality as much above any orator, Thucydides above any historian, Plato above any philosopher, Homer above any epic poet, Milton perhaps excepted, who has since written, as Pheidias, or Polycletos, or Praxiteles rose above any sculptor of the north. Nor can we account for this any more than we can explain why Shakespeare was superior to Ford or Massinger. Nature infused more genius into their souls. They loved or rather worshiped the beautiful. It breathed within and around them: their minds were pregnant with it, and, when they brought forth, beauty was their offspring. Thus Aristophanes¹ insinuates, that even the gods borrowed much of their majesty and splendour from the human mind, when he says, that heaven-born peace derived her loveliness from some relationship to Pheidias.

Religion, in one sense, may be called the parent of the fine arts; but it would perhaps be more philosophical to consider religion and the arts as twin sisters, both sprung from that yearning after the ideal which constituted the most marked feature in the Hellenic mind. We must carry back our investigations very far, if we would discover them radiant with loveliness

¹ Pac. 614. seq.

in their cradle ; but when they issued thence it was to shed light over the earth, a light derived from the skies. For man does not originate his ideas of the beautiful, which fall like images from heaven on the speculum of his mind ; he gives back but what he receives. The conception of beauty is an inspiration, a thing which does not come when called upon ; or rather, shining on all, it is lost on the dull and opaque fancy, and is reflected only from the luminous and bright.

Man needs companionship always, and the creative and imaginative make to themselves companions of their own ideas, and clothe them in material forms to render the illusion more complete. There is an impassioned intercourse between the soul and its offspring. We love nothing like that which has sprung from ourselves, and in this we are truly the image of God, who saw all things that he had made, and, behold, they were very good. And he loved his creation ; and from him we inherit, as his children, the love we bear to our creations. Hence the enthusiasm for art, hence the power and the inspiration of poetry. They are not things of earth. They are the seeds of immortality ripening prematurely here below ; and therefore we should love them. They are the warrant, the proof that we are of God ; that we are born to exercise an irresistible sway over the elements ; that our thrones are building elsewhere ; that in the passion for whatever is spiritual we exhibit instinctively indubitable tokens that spirits we are, and in a spiritual world only can find our home.

It does not belong to this work to attempt a history of Grecian art, which in a certain sense has been already written. My object, if I can accomplish it, is to describe the spirit by which that art was created and sustained, and this I should do triumphantly if love were synonymous with power ; for never, since the fabled artist hung enamoured over the marble he had fashioned, did any man's imagination cleave more earnestly to the spirit that presided over Grecian art,

not the plastic merely but every form of it, from the epic in poetry and sculpture down to the signet ring and the drinking song. But the thing is an ample apology for the enthusiasm. There, if anywhere, we discover the culminating point of human intellect and human genius ; — there

“ The vision and the faculty divine ”

meet us at every step. Even the fragments of her literature and her art are gathered up and treasured in all civilised countries, as if the fate of our race were mystically bound up in them. And so it is: for when we cease to love the beautiful, of which they are the most perfect realisation we know, our own race of glory and greatness will have been run: we shall be close on the verge, nay, within the pale of barbarism.

Socrates used to say, that whatever we know we can explain ; but not so always with what we feel. There is in the ideal of beauty, which formed the vivifying principle of Greek art, a certain subtile and fugitive delicacy, a certain nameless grace, a certain volatile and fleeting essence, which defy definition, and, rejecting the aid of language, persist in presenting themselves naked to the mind. And by the mind only, and only, moreover, by the inspired mind, can they be discerned.

It was in the attempt, however, to chain this spirit, and to imprison it in durable forms, that all the poetry and arts of Greece consisted. They beheld within them a world of loveliness, of living forms which knocked at the golden door of fancy, and demanded their dismissal from the spiritual to the material universe. All their studies were but how to dress these celestial habitants in fitting habiliments to go abroad in ; and their lives were often spent in the throes of creatures big with immortal beauty. It is a privilege to the world to converse with minds of such a nature. It is ennobling to approach them. Their energy, their vivifying power continues ever active, ever operating, and if high art

be ever to flourish and command, not admiration, but love in England, it can only be by kindling here the lamp removed from Greece, but essentially Greek, that is, essentially beautiful.

The proof that religion issued with art from the same womb in Greece, and was not its parent, is supplied by every other country. There is religion elsewhere, while nowhere is there art like that of the Greeks. But religion had nevertheless much to do with the forms in which the creative faculty there developed itself, as it invariably has with whatever is great or beautiful among men. The persuasion arose in them that the inhabitants of Olympus could be represented by material forms, and as they found their own reverence for the divine being represented, augment in proportion to the beauty or grandeur of its image, the conclusion was natural that the deity himself would be pleased by the same rule, so that their piety was their first and most powerful incentive to excellence. They hoped to recommend themselves to the gods, as they did to their countrymen, by the greatness of their workmanship; and veneration from without, and piety from within, united in urging them forward. And this, with the poet equally as with the artist, inflamed the desire to excel.

There are, as has already been observed,¹ three periods in the history of art: 1st. that, in which the necessary is sought; 2ndly, that in which the study of the beautiful is pursued; and 3dly, the period of superfluity and extravagance. But in some countries men appear to pass from the first to the third, without traversing the second. Thus, in Egypt, Persia, Etruria, in Germany, Holland, France, England² the wild, the grotesque, the terrible have been

¹ By Winkelmann, *Hist. de l'Art*, i. 2.

² It is remarked by Winkelmann that Rubens painted the figures of Flemings after many

years' residence in Italy. — i. 60. The Greek grew up from infancy in the presence of the beauty he afterwards represented: his mother, his sisters, his father, and

aimed at, seldom the beautiful. Even in Italy, where in modern times art has taken firmest root and most luxuriantly flourished, the object sought to be attained has lain on a lower level. Among the northern nations the grotesque variously disguised or modified is the spirit of art; among the Italians it is voluptuousness, among the Greeks the beautiful. Hence no Greek statue of the flourishing period of art is indecent.¹ Naked it may be, but like the nakedness of infancy, it is chaste as a mother's love. Our thoughts are instantly carried away by it to the regions of poetry; the soft influence of the ideal descends like dew upon our fancy; we are elevated above the region of the passions to heights where all is sunny and calm and pure. The beautiful is chaste as an icicle, yet warm as love. It breathes in Raffaele's virgins which we regard as some "bright particular star," things to inspire a holy affection, a love not akin to earth. Yet this beauty is not distanced from us by its severity: no! but by its intense innocence, by its unsullied purity, by its inexpressible concentration and mingling up of maternity and girlhood. It was this beauty that Milton sought in his Comus to express, when he represents chastity as its own guard. And this is preëminently the spirit breath-

all around him. What he saw constituted the basis of what he painted or sculptured. In most modern nations the school models of our youth are Greek; but their home models, and which are to them models from the cradle, are of a different style. Hence they are under two sets of influences, the one neutralising the other, and producing that coldness which the mock classical exhibits. This may, perhaps, be one cause of the slow progress of art among us.

¹ Plato, jocularly perhaps, bestows the same praise on Egyp-

tian art, and Muretus seriously adopts his notions: "*Meritoque Ægyptios commendat Plato, apud quos et pictorum et musicorum licentia legibus coerceretur, quod permagni interesse judicarent, ut adolescentes à tenebris annis honestis picturis, et honestis cantibus assuefierent.*" — In *Aristot. Ethic.* p. 249. But perhaps Plato had not looked very narrowly into the sacred sculptures of Egypt which in reality abound with images offensive to decency.

ing through Grecian art. In the Artemis, in the Athena, nay, even in Aphrodite or Leda, or an orgiastic Bacchante, the overruling sense of beauty, after the first flutter of sensation, hurries the imagination far beyond all considerations of sex or passion. The root of all the pleasures we feel, seems to be hidden under the load of three thousand years, not because the things are old, but because they are the material representatives of a period when the foot of the beautiful rested on the earth.

No doubt we come prepared to regard them with eyes coloured, and a fancy haunted by the beauties of Grecian literature. Possibly, it is under the spell of Homeric verse that our eyes grow humid with delight at the aspect of Aphrodite, that we behold divinity in Zeus or Phœbos Apollo; but this only proves that the fragments of Hellenic civilisation throw a light upon each other, and are parts of one great whole. Perhaps, too, no man ever enjoyed the sculpture of Greece as he should, unless conversant with her poetry—the right hand of her art. In this we find the first seeds and increments of those ideas, which were afterwards transplanted and bore fruit in another field. We discover, therefore, but half the subject when we see only the sculpture. It is unknown to us whether the artist has fulfilled the conditions into which he entered, by undertaking to clothe in marble, thoughts already invested with the forms of language. Hence the little sympathy between Hellenic art and the people generally of modern nations. The figures they behold are dumb to them. To a Greek, on the contrary, or to a man with a Greek's soul, a thousand sweet reminiscences, a thousand legends, a thousand dim but cherished associations appear clustering round them. Every time they flash upon him, he lives his youth over again. The briery nook, the dewy lanes, the dim religious forests, the pebbly or wave-fretted shore, where the poetry of Greece first opened its eyes upon him in boyhood, sweep in procession over his

fancy. He starts to see the hamadryad or the faun or the mountain nymph, before him but one remove from life; to him art speaks not merely in an intelligible, but in an impassioned tongue. He comprehends all the mysteries she has to reveal, and loves her because in a land as it were of foreigners they can converse with each other, and speak of the past and the future.

It is scarcely philosophical to regard poetry, sculpture, and painting, as the offspring of pleasure, though pleasure in some sense be as necessary to man as food. Man possesses creative and imitative faculties, and must, at certain stages of society, employ them. The moment his merely animal wants are provided for, he begins to feel that he has others which demand no less imperiously their gratification. First, he desires to clothe with material forms the things he worships, and hence the first-born of art are gods. At the outset, indeed, (and this is a strong argument against their having borrowed their arts from the East,)¹ the Greeks were content with setting up rude stones, as symbols rather than representations of their divinities; then followed the head upon a rude pillar; then, the indications of the sex; next, the round thighs began to swell out of the stone; to these succeeded legs and feet; and, lastly, arms and hands completed the figure. Dædalos, a mythological personage, is supposed to have been the first who carried the art to this point of improvement. His figures were of wood, and already executed with considerable skill, though they would have been despised in the days of Socrates.²

For some ages, perhaps, a stiff, unanimated manner, not unlike the Egyptian, prevailed; but the impulse, once given, went on increasing in strength.

¹ See Winkel. t. i. p. 7.—Polux gives a list of the names under which the representations of the gods were classed.—i. 7.

² Plat. de Repub. t. vi. p. 354.

Cf. Hipp. Maj. t. v. p. 410.—Winkelmann slightly misinterprets the sense of Plato.—Hist. de l'Art, t. i. p. 12.

One improvement imperceptibly followed another. Artists, together with their experience, acquired professional learning, the results of which soon became visible in their productions. Movement and variety of position succeeded. But though knowledge of art was enlarged and strict rules laid down, there still remained a hard, square massiveness in the style, resembling what we find in modern sculpture as improved by Michael Angelo. And this manner became the type of the Æginetan school, which expressed the character of the Doric mind, powerful but rude, harmonious but heavy, wanting in grace, wanting in elegance, and aiming rather at effect than beauty.¹

Numerous causes, however, concurred in ripening the principle of art in Greece,—the climate, the form of government, the happy taste of the people, and, lastly, the high respect which was there paid to artists. Nor is it at all paradoxical to affirm, that moral causes concurred powerfully with physical, in begetting that radiant beauty of countenance which distinguished the nation. The consciousness of freedom and independence produces satisfaction in the mind; the serenity thus originated communicates itself to the features; thence arise harmony and dignity of aspect and mien; these are so many elements of beauty, and such feelings long indulged would operate powerfully on the countenance, and, seconded by the tranquillising influences of external nature, end by creating symmetry and proportion, which, joined with intellect, are beauty. Artists in such a country, besides that they must themselves involuntarily be impressed with a veneration for it, would soon discover the reverence paid to beauty and the value set upon accurate representations of it.

Of the high estimation in which beauty was held innumerable proofs exist in Greek literature. At Ægion in Achaia, the priest of Zeus was chosen

¹ Cf. Winkelmann, t. i. p. 22.

for the splendour of his personal charms, to determine which a sort of contest was instituted. This office he held till his beard began to appear, when the honour passed to the youth then judged to excel¹ in the perfection of his form. So, also, at Tanagra, the youth selected to bear the lamb round the walls in honour of Hermes was supposed to be the first for beauty in the city.² Of the involuntary power of beauty history has recorded various instances. Phrynè, accused of impiety and on the point of being condemned, obtained her acquittal through the hardihood of her advocate, who bared her bosom before the judges. Another example is said to have been afforded by Corinna, sole poetess of Tanagra, who, contending with Pindar for the prize of verse, obtained the victory more by her beauty, (she being the loveliest woman of her time,) and the sweetness of the Æolic dialect in which she wrote, than by the greatness of her genius.³

In another instance heroic honours were paid to a man after death for the beauty of his person.⁴ This happened at Egestum in Sicily, where Philippos, a native of Crotona, obtained this distinction, which Herodotus observes never fell to any other man's lot before.⁵

It was to its artists that Greece delegated, at least in some instances, the privilege of deciding on the rival pretensions of the fair and beautiful. They were permitted to select from the loveliest women of the land models for their female divinities, and at other times made their mistresses the represen-

¹ Paus. vii. 24. 4.

² Id. ix. 22. 1.

³ Id. ix. 22. 3.

⁴ Euripides, speaking of course as a poet, pronounces beauty to be worthy of supreme power. But many ancient nations were seriously of this mind, and chose the finest person among them to be their king: which was the prac-

tice of those Ethiopians called the Immortals.—Athen. xiii. 20. If by Ethiopians be meant the people now known under the name of Nubians, I am sure they had very good reason to encourage beauty, than which there is, at this day, nothing more rare in their country.

⁵ V. 47.

tatives of goddesses. Pains were taken, by filling their apartments with beautiful statues, to impress upon the imagination of pregnant women the perfect forms of gods and heroes, as of Nireus, Narcissos, Hyacinthos, Castor and Polydeukes, Bacchos and Apollo.¹ This was at Sparta. In other parts of the Peloponnesos a species of Olympic contest for the prize of beauty took place, instituted, it is said, by Cypselos, an ancient king of Arcadia. Having founded a city in the plain on the banks of the Alpheios, in which he fixed a colony of Parrhasians, he dedicated a temple and altar, and instituted a festival in honour of Eleusinian Demeter, during which the women of the neighbourhood disputed with each other the prize, and received from some circumstance connected with the contest the name of Chrysophoræ. The first woman who won was Herodice, wife of the founder Cypselos. This institution flourished upwards of fourteen hundred years, having been established in the time of the Heraclidæ, and still existing in the age of Athenæus.²

A similar practice prevailed in the islands of Tenedos and Lesbos, where likewise the ebullitions of vanity were concealed beneath the veil of religion. The exhibition took place in the temple of Hera, to whom, as the goddess of marriage, beauty should be dear. Priapos, however, was in some places supposed to be the deity who awarded the prize of loveliness in the Callisteia, on which account Niconoë, a Bacchante perhaps, dedicated to him her fawn-skin and golden ewer.³ But the ladies were not singular in these displays. For among the Eleians,

¹ Oppian. Cyneget. i. 357. sqq.

² Deipnosoph. xiii. 90. Eustath. ad Il. 7. 282. relates briefly the same facts, concluding with the very words made use of by Athenæus. Palmerius, who, in his remarks on Diogenes Laertius quotes them, immediately adds: "quæ non dubito Eustathium ab

"aliquo auctore antiquo accepisse."—Exercit. in Auct. Græc. p. 448. In which conjecture he was right; and that ancient author was Nicias in his history of Arcadia.

³ Schol. ad Il. 4. 129. Cf. Meura. Gr. Fer. p. 177. Hedyl. in Anth. Gr. vi. 292. Athen. xiii. 90.

who had as favourable an opinion of themselves as Oliver Goldsmith, a similar show took place, and the pretensions of the male candidates were as carefully sifted as if they had been to take academical honours on their figures. And honours in fact they did take. They were presented with a complete suit of armour, which the winner consecrated with extraordinary pomp and rejoicing in the temple of Athena, whither he was led garlanded with fillets by his triumphant friends. According to Myrsilos, he was likewise decorated with a myrtle crown.¹

In some places, not named by historians, a contest was instituted which, though unconnected with the arts, we will intreat the reader's permission to introduce here, for its extraordinary nature. This was a contest in prudence and good housewifery, in which certain barbarian nations followed the example. And, to show that character and mental qualifications were properly esteemed by the Greeks, it is added by Theophrastos² that it is these that render beauty beautiful, and that without them it is apt to degenerate into wantonness. Winkelman, who has noticed several of these facts, is betrayed into some errors. He speaks of an Apollo of Philesia³ at whose festival a prize was bestowed on the youth who excelled in kissing. The contest took place under the inspection of a judge, he supposes, at Megara. Meursius, though under the name of Diocleia he notices the Megarean festival, overlooks the writer who gives the fullest account of it;—I mean the scholiast on Theocritus, who observes that Diocles was an Athenian exile who took refuge at Megara. In a battle in which he was engaged, he fought side by side with a friend, whose life he saved at the expense of

¹ Athen. xiii. 90.

² Ap. Athen. xiii. 90.

³ Lutat. ad Stat. Theb. viii. 178. Cf. Barth. iii. 828. Hist. de l'Art, i. 319. Carlo Fea with a simplicity rare in an Italian,

remarks upon this: "Il est question ici de baise-mains!" The Apollo intended is Apollo Phileasias, whose statue was sculptured in Æginetic marble by Canachos. —Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxiv. 19. 14.

his own. He was interred by the Megareans, who instituted an annual festival in his honour, where the youth who excelled his companions was crowned and led in triumph to the arms of his mother.¹

The exercises, discipline, and moral notions of the Greeks had doubtless much effect on their form; for in the decline of their states, when despotism had succeeded to freedom, and vice to virtue, beauty became exceedingly rare. Cotta, in the *De Naturâ Deorum*, observes that he found few handsome youths at Athens, where in the age of Demosthenes the most beautiful in Greece flourished;² and Dion Chrysostom observes that in his time there were scarcely any that could be so considered.³

If we come now to the other causes which account for the progress of the arts in Greece, we shall find the principal of these to have been the high consideration and esteem⁴ in which artists were held. Riches, no doubt, obtained credit there as elsewhere, but not to the exclusion of other recommendations as in modern Europe, or at least in England. Winkelmann scarcely comprehends the irony of Socrates, however, when he supposes him seriously to mean that artists alone were wise; though, since the sage had himself been a sculptor, he had some reason to think well of them. It is, nevertheless, perfectly true that men of this profession might become legislators or generals, or even behold a statue erected to them beside those of Miltiades and Themistocles, or among the gods themselves.⁵ The historian of art observes with pride that Xenophilos and Straton were permitted at Argos to place their own statues, even in a sitting posture, near those of Asclepios and Hygeia.⁶ Cheirisophos, who sculptured the Apollo at Tegea, dedicated in the same fane a statue of himself in marble, which was

¹ Sch. in Theocrit. xii. 28.

² Æschin. cont. Tim. § 31.

³ Orat. 21. t. 1. p. 500. sqq. Reiske.

⁴ At the same time the earn-

ings. of inferior sculptors were small.—Luc. Somm. § 9.

⁵ Cf. Plut. Thea. § 4.

⁶ Pausan. ii. 23. 4.

erected close to his great work.¹ The figure of Alcámenes occupied a place among the bassi-rilievi on the temple of Demeter at Eleusis. Parrhasios and Silanion shared the reverence paid to their picture of Theseus; and Pheidias affixed his name to his Olympian Zeus, the nearest approach perhaps which the arts have ever made to perfection.²

If the satisfaction of beholding a whole nation, I might say a whole world, smitten with delight and wonder at his performance, would repay an artist for years of toil and study, Pheidias had his reward. And not to the narrow circle of his life was this admiration confined; for six hundred years after his death pilgrims from all parts of the civilised world flocked to Olympia³ to behold his matchless performance; for to die without having partaken of this enjoyment was considered a misfortune. But neither praise, nor encouragement, nor honour, nor gain will suffice to bring the arts to perfection. To ensure this, the nation to which the arts address themselves must comprehend their language. For, if the people be incapable of deciding when an artist has succeeded and when he has failed, it is very certain that he will seldom succeed at all. Men soon find the uselessness of producing what no one around them can appreciate. Even in the matter of virtue and vice, few will soar very high in countries where a low standard of morals prevails generally; and, in the arts, no one will devote himself to the creation of forms which he knows will be dumb to the public eye.

In Greece every condition required to ripen the genius of an artist existed. He knew that his reputation and fortune would depend on the caprice of no particular individual or class of individuals. He perceived among his countrymen at large the knowledge,

¹ Pausan. viii. 53. 8.

² Id. v. 10. Wink. iv. 1. § 12. p. 332.

³ Εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν μὲν ἀποδη-

μεῖτε ἵν' εἰδῇτε τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Φειδίου καὶ ἀτύχημα ἕκαστος ὕμων οἶεται, τὸ ἀνιστόρητον τούτον ἀποθανεῖν. — Arrian. Com. in Epict. l. i. p. 27.

the taste, and the enthusiasm which just decisions in art demand, and laboured fearlessly for them, not doubting that he should obtain the reward his genius merited. There were public exhibitions, as among us, both at Corinth and at Delphi;¹ but, instead of converting them into a sordid traffic, the whole world was invited to behold their performances, and judges were appointed to decide upon the merits of the exhibitors. Instances no doubt there were of artists showing their performances for money: at least the memory of one example has come down to us. Zeuxis of Heraclea, having finished his picture of Helen, opened an exhibition and fixed a certain admission price, by which he cleared a large sum of money; but to mark their disapprobation of such conduct, his contemporaries bestowed on his picture the name of the courtesan.²

In the public exhibitions they appear to have looked solely to merit, and not to have allowed themselves to be dazzled by great names; for when Panænos, brother of Pheidias, entered the lists, neither his own reputation, nor that of the illustrious sculptor, could obtain for him the preference over Timagoras, who was allowed to have excelled. A like spirit prevailed among the judges of Olympia, whither artists sometimes brought their pictures during the games to delight assembled nations, and reap a harvest of joy and glory in a day. Thus when Ætion appeared with his "Marriage of Alexander and Roxana," before the Hellanodicos Proxenides,³ he not only obtained the credit due to his genius, but that magistrate, more emphatically to express his admiration, bestowed on him the hand of his daughter. And Lucian, who had seen the picture in Italy, has left a description of it which justifies the enthusiasm of Proxenides.

I have already in a former chapter accounted in some measure for the diffusion of a correct taste among

¹ Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxv. 35.

131. p. 1189. and Val. Max.

² Ælian, Var. Hist. iv. 12. iii. 7.

Cf. Meurs. ad Lycoph. Cassand.

³ Lucian. Herod. § 4.

the great body of the people. It formed with them an indispensable branch of study. The arts of design were cultivated by the philosopher, the politician, in short, by every one who claimed to be considered a gentleman.¹ Nay, gentlewomen also enjoyed these advantages, and instances are recorded of their arriving at professional excellence and celebrity; for example, Timarete,² daughter of the younger Micon, an Athenian, and Helen an Alexandrian Greek, who painted the "Battle of the Issos," afterwards consecrated in the temple of Peace.³ It was in the nature of things, that artists moving in such a moral atmosphere should partake largely of the national grandeur of sentiment, and look rather to the perpetuation of their name than to any sordid considerations of gain, above which they were elevated by the form which the national gratitude assumed. For we may be sure that what is related of the great historian of Halicarnassos was, to a certain extent, true of great artists. Men pointed at him, we are told, as he moved through the public assemblies, exclaiming, "That is he! That is the man "who has celebrated our victories over the Barbarians!"

Winkelman, who understood human nature no less than the arts, enumerates similar facts among the causes why art flourished in Greece;⁴ and though sometimes mistaken, as in so large a work was to be expected, his reasoning generally, and his illustrations, deserve that every lover of art should be familiar with his writings.

This distinguished historian, however, is not sufficiently guarded in his expressions, when he contends that the productions of art were consecrated solely to the deity or to public utility; for, though they were principally directed to these ends, many individuals possessed collections in their houses,⁵ which were by no means the humble dwellings he supposes. How-

¹ Diog. Laert. iii. 5.—Aristot. Pol. viii. 3.

² Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxv. 35.

³ Phot. Bib. p. 149.

⁴ Hist. de l' Art, l. iv. c. 1. § 13.

⁵ Galen, Protrept. § 8. t. i. p. 19.

ever the public constituted the great patron of art, and uniting in itself natural aptitude, acquired knowledge, and an inherent leaning towards grandeur, communicated to those who laboured to gratify it corresponding taste and elevation. In many cases the whole population of a city identified its own glory with that of some celebrated picture or statue within its walls. Olympia, though peopled by works of art of surpassing excellence, still looked upon the Pheidian Zeus¹ as the apex of its glory; and even Athens, where probably more objects of art were crowded together than in any other city of the world, the colossal statue of Athena stood preëminently the ornament of the Acropolis. In one respect we have begun to imitate the Greeks, who often erected by general subscription the statue of a divinity, or of some Athletæ victorious in the sacred games. Some minor cities are solely remembered for the works of art they contained: for example, that of Aliphera which owed its celebrity entirely to its statue of Athena in bronze, the work of Hecatodoros and Sostratos.²

Winkelmann supposes that both sculpture and painting arrived earlier at a certain degree of perfection than architecture, and, assuming the fact, proceeds philosophically to account for it. But his theory itself, on this point, appears to be erroneous. In Egypt, at least, where the mind would necessarily be guided by the same laws as in Greece, it is certain that while sculpture and painting never escaped from the swaddling bands of infancy, architecture advanced to a very high degree of perfection. The force of necessity, which leads to the creation of architecture, communicates a far more lasting impulse than the instinct of imitation. Men must everywhere build to protect themselves from the fury of the elements; and the first step thus made, and leisure supervening, that sense of

¹ On the interior of this statue inhabited by rats and mice. See Luc. Som. seu. Gall. § 24.

² Polyb. iv. 340. d. Winkel. iv.

1. 15. The Eros of Thespiæ, also, and the Aphrodite of Cnidos, were famous. Luc. Amor. § 11. seq.

proportion and symmetry and arrangement, which is almost an instinct, would soon lead to the contemplation of the ideal and the creation of architecture as an art. Sculpture sprang later into existence, and still later painting; but like the children of one family,—of whom some are older, others younger,—all the arts flourish nearly together, and nearly together decay. Nevertheless we may subdivide this period into minuter cycles, when we shall find that architecture and sculpture reached almost like twins their acme together, while, like a younger sister, painting attained its greatest beauty when the former two had fallen something from their perfection. Thus, the Zeus of Pheidias and the Hera of Polycletos, two of the most celebrated statues of antiquity, already existed, while Hellenic painting exhibited no knowledge of chiaro-scuro and was wholly destitute of harmony.

Apollodoros and after him Zeuxis, master and disciple,¹ who flourished about the ninetieth Olympiad, were the first who rendered themselves remarkable for a knowledge of light and shade.² But, arrived at this pitch, the beauty of the art began to be felt, picture galleries were commenced in various temples,³ and, a new world of forms and colours disclosing itself to the imagination, the versatile Greeks transferred to it a large share of the admiration hitherto monopolised by sculpture. Painting, in fact, speaks a more popular language. It tells a story, while sculpture can but embody a thought or fix an incident. Its accessories realise events more completely. The Apollo, in sculpture, has bent his bow and discharged his

¹ Winkel. iv. 1. 16.

² Quintil. xii. 10. Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxv. 36.

³ In the Stoa of Dionysos, at Rhodes, there was a picture gallery filled with historical and mythic pieces.—Luc. Amor. § 8. Similar exhibitions appear to have existed at Cnidos, in the portico of Sostratos.—§ 11. Works of art, sacred to the gods, were like-

wise treasured up at home.—§ 16.

In some temples, we learn, even pictures of immoral tendency, by Parrhasios and others, were admitted. — Lobeck Aglaopham. p. 606. Aristotle takes from this circumstance occasion to sneer at the religion of paganism which patronised such excesses.—Polit. vii. 15. p. 255. Gœttl.

arrow—the remainder of the action the imagination must shape for itself. Painting gives us the whole scene teeming with life,—the writhing dragon, the rocks, the woods, the mountain, the sky, with all the illusions spread before the eye by many-coloured light. Sculpture furnishes the nucleus of glorious associations, but 'tis we that must group them into sublime beauty. It asks more knowledge, more fancy, more in short of every element of genius in its admirers than does painting. Hence the latter will always number, and justly, more partisans. In most persons a preference for sculpture would be mere affectation. It cannot equally please the many.

However, in proportion as the public became more enlightened, and, to justify its admiration and enthusiasm, imposed harder conditions on artists, the latter enlarged the circle of their studies, which gradually expanded until it embraced a certain portion of metaphysics, the science of form and colours, with that art of grouping and arrangement which constitutes a species of narrative in painting. A complete exposition of their studies would be the best manual which could be put into the hands of contemporary artists, and at the same time would furnish the best explanation of their seemingly inexplicable superiority. But such an exposition would be out of place here. My object is simply to hint at what may be done, not to attempt it myself; and to show, that if the Greek nation afforded encouragement to its artists, it was because those artists met their countrymen more than half way, and laboured to deserve encouragement.

There existed in Greece a philosophy of art, that is, a perfect theory of what its object is, and of all the means by which that object may be accomplished. Now the object of art is delight, a delight which aggrandises and ennobles the mind, and such delight is only to be obtained through the contemplation of the beautiful. This conviction established, the studies of the Greek artist were di-

rected to the discovery of the elements of the beautiful, not such as it exists in the original types of the intellectual world (which he abandoned to the philosopher), but such as we find it in material developments of the ideal, and chiefly in the forms of our own species.

Their researches, conducted in a philosophical spirit, by degrees taught them that perfect beauty, like perfect happiness, consists in absolute serenity and repose. Thus, the heavens are beautiful when in the noon of a summer's day their blue depths are unstained by a cloud, and not a breath is heard among the trees. Thus, the ocean is beautiful when the most perfect calm broods upon it, and has smoothed down every ripple and converted it into a mirror for reflecting the cerulean purity of the sky. And this is what the poets signify when they represent Aphrodite, the very soul of beauty and of love, springing up from the level and glittering surface of such a sea. In the same state the human countenance is most beautiful, when every feature in the most perfect equilibrium breathes of calm, joy, and serenity, and by the force of sympathy converts all who approach it into so many mirrors reflecting its absolute bliss. This is the secret of that beauty which exists in Grecian sculpture.

It was a maxim of Greek philosophy, that the magnanimous man is seldom, under any circumstances, disturbed. In action, therefore, he would exhibit the same tranquil countenance as when at rest. Thus, Socrates at Potidæa, at Delion, in the Prison of the Eleven about to quaff the hemlock, would in looks be much the same. And this self-command, observable in one great man, art attributed generally to the gods and heroes, who, in whatever actions they might be engaged, would still retain a self-possessed and serene aspect. Hence, even the battle-pieces of the Greeks are beautiful. Men fight and die, but under the guidance of duty. We behold none of those demoniacal passions, nothing

of that animal ferocity, or of that succumbing to pain which convert so many modern pictures into slaughter-house representations. We feel that the actors contemplated death only as the distributor of imperishable glory, — that imagination had coloured everything around them with its rainbow tints,—that by anticipation they enjoyed the panegyric which would be pronounced over them in the hearing of all they loved, — the monument which would be raised over their ashes,—the deathless reward which would be bestowed on their patriotism and valour in the historic page. To men, so feeling and so thinking, where was the sting of death? They could compress eternity into a moment, and grasp all future time, and live through it by the irresistible force of imagination.

To be able to represent such forms and features, it was necessary to study simultaneously the conceptions of the poets, and the progressive development of the human figure from infancy to age. From this study resulted a body of experience, the fruit of innumerable comparisons, out of which sprang that gradually corrected and improved and elevated conception of the human figure which is denominated *the ideal*. Instances, isolated from the great body of artistic study, have crept into ordinary books, and been thereby invested with an air of vulgarity. But this will not hinder the philosopher or the artist from including them in his scheme of study and converting them into germs of utility. In this part of their progress religion stepped in to the aid of the artist. The several goddesses represented each a style of women of whom they might be considered the original type. Aphrodite, for example, represented the impassioned and tender,¹ naturally para-

¹ An ancient author has the following expression: οὐκοῦν τὸ θῆλυ, καὶ λίθινον ἦ, φιλεῖται· τί δ' εἰ τις ἐμψυχον εἶδε τοιοῦτον κάλλος;—Luc. Amor. § 17.

Something very like which is found in Byron:

“ There, too, the Goddess *loves in*
stone, and fills
The air around with beauty.”

sites of man and too often frail; Hera, the chaste matron, dignified, authoritative, energetic, but inclined to violence and self-will; Artemis, reserved, modest, retiring, like a nun, was the prototype of unspotted maidenhood, revered for its own purity; Athena, perfect in intellect as in form, uniting the loveliness of Aphrodite, the majesty of Hera, the delicacy and chastity of Artemis with the wisdom of Zeus, constituted properly the ideal of womanhood, loftier than Eve before the fall and such as it can exist only in the imagination.

In search, however, of female forms to represent these ideal originals artists travelled through the whole of Greece, gathering up as they went those fragments of beauty which, when united, were to approach perfection. They resembled Isis in search of the limbs of Osiris. Sometimes, as at Crotona and Agrigentum, parents did not scruple to expose their daughters naked to their eyes, that from them they might fashion that loveliness which was to represent to their senses the divine being they worshiped. But this excess of superstition was rare. In general the Hetairæ, their mistresses and companions, served for the models after which the soft divinities of Greece were moulded:

“ If Queensberry to strip there 's no compelling,
'Tis from a handmaid we must take a Helen.”

Thus Phryne, idealised by art, became Aphrodite, Anadyomene in the hands of Apelles, or Aphrodite of Cnidos in those of Praxiteles.

Childhood obtained its representative in Eros the god of love. Thus, from infancy upwards, even to old age, the human form in all its phases became the object of study to the Greek artist, not to be servilely copied, but to be idealised, to be clothed with poetry, to be divested of everything mean, gross, unspiritual, and embalmed in eternal beauty. And their success is proved by this, that, even with their works before them, modern artists have never

been able satisfactorily to imitate their excellences. Of this Winkelmann¹ mentions some examples which have not come under my own notice. "Although "the best modern artists," he says, "have striven to "imitate exactly the celebrated Medusa of the Stroz-
"zi cabinet at Rome, which, nevertheless, is not a "countenance of the highest beauty, an experienced "antiquary will always be able to distinguish the "original from the copy." The same thing is true, he says, with respect to the Pallas of Aspasio, engraved by Natter and others. But this is perfectly intelligible. The original artist, working after his own ideas and comprehending thoroughly his own object, would impart to his creations a flexibility, a grace, a freedom, not to be reached by one whose type existed out of his own mind. For even in literature it is thus—language, malleable, expansive, obedient to control in the hands of the original writer, who breathes into it his own ideas and requires it only to drape them, becomes a stiff unmanageable mass with the imitator like a corpse put in motion by galvanism.

To be conversant with the arts of Greece, is to move among a race of gods endued with eternal youth. In the goddesses the small neck, the undeveloped bosom convey the idea of virgin innocence. The nipple shrinking inward retreats from the eye. Over the visage a radiance indescribable appears to play; the form, whether draped or undraped, suggests the idea of divine unfleeting existence—of the poetry of life and love—such as youth dreams of in its purest aspirations. For the gods our feelings are in a slight degree different. Zeus, invested with the majesty of Olympos, in the fulness of manhood, powerful, beautiful, sublime, awakens in us a mingling of reverence and love, as towards a father. Apollo towers like an elder brother above our heads. Hades, Poseidon, Ares are powers whom

¹ Hist. de l'Art, iv. 2. 23.

we do not love. Mighty they were, but strangers whom our sympathies do not cling to. But Dionysos, with his vine garland and beautiful face of friendship, with Eros and Heracles and the heroic twins and Hephæstos and Seilenos, and the Fauns, with every haunter of grove, or spring, or mountain seem familiar all and formed to inspire and repay affection. They are spirits of joy every one of them. They have lived from boyhood in our dreams, they have constituted one principal link in binding us to the past, one principal argument in favour of Grecian genius: and who can do otherwise than love them? Nay, in some measure, when we consider their manifold escapes from time and barbarism, they appear to us as Othello to Desdemona—we “love *them* for the dangers they have passed,”—and it asks no faith in miracles to persuade us that they “love *us* that we do pity them.”

Winkelman, who on so many questions connected with art has put forward opinions highly just and philosophical, appears to have fallen short of his wonted acumen in the theory he had formed of the beauty of the goddesses. His language in fact descends to puerility where he says:—“Since on the “subject of female beauty there are few observations to be made, it may be concluded that the “study of it is less complicated and far easier for “the artist. Nature itself appears to experience “less difficulty in the formation of women than of “men, *if it be true* that there are born fewer boys “than girls.”¹ Since the direct contrary is true, this imaginary difficulty of Nature (not to hazard a more sacred word) may be dismissed with contempt; but the remark by which it is ushered in requires to be confuted. Artists are well aware, and Winkelman himself admits, that the beau ideal of heroic beauty (that for example of Achilles or of Theseus) is merely the blending of feminine loveliness

¹ Hist. de l'Art, iv. 2. 67.

with masculine power, so as to leave it undetermined, from the countenance, to which sex it belongs. And still the beauty of the Grecian youth, where they are beautiful, consists in a near approach to that of the female, so near indeed that they might be easily mistaken for women. If, therefore, the beauty of men when highest and most perfect, consists chiefly in what it borrows from that of woman, the latter necessarily constitutes the apex of human beauty; and the artist whom this conviction guides in his creations, will be the first to rival the great masters of antiquity. Another observation which it is strange to find in the Historian of Art, is that artists draped their female figures because of the little difficulty there is in imitating the naked form. But was it the extreme facility of representing paternal grief that led Timanthes to veil the face of his Agamemnon? In draping their goddesses and heroines, artists were guided by other reasons, of which the principal was their desire to conform to the ideas of the poets and to popular belief.

CHAPTER X.

HELLENIC LITERATURE.

FROM the arts the transition is natural to the literature¹ of Greece, which in the historical period necessarily constituted the principal agent in ripening and stamping their peculiar character upon the fruits of education among the people. Literature is in fact the school-mistress of nations. In it so long as it remains entire, we may contemplate the whole character, intellectual and moral, of the race out of whose passions, yearnings, tastes, and energies it may be said to be fashioned. And this, true of all literature, is especially applicable to that of Greece, which more than any other bears the impress of nationality. Every idea, every image, every maxim, every reflection seems to emanate from one source. Nothing is foreign. Neither the inspiration, nor the spirit which regulated it and moulded it into beauty, borrowed a single impulse from anything existing beyond the circle of Hellenic thought. Greece supplied at once the matrix and the materials, the active power and that delicate sense of beauty and perfection which presided over its organisation and rendered it the delight of mankind.

In characterising this literature many singular notions have been broached. We have been told that

¹ Speaking of the influence of literature on education Plato remarks, that persons accustomed from their infancy to the loftier and purer inspirations of the muse will regard with contempt every-

thing mean or illiberal; whereas they who have always been familiar with low and vulgar compositions will look upon all other literature as tame and insipid. —De Legg. vii. t. viii. p. 30.

its spirit is exclusively masculine, which means, of course, that while it abounds with strength and energy, with sublimity of speculation and impassioned and impetuous impulses, it is wanting in that sweetness, delicacy, grace, and tenderness which confer on the intellectual offspring of some modern nations a feminine aspect. Grecian literature, however, is neither masculine nor feminine, but androgynous like the son of Aphrodite and Hermes. There is no excellence of thought or language, of which, even in its present fragmentary state, it does not offer us some example. There is a predominance, doubtless, of stern grandeur and colossal elevation of thought; but, beside these, we discover frequently modifications of light and airy beauty, infantine purity of sentiment, ease, grace, felicitous negligence, and a dreamy luxury of speculation not to be outdone by the most subtle and fanciful literature existing. If there be a deficiency of any thing, it is of spirituality. The imagination of the Greeks confined itself too rigidly perhaps to this "bank and shoal of time." Not being able to lift the veil which curtains the realms beyond the grave, it busied itself too little about those things with which the disembodied soul must converse for ever. In most Greek writers there is a visible reluctance to walk amid the forms of Hades. Their fancy will not be conducted beyond the limits of the visible universe, but shudders, rears and reverts its eyes towards the light where alone it finds firm footing for speculation. But on the other hand if it refuse to quit this earthly scene of existence, how glorious is the flood of sunshine and splendour which it pours over it! It is in these walks of literature that we discover truly the freshness and the loveliness of morning. The very clouds that hover over the landscape only add to its majesty, by diversifying the prospect and introducing those shadows and contrasts which the mind delights everywhere to discover.

Poets,¹ it is constantly repeated, commence in every country the mental movement which evolves civilisation out of the chaos of barbarism; but it remains a mystery how and by what they themselves are moved. There may possibly be something more than a figure of speech in the old affirmation that they were inspired of heaven. Their imagination towered to so great a height that it was kindled by the lamps of the firmament, and may be regarded as that fabled Prometheus who applied the flame of science to the human clay. I do not therefore see what objection can be urged against our maintaining the old doctrine that poets partook and partake still, when their minds are pure, of a divine impulse—that to the infant nations of the earth they were teachers commissioned from on high.

The condition of the mind in those early ages when poets were the only oracles, it is difficult for men surfeited with the luxuries of a prolific literature to comprehend. Among the Arabs of the desert we may still perhaps discover something similar. Deprived of books, but enjoying much leisure, they eagerly treasure up in their memories the moral distich, the apologue, the tale which instructs while it delights, and thus mentally furnished with a few weapons they are often wiser in deliberation, more persuasive in discourse, more ready in action than persons of education in civilised countries, whose intellectual armoury is so full that in the moment of danger they know not what weapon to choose. Poets, among such a race and under such circumstances, feel that they have a high mission to fulfil; their endeavours are not by polished rhythmical trifles to amuse a few rich and noble persons, but to clothe in befitting language and marry to immortal verse those

¹ Cf. Lil. Gyr. Opp. t. ii. p. 2. “Nihil traditum videbis in
“ religionibus et mysteriis, nihil in
“ theologiâ et philosophiâ aliisque
“ bonis artibus à principio fuisse

“ sine poeticâ, ita ut hoc verè me
“ tibi dicturum existimem, ex
“ omnibus disciplinis unam hanc
“ divinam extitisse, quasi totius
“ vitæ magistram.”

great central truths, upon which the whole system of the future world of civilisation must revolve. We find them always curiously adapting their revelations to the times. First, the great fundamental truths of religion, the basis of the social structure, are infused into the public mind. Next the rudiments of politics and legislation, the precepts of agriculture, the leading rules of the useful arts, the observances of civil life, and the first faint whispers of the passions and affections are treasured up in their lays. Then, growing bolder by degrees, they aim at subduing the whole empire of knowledge, and impetuously, with numerous charms and allurements, hurry mankind forward in a sort of orgiastic rapture to the very threshold of philosophy.

Among the earliest names in the literary traditions of Hellas are those of Olen, Pamphos, Musæos and Orpheus,¹ who, for their wisdom, are said to be sprung from the gods. They were sacred bards, whose genius obtained for them an ascendancy over the minds of their countrymen. Yet all they attempted, perhaps, was to teach the doctrine of prayer, thanksgiving, sacrifice, which, being afterwards misunderstood, caused them to be confounded with those impostors and incantation-mongers, who, in more recent times, granted absolutions and sold indulgences both to individuals and states, with a hardihood worthy of Giovanni di Medici. Musæos, older probably than Orpheus, though sometimes regarded as his disciple, is said by certain traditions to have been a teacher of ethics, who delivered a body of moral precepts in four thousand verses. His country is unknown,—for he is now represented as an Athenian, now as a Thracian,—but his name and the name of Orpheus and Eumolpos are associated with the expiations, orgies, mysteries, celebrated during many

¹ Plato de Repub. t. ii. p. 113. Bek. Athen. i. 24. Paus. ix. seq. Stallb.—De Legg. t. vii. p. 243. 27. 3. Diog. Laert. Proem. iv. 5.

ages in honour of Demeter and Dionysos.¹ We must rest content, however, with very imperfect notions of what they were, for, in looking back at these great men, whom we behold on the edge of the horizon, enlarged like the sun at its setting by misty exhalations, but by the same means rendered dim and obscure, we can form no just idea of their character.

These, however, and such as these, were the men who fabricated the first link in that chain of thought and beauty, which, stretching over the gulf of time and fastened to the skies, still holds up the nations of the earth from sinking into barbarism. Literature is degraded when contemplated as an art or as an amusement. It is a paradise, into which the best fruits of the soul, when arrived at their greatest maturity and beauty, are transplanted to bloom in immortal freshness and fragrance. It is the garner wherein the seeds of religion, virtue, morals, national greatness and individual happiness are preserved for the use of humanity. It is a gallery, where the likenesses of all the great and noble souls who have shed light and glory on the earth, are treasured up as the heirloom and palladium of the human race. It is impossible, therefore, for any but the most sordid minds to look back towards the venerable fathers of literature without a deep thrill of filial reverence and love, conjoined with the generous impulse and yearning desire to enlarge and add fresh brightness to the halo which encircles their names. They were not, what since too many have been, the instruments and panders to the pleasures of worldlings. Conscious of the holy mission wherewith, according to their creed, the father of gods and men had intrusted them, they stood forward as the apostles of truth, encircled by the majesty which a sense of divine inspiration must impart. They felt a harmony within

¹ Muret. in Plat. Rep. p. 699. seq. Cf. Lil. Gyrakl. ii. 5. Wolf. Proleg. in Homer. p. 51.

their souls which, in manifesting itself, sought the aid of harmonious language; and hence the precepts of wisdom, distilling from their lips like honey from the honeycomb, moulded themselves naturally into verse, at whose sound the fountains of the great deep of knowledge were broken up, and the windows of heaven opened, and a deluge of philosophy and science and intellectual delight poured forth upon the amazed world.

In what age or province of Greece arose the first minister of this poetical revelation, it is not now possible to decide. The art of writing, however, which the Egyptian king regarded as the enemy of memory, had not passed the *Ægæan*. The songs men heard were wafted on the wings of music from tongue to tongue, and, by degrees, the professors of this marvellous art, by which the wisdom and the glory of the past were embalmed in the sweets of verse, embodied themselves into a distinct order called *Aoidoi* or Singers.¹ The life of these men in the remote ages of antiquity is little known to us. Wanderers, however, for the most part they were, in some respects not unlike the *Jongleurs* and *Troubadours* of the middle ages, though occupying a higher station and guided by a higher aim. Their first and ostensible object was, doubtless, to delight; but it is of great importance to inspire men with a delight in lofty and ennobling conceptions, — to withdraw them for a moment from pursuits sordid or brutalising or unmanly, to the contemplation of heroic acts, — of honour, of patriotism, of friendship, — of the great and solid advantages accruing from peace and commerce, and the experience of travel and adversity.

What were the rewards they obtained it is easy to conjecture. They consisted, principally, in the rays of joy reflected back upon them by a thousand happy countenances at once. Gain they neither would nor could regard. He who renders multitudes wise and

¹ Cf. Wolf. *Proleg.* in *Hom.* p. 73. 93. sqq.

happy must be happy and wise himself; and wisdom scorns to measure its gifts against gold. The truly wise and great man, therefore, if fortune have originally befriended him, will shower his benefactions, as God his rain, liberally and without distinction upon all; and if necessity compel him to receive some return, his moderation will content itself with the least possible amount. Embraced within the circle of refinement which they themselves had created, however, they gradually became secularised, though we must be careful to distinguish them from their successors of a later age. The prodigious admiration which they and their songs excited may be learned from those passages in Homer where Phemios and Demodocos are introduced, and from that animated dialogue of Plato, in which the rhapsodist Ion describes his office and his audience. It has been justly remarked, that if this man, a mere actor, could hurry into whatever channel he pleased the affections of a whole theatre, melt them into tears, fire them with indignation, or clothe their countenances with the smiles of joy, much more would the poets themselves work upon their passions by an art far nearer nature.

Care must, no doubt, be taken not to confound the Rhapsodists with the Aoidoi who preceded them, though it be certain that the manners and condition of the later race may serve to throw considerable light on those of the earlier. Both have recently much occupied the attention of the learned; and Wolff in particular deserves credit for his defence of the Rhapsodists, into which, however, he was chiefly led by the requirements of his celebrated theory. They were certainly, at first, a remarkable order of men, whom it would be injurious to confound with their frivolous representatives in the age of Plato and Xenophon. Nevertheless, the above distinguished scholar is perhaps inclined to exaggerate their merits, since to them, in his opinion, we owe it that the great Homeric poems have come down to us. But this is taking for granted the matter in dispute between him and his

opponents, who maintain that the author of the Iliad and Odyssey possessed both the knowledge and the materials for writing. He, with reason however, assumes that both theatrical and oratorical action found a way opened for them by the rhapsodic art, though its professors were neither actors nor orators, but men exercising an office connected with a peculiar state of society, and no longer existing in modern times.

It has often been supposed, grounding the opinion on a false interpretation of the word *rhapsodist*, that the members of this fraternity were mere compilers or patchers up of poems from fragments pilfered out of various authors. And, to augment the absurdity, the practice of a recent age has been attributed to remote antiquity, when, as some imagine, the great rhapsodists like a modern lecturer, carried about with them pictures of the subject they were upon, and pointed out to the audience with a stick¹ the various characters or incidents they might be describing. Another error much insisted on by Wolff, is the supposition that the Homeric poems alone were chanted by the older Rhapsodists, which no doubt is contrary to the testimony of antiquity and to common sense. For, as might naturally be concluded, not only the songs of Hesiod² and the whole epic race were thus publicly sung, but those likewise of the lyric and iambic poets, and the very laws of the state when the legislator happened to have composed them in verse. It must nevertheless be remarked, (though of this Wolff takes no notice,) that so much did recitations of Homer's works predominate over all others, that Rhapsodists and Homerists were often regarded as synonymous

¹ Anim. ad Athen. xii. p. 371. Cf. Suid. v. 'Ραψῳδοί. t. ii. p. 678. Etym. Mag. 703. 32. Aristoph. Concionat. 674.

² 'Ραψῳδὸν δὲ, καλῶς 'Ιλιάδα καὶ 'Οδυσσεΐαν ἢ τι τῶν 'Ησωδείων διατιθέντα, τάχ' ἂν ἡμεῖς οἱ γέροντες ἡδίστα ἀκούσαντες νυκτὶν

ἂν φαῖμεν πάμπολο.—Plat. de Legg. ii. t. vii. p. 243. Bekk. Again: "Ἀμα δὲ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι ἔν τε ἄλλοις ποιηταῖς διατρίβειν πολλοῖς κῆρυθοῖς καὶ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἐν 'Ομήρῳ, κ. τ. λ. Ion. Plat. Opp. t. ii. p. 172.

terms;¹ and even in later ages, when at any rate the art of writing was not unknown, Demetrius Phalereus introduced upon the stage a class of reciters, who, down to the days of Athenæus, enjoyed the name of Homerists. Still, as I have observed above, the works of other good poets were at times recited, as Hesiod, Archilochos, Mimnermos, and Phocylides. Nay, the Rhapsodist Mnasion, as Lysanias relates, used to recite the Iambics of Simonides; Cleomenes, the Purifications of Empedocles, and Hegesius the comedian, the Histories of Herodotus; that is, some portions of them I presume. Certain authors delivered their own productions in this way,² as Xenophanes, who composed both epics, elegies and iambics.³

It has with reason been observed that although the name of the rhapsodic art would seem to have been invented posterior to Homer, the thing itself existed long before, and was held in greater honour than at any subsequent period. In fact, the poets of those times were themselves Rhapsodists, and for many ages the only ones, if it be true that Hesiod⁴ was the first who reduced the chanting of other men's poems into an art. Afterwards, from the age of Terpander the Lesbian (Olymp. 34) down to Cynæthos of Chios (Olymp. 69) supposed to have been the author of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, and a man of distinguished genius, the Rhapsodists sometimes chanted the poems of others, sometimes their own, and occasionally perhaps interpolated new verses into the golden relics of the past, as our modern actors often foist their one-legged jokes into the stage text of Shakespeare. There appears, however, to be no foundation for the notion, that nearly every one of these chanters was likewise a clever poet, which no ancient writer, I believe, asserts, and which the assertions of fifty would not render

¹ Ὅτι δ' ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ ῥαψῳδοὶ καὶ Ὀμηριστὰι Ἀριστοκλῆς εἰρηκε, κ. τ. λ. — Athen. xiv. 12.

² Athen. xiv. 12.

³ Diog. Laert. ix. 18.

⁴ Ῥαψωδῆσαι φησὶ πρῶτον τὸν Ἡσιοδὸν Νικοκλῆς. — Schol. Pind. Nem. ii. 1. Cf. Dissen. ad loc. Wolf. Proleg. p. 96. sqq.

credible, though the probability is, that of those numerous rhapsodists some were themselves poets, and others desirous, without the genius, of being thought such; so that it is quite as likely that their vanity frequently laid claim to the works of others, where detection could be escaped, as that others were suffered to rob them of their just fame.

They who contend for the flourishing of the system of castes in Greece, would probably maintain that the Rhapsodists constituted from the first *a clan*, as the Homeridæ are said to have been in Chios.¹ Among the few arts which commanded the undivided time and study of numerous professors in those ages, that of the Aoidos or Poet, was certainly one, and that, too, the most honoured and revered. Doubtless their characters were pure and noble, to overcome the envy which superior abilities usually inspire. For whether at home or abroad, in their native cities no less than in the public assemblies, and at the festive boards of kings, they were regarded as dear to gods and venerable to men. The Rhapsodists likewise enjoyed the same estimation and led the same kind of life until other studies and other manners, with that most debasing of all passions, the love of gain, brought contempt on their profession and pursuits.²

In the Homeric poems themselves we discover abundant proofs of the high honour in which the professors of the poetical art were held by their countrymen. They fulfilled in Greece³ the office performed among the Hebrews by the Schools of the Prophets,⁴ or the solitary possessors of the vaticinatory power who revealed to their countrymen the will of heaven, and taught by what practices it might be propitiated. Some institution of this kind probably existed, as I have already observed, from the very dawn

¹ Schol. Pind. Nem. ii. 1.

Etym. Mag. 623. 50.

² Payne Knight, Proleg. in Hom. § 13. 28.

³ Athen. i. 16.

⁴ Cf. Sigon. de Rep. Hebræorum v. 9. Godwin, Moses et Aaron, i. 6.

of civilisation which it principally created. Most princes, like Agamemnon, Alcinoüs and Odysseus, retained in their palaces a man at once their chaplain and their laureate, who, when guests foreign or domestic assembled at their board, might administer instruction and delight, by chanting the praises of the gods, the exploits or greatness of their ancestors, or even by delivering precepts in morals or the useful arts. To a poet, also, as to the holiest of guardians, kings entrusted the care of their wives and families,¹ when departing on distant expeditions; and so great was the veneration paid to their character, that we find Clytemnæstra banishing the poet before she dares to become the paramour of Ægisthos.

But those men of great original genius whose fame spread rapidly, and who probably found superior enjoyment in the independence of a wandering life, not content with the patronage of a single prince, or the admiration of a single people, moved perpetually from land to land, enhancing at once their glory and experience. We in fact discover in Homer, Pindar, and other original poets proofs that the flowers from which they collected the honey of their melodies grew not all on one spot. Odysseus was a type of the bard who sang his adventures, and looking still further back we find the Thracian Thamyris, whom the Muses were said to have punished for his vanity, penetrating into the obscurest parts of Peloponnesos,

¹ But the *δόμων προφῆται* in Æschylus (Agam. 377 Klausen,) were household prophets, who not only disclosed the secrets of the future and interpreted dreams, but acted also the part of counselors in present emergencies, and treasured up the records of the past. Apollo is called the Prophet of Zeus, because he receives oracles from him.—Eum. 19. 618. So Amphiaraos is denominated a great prophet.—Sept. c. Theb. 611.

See the comment of Klausen, Agam. p. 143. seq.—Notice of the household interpreters of dreams *δόμων ὀνειρόμαντες* and again *κριταὶ τῶν ὀνειράτων* (Choep. 36. 39), is found in several parts of Æschylus, who loved to furnish traits of these old superstitions. In the Persians we find Atossa speaking of the *τῶν ἐνυπνίων κριτῆς* (226) as a person of supernatural powers.

protected by the sanctity of his character and the reverence due to his profession.¹

With respect to Homer, both ancient tradition and the form and spirit of his poems, require us to consider him in this light, though there is no ground for supposing him with Payne Knight to have celebrated the different heroes of Greece for the purpose of ingratiating himself with their descendants.

Those writers who imagine the works of Homer to have been composed fortuitously by a club of poets, all actuated by a blind instinct to produce a number of parts which, when completed, should fit as well together as the several members of a statue, are necessarily desirous to establish two points: first, that the Aoidoi recited their works from memory, and that because, secondly, the art of writing was unknown. By far too much ingenuity has already been expended on this question to allow it to be any longer tempting from its novelty. Wolff and Heyne have obtained all the credit they sought by their visionary hypothesis, and the echoes of their scepticism are not yet silenced in the academies and universities. The argument, derived from the practice of the Rhapsodists, of repeating from memory, is attended by two inconveniences: first, it cannot be shown that the order arose before the art of writing was common; second, these recitations were equally made from memory, not only in the age of Pericles, but down to the latest period of their flourishing. It may, therefore, without the slightest risk to the argument, be granted the academic sceptics that the Rhapsodists recited from memory, even when we know with certainty that they learned the poems from written copies.

To render more credible the notion that the art of writing in the age of Homer was not yet known, great stress is laid on the powers of memory in certain individuals, though from these nothing can

¹ Iliad β. 590. sqq. Payne Knight, Proleg. § 74.

in reality be inferred, except, that when necessary, men can certainly remember a great deal. It matters little, however, for my present purpose, whether the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were written by one man or by a hundred; the grandeur of the poetry remains, and to it as a great fountain-head may be traced several principal streams of Hellenic civilisation.

Plato, indeed, who laboured so assiduously in enlarging the empire and corroborating the powers of the human understanding, at times maintained the fancy that little benefit had been conferred on Greece by her bard. He observes, but in a manner so ironical that it is difficult to determine his meaning, that if Homer and Hesiod had possessed the gift of improving their contemporaries in virtue they would never have been suffered to wander about chanting their poems. People, he thinks, would have constrained them by benefits to remain with them, or, not succeeding in this, would have quitted their homes to attend their footsteps, as in his age many did in the case of the sophists.¹

At the same time he admits the general opinion to have been that Homer was the great preceptor of Hellas, who taught the sciences of politics and ethics, together with the whole discipline and economy of human life.² Perhaps, notwithstanding his great wisdom and his genius, he looked upon the question from a wrong point of view, regarding poetry as the rival rather than the precursor of philosophy. The mission of the former had, however, in his time been in a great measure accomplished, as far, I mean, as concerned positive teaching; and he did not consider that as civilisation advances and materialises nations the curb of poetry is the more required to check their downward tendencies, and direct their head towards the skies. The object of poetry is to keep alive in the human

¹ De Rep. x. 4. t. ii. 318.
Stallb.

² De Rep. x. 7. t. ii. 336.

breast the love of whatever is noble and beautiful, to dazzle the worldling from the worship of gold by showing him something more glorious than anything that gold can purchase, to accomplish the apotheosis of pure affection, of virtue, of disinterestedness, of great passions, of patriotism,—and in Homer all this is effected with a spontaneous energy, which like the ocean appears equal to bear the whole weight of humanity clothed with all its attributes upon its breast.

Greece has no poet worthy to be compared with our Shakespeare and our Milton but Homer, who possesses some advantages over them both. Shakespeare, buoyant and full of life as was his spirit, felt evidently the waves of his imagination lapse at times from about him and leave his mind stranded and bare on the shores of the immeasurable universe. Melancholy creeps over him, like a black vapour, concealing the Titanian head wont to tower above the region of the clouds. Even over Milton's soul, serene in its fiery brightness as it usually is, I think I discover something which at times obscures his faith in himself and human nature, and produces a flagging of the fancy. But in Homer this never appears. Cheerfully and joyously he pursues his course with eternal sunshine on his brow, and a heart beating full and true, as if the life of all the world were within him. There is no end of his vitality. He seems as if he could never grow old. His strength is inexhaustible. Equal to whatever may happen, he nowhere seems to be hurried by his subject, or compelled to strain a nerve to accomplish what he desires. In himself he appears happy as a god, and only to sympathise in human suffering from the boundlessness of his charity. He comes forth as the sun in the morning, full of brightness, showing all the tears that sprinkle the earth and drying them too, but shedding none. We call him old, though in reality he is all youthfulness and love. Every function of life

goes on harmoniously in his frame. He enjoys whatever nature brings within the circle of his experience. He drinks in with rapture the freshness of dawn,—basks smilingly in the blaze of noon,—welcomes the stillness of evening—the solemn grandeur of night. Sleep, too, has for him inexpressible charms, and on the pleasures we taste among its bowers he has bestowed every grateful, every endearing epithet. Milton is far more spiritual, and careers in a course nearer the stars. Shakespeare, in his metaphysical subtlety and yearning to pierce beyond the grave, suggests stranger thoughts, and calls up a wilder world of fancies. But Homer, as if admitted behind the veil, never doubts for a moment. Habitually, too, his thoughts are of action, of man as he is, of the virtue of the citizen, of the soldier, of the husband, of the father, of the son, of the wife. He loved the world and all that it contains. His eye could detect beauty where the atrabilious sceptic beholds nothing but deformity.

Hence the universal fame and admiration of his writings. For, wherever a well-spring of delight exists, the world will discover it and have recourse to it for ever. The tragic poets who took up his mantle differed widely from him both in temper and character. The experiment of civilisation had been tried, and been the cause of less happiness than at the outset it seemed to promise. A spirit of dissatisfaction had consequently grown up in society, which, shaken by convulsions within and assaulted from without by storms, appeared to be fast resolving into its original elements. Upon the minds of the tragic poets there accordingly fell a gloomy shadow. They looked backwards and around them, and were saddened by the view of terrible pictures which the dark pencil of Fate was constantly filling up. The inexplicable influence of events upon the inner organisation of man had caused them too, and their contemporaries equally, to delight in gloom, in slaughter, in revenge, in exhibitions of suffering, analo-

gous in many cases to what they beheld their countrymen inflict upon each other.

Observe the creations of *Æschylus*:¹ in them, pregnant all with Miltonic haughtiness, energy, grandeur, we already discover symptoms of profound discontent with the character of actual existence and an invincible yearning towards the past. He seemed desirous to haunt the imaginations of his contemporaries with gigantic phantoms, quarried out of the wrecks of a vanished ethical system, in which such greatness found congeniality and sympathy. His ideas seemed to clothe themselves spontaneously in language of massive structure, like a Cyclopean wall, such as before or since no man ever used. He projected himself by the force of meditation into the heroic spheres, conversed there with mighty shades, acquired among them stern principles of action, of thought, of belief, of composition; and with these he sought to inspire the men of his own time. His object seems less to delight than to overawe, to persuade than to command. His ideas move along the highest arch of imagination which spans the universe from pole to pole, or rise out of a sea of darkness which they illuminate for a moment like lightning flashes in their passage.

All *Æschylus*'s more marked characters come before us invested with marvellous attributes, and their voices awake a thrilling mysterious echo in the depths of the soul. Prometheus, for example, — who or what in poetry is like him? Some features of resemblance he may have to the Satan of "*Paradise Lost*," but only in his indomitable energy, in his unconquerable will; in all other respects he stands differenced from that "archangel ruined" by qualities the most remarkable. Towards mankind he appears

¹ The plays of this poet, like those of Shakespeare, were, in succeeding ages, altered for the stage. — Quint. Instit. Orat. x. 1. The orator, Lycurgus, pro-

cured a decree, ordering the tragedies of the three poets to be copied, and statues to be erected in their honour. — Plut. Vit. x. Orat.

in the relation of supreme love. For their sake alone he braves the anger of Zeus, who, in the tempest of vengeance which he pours upon the naked form of this beneficent god, is presented to the mind as a tyrannical oppressor. Again, in the *Erinnyes*, what mysterious phantoms does he conjure up! The whole scene, where black and blood-dripping they rise before the fancy in the shrine of Delphi, is, beyond imagination, awe-inspiring and sublime. Like *Orestes* himself, the fancy is haunted, as we read, by an uneasy consciousness of their presence. They appear like the summits of the infernal world, thrust up visibly into the world of reality. They are frightful dreams endued with form and vitality, and walking abroad to scare us even while waking. Never did faith in visionary beings equal in strength the faith which he constrains us to have in these his creations. The scent of blood fills the nostrils as we read. We pant,—we shudder,—we expect to hear their footsteps on the carpet behind us. Nevertheless the effect of *Æschylus*' poetry is not, like *Byron's*, to humiliate or depress. On the contrary, it imparts to us its energy as we read. It fills,—it expands,—it aggrandises,—it elevates the mind.

Sophocles presents us with a wholly different type of genius. His conceptions, without being gigantic, are still great, and have a richness and roundness something like the form of woman. To him, as to *Raffaële*, the world appeared pregnant on all sides with beauty. Yet, there was a vein of pensiveness in his fancy which, running through all his works, imparts to them a witchery independent of the amount of intellect displayed. He never, like *Æschylus*, transports us into the dim twilight of mythology amidst the nodding ruins of systems and creeds. However antique may be the subject which he treats, his invention gives it completeness, and he brings it out fresh, glossy, distinct, and beautiful as the creations of to-day. *Æschylus* carries us back to the past, *Sophocles* brings the past forward to us.

By a vigorous exertion of genius he breathes life into things dead; melts away from about them by his warm touch the hoar of antiquity; fills up the outline; freshens the colours; converts them into contemporary existencies. All his sympathies, healthy and true, cling to the things around him: the religion, the form of polity, the climate, the soil of Attica, invested with the beauty which they assumed in his plastic vision, satisfied his desires. What he found not in realities he bestowed upon them. He idealised his contemporaries. His poetry is sunny as the Ægean in spring, and a breeze as healthful and refreshing breathes over it. Like the nightingale, whose music he loved, it comes to us full of forgotten harmonies, re-awakening all the associations, all the delights, all the hopes and aspirations of youth. Sweet and musical, and replete with tenderness, are his marvellous chorusses. They burst upon the heart like the first note of the cuckoo¹ in the depths of a forest, curling round the mossy trunks of the meditative old trees upon the ear.

And then his female characters, in which above all things he excels. Not Imogen herself, whose breath like violets perfumes the page of Shakespeare, rises before us a more exquisite vision than Antigone, in her maiden purity, her unfathomable tenderness, her holy affection, filial and fraternal. Even Œdipos, supported and led into the light by such a daughter, appears glorious as a god, his involuntary stains worked off by years of suffering, his reverend old age garlanded by calamity, wreathed with the tendrils and snowy blossoms of a daughter's love. And Tecmessa, does she not seem to be Desdemona ripened into a mother? There is no poet who has portrayed a wife of more unmingled gentleness, or who has better sounded the depths of a mother's heart. Her affection expands like an atmosphere round the

¹ In Greece heard early in the spring. — Sibthorp, in Walp. Mem. i. 75.

boy Eurysaces, menaced at once by treacherous enemies and by his father's madness, and casts a pure and bright ray over the sea of blood and stormy passion and guilt that floats around her. His Dejanira, likewise, is a character of great beauty; but in the Clytemnæstra and Electra, in the Chrysothemis and Ismene, he has been less successful. Among his male characters Œdipos is the masterpiece. Compounded of ungovernable passion, a powerful will, a resolution invincible by suffering, extreme in love or hate, he stands before us in heroic grandeur, and like the sun's orb dilates as he descends beneath the horizon. Next to him in originality and beauty are Neoptolemos and Teucer, youths of the greatest nobleness of soul, who contrast strikingly with his fox-like Odysseus and the mean-souled imperial brothers.

To Sophocles succeeds Euripides,¹ whose genius inspired Milton with the deepest admiration, as it had before inspired Aristotle. Resembling Sophocles as little as the latter resembles Æschylus, he is more deeply imbued than either with the tragic spirit, interprets more unerringly the language of passion and the heart, and unlocks more surely the hidden springs of pity. In him, however, poetry is less an instinct than an art. His intellect, lofty, powerful, penetrating, ranged through the most untrodden paths of nature and philosophy, grasped at all learning, at all experience, enriched itself with prodigious stores of reflections, observations, imagery, over which it possessed the most perfect mastery, to render them subservient to the purposes of the drama. Other poets learned in effects, may exhibit action with no less truth and skill; Euripides dares to unveil causes, to give the wherefore and the why

¹ This writer, like most of his poetical contemporaries, used constantly to wear a tablet and stylus suspended to his dress.—

Athen. xiii. 45. The use in fact of memorandum books was common. — Sch. Aristoph. Vesp. 529.

of actions, to descend into the abysses of the mind and lay bare the curious mechanism, and, so to say, central fires which produce and ripen our resolutions and our demeanour.

Without the stern grandeur or the rich physical imagery of his predecessors, he could more surely touch the feelings and create an intense interest in the story of his tragedies. No man, moreover, has given birth to nobler sentiments. A moral beauty broods over his scenes; he elevates,—he enlarges,—he purifies the affections. Truths of greatest importance make themselves wings of melody in his verse, and fly across the gulf of two thousand years from him to us. Above all things, he may almost be said to have discovered the inexhaustible mine of love, whence he drew the gold that fashioned the divine image of Alcestis, the noblest mixture of earth's mould that ever bore the name of woman. It is true this image is but dimly beheld. Perhaps no genius, not even Shakespeare's, could have filled up the outline of unearthly beauty which Euripides dared to draw. It embodies all the imagination ever conceived of love. Pure as the celestial Artemis, impassioned to perfect disinterestedness, all devotion as a wife, all tenderness as a mother,—content to die, yet jealous of posthumous love,—sacrificing everything for her husband's life, yet haunted by the fear that death might snap the golden links of affection, she issues forth like a celestial vision to take her farewell of the sun. Euripides might well be proud of this creation. Not Andromache, not Nausicaa, not even the far-famed consort of Odysseus can exceed in truth and beauty his conception of Alcestis. Yet this is the poet whom Aristophanes had the bad taste to overwhelm with unceasing ridicule, and whom numerous critics, borrowing their canons from him, have rashly pronounced languid and insipid.

Moving on a level below this is the character of

Electra in the Orestes. In the Alcestis we have rather the results than the developement of inexpressible love, which

“ raised a mortal to the skies.”

But Electra's affection unfolds itself before us. There she watches beside her brother's bed, contending with the inexpressible guilt of matricide, sharing his remorse but comforting him, herself oppressed, yet courageously bearing up for his sake against the worst

“ ills that flesh is heir to.”

With the most supreme delicacy is Polyxena conceived; and generally, whatever may be said of Euripides' aversion for the sex, it may be affirmed that no poet has more ably or more nobly painted the female character.

Passing next to comedy, of which Aristophanes must be regarded as the representative, we have a department of literature peculiar to Greece, for its comedy resembles that of no other country. It has never, perhaps, been fairly characterised. They who take part with the poet against the philosopher exaggerate his merits: the admirers of Socrates, in revenge for the unjust death of that great man, generally undervalue them. Let us endeavour to be just. Aristophanes was a poet of vast genius, quick to perceive, and powerful to paint the imperfections, vices, follies, weaknesses, miseries of man in society. He was greedy, too, of reputation, in the acquisition of which he spared neither men nor institutions. The youthful, the gay, the thoughtless, reckoning laughter and amusement among the real wants of life, (as to the weak and frivolous perhaps they are,) he undertook to build his fame on easing the human character of those moral excrements which pass off in grinning and mirth. There is, in fact, a load of small malignity and mischief in most mental constitutions, which, if not expelled, might obstruct the healthful play of the faculties. Mirth is the form it assumes in its exit,

and comedy is one of the means provided by Nature for promoting its discharge.

Aristophanes, who comprehended at least this part of philosophy, found an abundant harvest of follies in his fellow-citizens. He saw, too, that of all men they possessed the most inexhaustible good-nature,—to forgive if they could not profit by the satire which was directed against themselves. No one could complain of them on this score. Their risible muscles were at every man's service who could coin a joke, or make faces, or draw a caricature or enact one. Athens was, in fact, the home of laughter: it was the weak side of the national character; and never, since merry-making was invented, did a more skilful manufacturer of this autochthonal production exist than Aristophanes. He could make round things square, or straight crooked; he could invest the noblest and most sacred things with burlesque and ridicule; he could convert patriotism into a laughable weakness, genius into puerility, virtue into a farce. He knew how to make the brave man (as Lamachos) seem a mere gasconader; the man of genius (as Euripides) a dealer in rhythmical jingles; the possessor of highest wisdom and most unsullied integrity a babbling impostor and a thief. Such were his prodigious powers. Another excellence he had, not unakin to the former; he could, when it suited his purpose, place the most nefarious vices on the same level with very harmless foibles, so that both should appear equally laughable or equally odious.

But the Athenians must have been a base people had these been the qualities which rendered him popular. They were not: on the contrary, they formed the great drawback on his reputation. His attack on Socrates caused the first cast of the *Clouds* to be hooted off the stage. But great and crying as were his delinquencies against morals and philosophy, his genius triumphed, and he became popular in spite of them; and in spite of them he has continued to be a favourite among scholars down to the present day. No mean amount of creative power could have achieved

a triumph like this. He possessed, in fact, the quality, whatever it be, which confers vitality on the offspring of the mind. Each of his plays, however extravagant its conceptions, however improbable the plot or wild the scene or fantastic the characters, still develops a distinct cycle of existences into which the breath of everlasting life has been breathed. To every individual whom he brings upon the stage has been assigned a distinct type of character, a marked individuality, a moral and intellectual physiognomy as peculiar to himself as his mask. No man exhibits greater variety in a small compass. When he is working out a character every word tells, and his ease is infinite. Nothing appears to have proceeded from him in a hurry. Like the wind, which now rises in gusts, now sinks to a whisper, but never suggests the idea of weakness, Aristophanes may trifle, but always because he desires to trifle.

Moreover, however barren the subject may be, however rugged, bleak, intractable, he pours over it the dews of poetry, and clothes it magically with flowers and verdure. Look at the comedies of the *Frogs* and the *Birds*. By whom but Aristophanes could they have been rendered tolerable? And yet what marvellous effects grow out of them in his hands! How completely is the imagination detached from the common everyday world, and sent drifting down the dreamy intoxicating streams of poetry! Not in the island of Prospero or Philoctetes, not in the savage-encircled nest of Robinson Crusoe, not in the most visionary vale that opens before us its serene bosom in the Arabian Nights, do we breathe more at large, or more fresh and wholesome air, than among the fogs and fens of Acheron, or the eternal forests of the Hoopoo king.

With an art, in which Shakespeare was no mean proficient, he opens up a more culpable source of interest in the frequent satire of vices, condemned as commonly as they are practised. He unveils the mysteries of iniquity with a fearless and by no means

an unreluctant hand. No abyss of wickedness was too dark for his daring muse. He ventured fearlessly upon themes which few since or before have touched on, despising contemporary envy and vindictiveness and the stern condemnation of posterity. To be plain, he evidently shared in the worst corruptions of his age, and, like many other satirists, availed himself joyfully of the mask of satire as an apology for entertaining his own imagination with the description of them. No one with the least clearsightedness or candour can fail to perceive and acknowledge the depraved moral character of this comic writer. Only less filthy than Rabelais, his fancy runs riot among the moral jakes and common sewers of the world, over which, by consummate art and the matchless magic of his style, he contrives unhappily to cast a kind of delusive halo, and to breathe a fragrance which should never be found but where virtue is.

Upon the subject of his attack on Socrates his defenders must grant one of two things — that he libelled him ignorantly, or that he exhibited a degree of wickedness capable, under other circumstances, of rising to the enormity of Judas Iscariot. Socrates, both for genius and for virtue, stands at the head of the pagan world. He whom Plato admired must have stood on a higher level than Plato, — that is, have occupied the apex of mere humanity: and in that position we find him in the *Gorgias*, the *Republic*, the *Euthyphron*, and the *Phædon*. Many charlatans, since the days of Aristophanes, have endeavoured to puff upward at him the smoke of their ignorance or their envy; and from those who tread the mire with them have for a moment hidden the all but divine serenity that smiles on humankind from that lofty and immovable basis where the homage of a world has placed him; but the next breeze has cleared away the stinking vapours, and left both him and them where they were,—the one on the highest, the others on the lowest step of the ladder which connects human nature with the skies.

Upon the dramatic poets whose fragments only remain, it is in this place unnecessary to dwell. I therefore pass to the historians and orators, who, no less vividly than her poets, reflect the genius of Greece. The first age of prose composition, there as elsewhere, exhibited the natural characteristics of dawning art—indecisiveness and timidity. Herodotus, properly speaking, was her earliest historian, and even he still walks within the gigantic shadow of epic fable which stretched far over the civilised and cultivated ages of Greece, as doth that of Memnon at dawn over the Theban plains. His character as a writer is very remarkable. He narrates like a prophet. His language everywhere bears the impress and image of the supernatural world wrought into its very substance. He had formed to himself a poetical standard of human character and human action, which accordingly in his work develop themselves in poetical forms. Long and profound meditation had spread out the past before him like a map, on which he could trace every fluctuation in the stream of events with something like the skill of a diviner. Men, past or present, may be interpreted by meditation, if we comprehend the science of human nature. Herodotus understood much of this science. Indeed his chief greatness lies in his wisdom.

Ordinary readers, who are always wiser than their dead instructors, discovering him to be frankly superstitious, to have faith in oracles, in dreams, in prodigies, to chronicle many trivial actions, many trivial remarks, feel or affect for him a species of contempt. But they know very little of what is contained in that vast treasury of epic events. Little do they suspect with how many great statesmen, generals and heroic kings the eloquent Halicarnassian could render them familiar. In his pages alone, perhaps, do we view in his true proportions that man of men, Themistocles, who overtops by a head and shoulders all the other statesmen of the ancient world. There,

too, may we best discover the character of his contemporaries, those extraordinary personages who connect the heroic with the historical period, and constitute the steps by which we descend from the heights of mythos and fable to the stern level of realities. Such an epoch required an historian of peculiar character. In him were to be united the power to comprehend poetical motives to action, and the solemn eloquence fittingly to describe deeds springing from such a source. Both were found in Herodotus. He beheld Providence leading man as it were into the light from the wilderness of mythological times, still invested with many of his heroic habits and his forehead beaming with visionary splendours, but prepared to doff them one by one, and in their stead to substitute the iron theory and practice of civilisation.

Thucydides, a few years only younger than Herodotus, found himself placed in the midst of events the most extraordinary, produced by a system of civilisation prematurely decaying. Greece had not been suffered to grow wise and great according to the laws which usually regulate the ripening of states. She had been scorched into fruit-bearing by the fiery conflicts of the Median war; and her strength thus brought into play, and found to be great beyond calculation, was immediately by ambitious statesmen seized upon, parcelled out into lots which were directed against each other, and thus exhausted in petty struggles. In Greece we have an example of a state whose energies, turned inwards, corroded themselves by concentration; affording a contrast with Rome whose energies, worked outward and were gradually weakened and lost by expansion. The genius of the people begot corresponding historians. Rome, had its perspicuous ornate, diffuse, haughty and sublime Livy; Athens her Thucydides full of poetry indeed, and haughtier and more sublime, but condensed as an oracle, and as an oracle obscure.

Few have measured the greatness of this man. Ordinary critics missing the ostentatious display of what is termed philosophy, appear to imagine that Thucydides is not a philosophical historian, reserving this praise for Gibbon, Hume, or Voltaire. But each of these great writers would have contemned the praise of such persons. Thucydides in historical writing stands above rivalry or comparison. The political atmosphere in which he lived, dusky with thunderclouds and continual storms, his eye could penetrate through, and discover all the very extraordinary figures that moved beneath it. Calmly, from heights of speculation never trodden before, he contemplated the various groups of generals and statesmen dispersed over his horizon, pierced through every disguise into their characters, detected their motives, unravelled their plots, gave their secret maxims a tongue, weighed and described their actions with an impartial sagacity which among historians belongs to him alone. In this consists his philosophy. The society, whose developement he studied, was torn by two antagonist principles—aristocracy and democracy, whose struggles, undying in free states, were then more fierce than at any other period in the history of the world. To enable his countrymen and posterity to comprehend the whole chain of events, he opened up a long vista into the past, to the point at which those adversaries appeared upon the scene, and threw a broad light upon all their movements down to the time when Providence removed him from his post. His conception of an historian's duty, somewhat different from that now entertained, was adopted by all antiquity, in which every succeeding writer bore testimony to his superiority by imitating him. He thought it not enough to narrate and describe, but, throwing open the council chamber and stilling the tumultuous agora, he brings the living statesman or demagogue upon the stage, developing in our hearing his views, his conceptions of surround-

ing circumstances and characters, his projects, his means for accomplishing them. That the speeches found in his history were actually in that form delivered, I will by no means affirm. He probably obtained but the substance from report, and himself clothed it in those vivid expressions which two thousand years have not stripped of their freshness. Nevertheless, the more trifling the amount of what he owed to the relations of others, the greater must appear his genius, his unerring sense of fitness, his dramatic power of projecting himself successively into a whole gallery of characters, and truly interpreting the opinions, maxims, feelings of each; for no one pretends that he has ever misrepresented a single individual. And if those speeches be examined on the score of eloquence, whether of thought or language, it will I think be found, that in almost every excellence they may rank with those of Demosthenes. In each a peculiar economy is observed in the management of the arguments, in the sentiments, in the opinions, in the logical tone, in the manifestations of individuality which diffuse themselves over the whole and give a colour to it.

The defects—for such there are—resolve themselves into a certain magisterial air, indicating a consciousness of superiority, sure, more or less, to offend in all cases, and a certain imperspicuity of style arising principally from the loose manner in which the drapery of language is flung over his ideas, which is chiefly observable in the orations, his narrative for the most part being free from this imperfection. Besides, whatever be the series of facts he relates, their importance appears to be enhanced by his manner of handling them. He casts aside, as unworthy both of himself and the reader, whatever is of inferior moment. These, in fact, the mere chaff of human affairs, only cling round the grain of action to conceal it, and must be blown aside by the reader if the historian neglect to do it.

The circumstances of the times conferred upon

his subject all the interest and the gloom of tragedy. But it thus suited him the better. His genius delighted in terrible pictures: battles, plagues, earthquakes, general massacres, the storming of cities, the annihilation of great armies. His fancy vividly realised all,—the plague-tumbril rumbling, choked with dead, towards the sepulchral suburbs,—the streets of Corcyra streaming alternately with democratic and aristocratic blood,—the expected slaughter of Mitylene,—the reality at Melos,—two thousand Helots cut off by the perfidy of Sparta,—the butchery at Plataea,—at Skione,—in Sicily! Through all these scenes we are precipitated forward, shuddering, compassionating, detesting by turns. But we are neither overwhelmed nor inspired with disgust for human nature. Our sympathies cling closer and closer to the historian, who spares no villany, gratifies no malice, tramples on no noble principle, succumbs to no temptation of partiality. Faithful to his trust he deals forth truth to all, to none the slightest flattery. Not even for his country will he lie. It was she, in fact, with her heroic ethics and grandeur of sentiment, that had taught him his high principles, and he repaid her by recording all her errors, all her wrongs, all her imperfections: in which he acted like a great and a wise man. He would have sacrificed for her his life,—he would not sacrifice his conscience.

To him succeeds Xenophon, a writer whom it is difficult to characterise. There was in the temper of his mind something parasitical, which led him to lean on others for support,—on Socrates, on Cyrus, on Agesilaos. Incapable of acting in a republic the part of a good citizen, he would have been that rare thing—a virtuous courtier. From this the tone of his writings may be conjectured. Almost everywhere we discover a degree of gentleness, sweetness, modesty, which steals imperceptibly into the heart, and creates the impression that he was a man highly amiable and upright. His piety, likewise, causes

itself to be felt. He never mentions the gods but with due reverence, exhibits a strong reliance upon Providence, and, according to his best apprehensions, justifies its ways to men with earnest solicitude. The style of his composition, necessarily harmonising with the qualities of his mind, is full of suavity, polished elegance, gentlemanliness, bonhomie, the very characteristics of a popular writer. Readers of moderate understanding can everywhere perceive his drift, can accompany him without feeling out of breath. He is communicative, sensible, rational, indulges in no cloudy flights, never dives out of sight in the ocean of speculation.

Xenophon, however, misunderstood himself when he conceived that it was for him to continue the history of Thucydides. It was as if Andrea del Sarto had undertaken to complete a picture left in parts unfinished by Michael Angelo. He had neither the penetrating sagacity necessary to comprehend the internal plan of the picture, the vivifying energy to preserve the intense tragedy of the action, nor the colours to harmonise with what he found painted. Still, considered by himself, he has great merits. Several scenes in his history, the trial, for example, of the generals, the death of Theramenes, the battles on the Hellespont, exhibit a force of conception and a scope and flexibility of style uncommon in any literature; and the *Anabasis*, without comparison his greatest work, reads like a chronicle of the most chivalrous knight-errantry. The attempt, however flagitious on the part of Cyrus, had the merit of extreme boldness. It was the model expedition which disclosed the secret of Asia to Alexander, and showed with how little danger its vast empires might be shattered to pieces. Xenophon who, young and adventurous, accompanied the Persian prince and the heroic mercenaries in his pay, contemplated with delight the physical aspect of the East, its luxurious population, its roving tribes, with the triumphs of his disciplined and warlike countrymen over innu-

merable barbarian hosts. This we discover from the interest and animation of his narrative, in which stern realities exceed in grandeur and wildness the creations of romance. But it is equally clear that he did not fully comprehend the moral of the scene. For, otherwise, he could never, with these facts before him, have endeavoured by his *Cyropædia*, to commend to his countrymen those institutions which rendered Persia, with all its wealth, a constant prey to the small republics of Greece.

Of the other writings of Xenophon little need be said: they are the parsley and the rue of Greek literature, bordering and adorning its entrance, and therefore beheld of all. But most of these have their beauty. Even in the hunting treatise, amid the breeding of dogs, and nets, and knives, and boarspears, and the slaughter of animals, we catch glimpses of better things,—of glades where the hare frolics by moonlight, and grassy uplands, dewy and fragrant, where does, poetical as she of Rylstone, lead forth their fawns at break of day. The treatises on the states of Athens and Sparta have, I trust, been falsely attributed to this able and accomplished writer. They are contemptible productions, conceived in the spirit of a servile flatterer of the Dorians, and of a satirist, equally servile and stupid, of the greater and infinitely more intellectual Ionic race.

I pass over the historians known to us only by a few scanty fragments, that I may at once come to the orators, the peculiar ornament and pride of Greece, whose greatest statesmen were equally great as speakers, more especially at Athens, where, as an art, eloquence was most assiduously cultivated, and achieved its greatest triumphs. Tradition attributes to Themistocles, to Pericles, to Alcibiades consummate skill in guiding the currents of human sympathy, and a sense of their glory lingered on the high places of society like sunshine on the Alps long after they had quitted the world. But as they did not augment the stores of their country's

literature, we can have nothing to speak of them here. The orators whose fragments time has been unable to destroy are however sufficient, if not to satiate our thirst of admiration, at least to show, by the grandeur of their proportions, how great and glorious Attic eloquence, when entire, must have been. More than any other department of literature it is the growth of patience and toil. A man may be born with the instincts of eloquence,—fancy, constitutional fire, vehemence,—but unless these instincts be broken in and trained by consummate art, nature will in vain have bestowed her gifts. These truths were early understood at Athens. It was perceived that without eloquence political distinction was unattainable, and therefore all who aspired to

“wield at will that fierce democracy,”

subjected themselves to a course of laborious study, to which our more phlegmatic natures would not submit.

The results we may, in part, still contemplate in that body of Athenian oratory, which to the author and the statesman is in itself a library. Every legitimate form of eloquence is there beheld. In Antiphon and Andocides it appears in rough simplicity, employing contrivance and art, but employing them awkwardly. Lysias makes considerable advances beyond them, clothes his style with grace, constructs his narrative with extraordinary skill, and moves the passions by considerable pathos. Isocrates it is common with the moderns, who echo one another, to underrate: their delicate ears, offended by his too nicely balanced periods, his antitheses, his monotonous cadences, refuse to relish that stately harmony, and majestic flow of language, which recommend the thoughts of this “old man eloquent,” whose greatest panegyric is pronounced by Plato¹ in the *Phædros*.

¹ Opp. t. i. p. 105. seq.—He is said to have received a thousand drachmas for each of his pupils. —Dem. cont. Lacrit. § 11.

In Isæos we have an argumentative, able pleader; in Deinarchos a vigorous accuser; in Demades the power of splendid improvisation; in Lycurgus noble sentiments clothed in poetical language, haughty patriotism, the rough virtues of a stoic; in Æschines an union of magnificent style, thoughts full of weight, admirable arrangement, warmth, vivacity, wit. Yet Demosthenes soars far above Æschines,—far above all. On him nature had bestowed every quality which constitutes an ingredient of eloquence,—originality, love of labour, a clear head, a warm heart, a judgment all but unerring, with an impetuous vehemence perfectly irresistible.

A very extraordinary impression is created by the study of this writer. He seems never to put forth all his strength. You see him, indeed, bear down every thing before him, overwhelming the arguments and the gold of Philip, crushing his rivals, annihilating his enemies; but the persuasion rests with you that he could have done more. You discover amid the waves and foam of his terrible eloquence indications that that vast ocean had never been stirred to the bottom, that occasion had never called forth all its latent powers of destruction. He measures himself with his antagonist, and is secure of victory. He presents a front bristling with the deadliest points of logic, like the spears of the Macedonian phalanx, and wherever he moves he is invincible. Nevertheless he appears to advance nothing for the sake of effect, to be in search of none of the beauties of style, but rather to avoid them. He is neither draped, nor painted, nor adorned; but a naked colossus whose sublimity springs from the perfection and greatness of its proportions.

Other orators persuade, Demosthenes enforces conviction. They who listen to him have no choice,—they must believe. Without offending the reader's pride, he makes him ashamed to hesitate. He reminds one of the Nile at the cataracts, where, confined by rocks within too narrow limits, it pours

resistlessly along, swelling, deep, with scattered whirlpools and foam scarcely visible on its vast surface, seemingly calm at a short distance, but, to those who look near, agitated, angry, full of unstemable currents and boiling motion. He had profoundly studied human nature, chiefly, of course, as it develops itself in free states, and, better than any man, knew by what motives it may, in spite of corruption and degeneracy, be impelled to strenuous action, though but for a brief space. His language, flashing through the moral gloom around him, called forth bright reflections from whatever was brilliant or polished, and kindled the fragments of patriotic emotions into a flame. If genius could regenerate, could pour the blood of youth into the veins of age, could substitute loftiness of sentiment, heroic daring, disinterested love of country, religious faith, spirituality, for sensual self-indulgence, for sordid avarice, for a base distrust in Providence, Demosthenes had renewed the youth of Athens. The spirit of the old democratic constitution breathes through all his periods. He stands upon the last defence of the republican world, when all else had been carried, the representative of a noble but perished race, fighting gallantly, though in vain, to preserve that fragment sacred from the foot of the spoiler. The passion and the power of democracy seem concentrated in him. He unites in his character all the richest gifts of nature under the guidance of the most consummate art, and, doubtless, Hume was right when he said that, of all human productions, his works approach the nearest to perfection.

Beyond this point it is irksome to proceed in our view of Grecian literature, which, after the battle of Cheronæa, was overshadowed by despotism and dwindled gradually into insignificance. Not that genius wholly and suddenly disappeared. The soil of Hellenic intellect was not entirely exhausted, but the fruit it bore was comparatively insipid. A courtly

stamp was set upon every thing. Men no longer obeyed their genuine impulses. It was dangerous generally, and always profitless to be frank and manly. Instead of addressing themselves to the healthy natural sympathies of the people, writers servilely laboured by conceit and flattery to wring reluctant patronage from princes. The spirit of affectation, accordingly, for the first time made its appearance. Men tortured their ingenuity to invent smart things. Enthusiasm and passion and earnestness, characteristics all of popular writers, are never fashionable among courtiers, who consider sincerity vulgar, and hypocrisy a virtue. In the later Greek writers, therefore, who all wrote for some court or other, we discover the usual frigidity and extravagance which invariably deform the literature of such states. Along with these faults, others also are found far more pernicious: the inculcation of selfishness, gross sensuality, base maxims, a depraved taste. Man in the savage state is a garden in which noxious weeds and the most beautiful flowers and useful plants grow together; civilised and free, he is the same garden cleared, as far as possible, of its weeds; but, when verging a second time into barbarism, the weeds again become luxuriant, and entirely choke or conceal the flowers. And thus too it is in literature. In the literatures of Greece, Rome, and modern Italy we can now contemplate the complete process; in our own, a part only, how great a part—it is not here my business to inquire.

CHAPTER XI.

SPIRIT OF THE GRECIAN RELIGION.

WHETHER the Greeks received their earliest system of philosophy from the East, as is commonly believed, or themselves invented it, as to me seems most probable, there can I think be little doubt that once engaged in philosophical speculations they exhibited in the pursuit a degree of boldness and originality, a patience of research, a power of combination rarely if ever equalled in succeeding times. For some ages, it is true, from the days of Thales down to those of Socrates (B. C. 600 to B. C. 450) physical investigations and researches chiefly occupied the philosophers of Greece. They conceived it to be within the power of man to discover the nature of the principal elements which compose the world, and the laws that regulated its formation.¹ The origin

¹ Cf. Diog. Laert. Pr. iii. 4. Ἀρχαῖος μὲν οὖν τις λόγος καὶ πατριος ἐστὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ὡς ἐκ Θεοῦ τὰ πάντα, καὶ διὰ Θεοῦ ἡμῖν συνέστηκεν. — Aristot. de Mund. c. 6. In c. 7. we have a curious list of the various epithets of Zeus, whose name the Pseudo-Aristotle conceives to signify the root of all existence: ὡς καὶ εἰ λέγοιμεν, δι' ὃν ζῶμεν. This thought St. Paul expresses by the well-known words—"in whom we live and move and have our being." The author of the Treatise De Mundo then quotes from the Orphic fragments a passage, the doctrine of which strongly resembles the Pantheism of Pope:

Zeus πρῶτος γένητο, Zeus ὕστατος ἀρχικέραυνος·
Zeus κεφαλῇ, Zeus μέσσα· Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται·
Zeus πυθμὴν γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος·
Zeus ἄρσην γένητο, Zeus ἄμβροτος ἔπλετο νύμφη·
Zeus πνοιὴ πάντων, Zeus ἀκαμάτου πυρὸς ὁρμή·
Zeus πόντου ῥίζα· Zeus ἥλιος, ἡδὲ σελήνη·
Zeus βασιλεύς· Zeus ἀρχὸς πάντων ἀρχικέραυνος·
Πάντας γὰρ κρύψας αὐτὶς φάος ἐς πολυγηθὲς
Ἐξ ἱερῆς κραδίης ἀνενέγκατο μέγμερα ῥέζων.
Cf. Orphic. fragm. 6. p. 138.

likewise of the human race, of which nothing is yet known but that which has been revealed, naturally awakened their curiosity and led to many theories wild and fantastic in the extreme.

Into any consideration of these it is not my design to enter; but the Greeks had another philosophy, which, resting on the basis of theology, comprehended religion, morals, and politics, and may be regarded as the instrument, the soul, and the measure of their civilisation. It seems to be a truth frequently overlooked, that man is civilised exactly in proportion as he is religious; at least this was the case in Greece, where the highest developement of the national mind concurred in Socrates and Plato with the utmost developement of the religious instinct, and began immediately to decline in Aristotle and his successors, arriving at the lowest degradation among the grovelling sophists of the lower empire. This division of philosophy occupied among the Greeks the place, which in modern times is assigned to religion,¹ that is, it was their guide through this life, and their preparation for a better. It may, indeed, be regarded as the spiritual part of paganism, teaching man his duties, and explaining the grounds and motives which should lead to their performance.

There is one article of faith without which no religion can of course exist—the belief in God. Devoid of this, it may be doubted whether an individual or a nation ought not rather to be classed

¹ “Do good to all,” an evangelical precept (Plat. Rep. i. § 9. p. 33. Stallb.), forming part of that philosophy which taught the Greeks what was honourable and what base, what just and what unjust, what was above all things to be desired and what avoided, how they were to demean themselves towards the gods, towards their parents, their elders, the laws,

strangers, magistrates, friends, wives, children, slaves: to wit, that they were to reverence the gods, honour their parents, respect their elders, obey the laws, love their friends, be affectionate to their wives, solicitous for their children, compassionate towards their slaves.—Plut. de Educ. Puer. § 10.

among the inferior animals than among men. It is superfluous, therefore, to say that the Greeks, preëminently endowed with the highest attributes of humanity, were a religious people, and held firmly all the doctrines which entitle a people to such an appellation. From their ancestors, the Pelasgi,¹ they inherited a pure and lofty theism, which seems to have always continued to be the religion of the more enlightened; while among the mass of the people, this central truth of religion was gradually surrounded by a constantly expanding atmosphere of fable, which obscured its brightness, and in a great measure concealed its form. Mr. Mitford, whose acute and philosophical mind clearly discerned this verity, also seems to have understood the cause. "A firm belief both in the existence of the Deity, and "in the duty of communication with him, appears "to have prevailed universally in the early ages. "But religion was then the common care of all "men, a sacerdotal order was unknown."²

The institution of an order of priests, however effected, almost necessarily corrupted the simple truths of religion, but it is unphilosophical in the highest degree to consider those ancient priests as impostors on this account, or to speak of their propagation of error as craft. Meditating, in seclusion and solitude, on the few truths which had come down to them by tradition or been discovered by reason, they soon bewildered their own wits, and wandered into superstition.³ As was too natural, they conceived that the Divinity must be desirous of giving them signs, marking what was to be done and what avoided. The mistake of concomitance for causation, often made in more learned and refined ages, would

¹ Herod. ii. 52.

² History of Greece, i. 97. Dioscorides in Athenæus observes that no sacrifice is so acceptable to the gods as that which is offered up by members of a family

living in unison.—i. 15. In the earliest ages of the world the first-born of every family was esteemed a prophet.—Godwin, Moses et Aaron, i. 6. 2.

³ Plato, Crit. t. vii. 146.

confirm them in this view. They would, for example, find that in the order of time the flight of certain birds over their heads, the appearance of a serpent in their path, the apparition of certain objects in a dream, was followed by certain misfortunes; while other apparitions were succeeded by contrary events. Out of these observations the science of augury, divination, &c. arose. Yet the inventors were not therefore impostors, but rather, in their intentions, benefactors of mankind; and to be respected accordingly.

The generation of polytheism is to be in like manner explained. It was an abuse of the inductive method of philosophy. Men perceived, as soon as they began to observe nature and draw inferences from what they beheld, that the sun and moon¹ exert extraordinary influence, beneficial or hurtful, upon mankind and the world they inhabit; and the supposition was neither unnatural nor absurd that those glorious bodies, by whose rising and setting, by whose approximation or retreat, they were in turn affected with gladness or melancholy, with comfort or discomfort, with good or evil, must be themselves possessed of intelligence as well as power, or at least be inhabited and directed by beings on whom they bestowed the name of gods. The air, too, "which bloweth where it listeth while thou canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth," sweeping around them invisibly, and appearing only in its effects, soon obtained the rank of a deity,² as

¹ Plat. de Legg. t. viii. p. 182.

² The air was Zeus.—Lycoph. Cassand. 80. Meurs. Comm. p. 1179. To some particular state of which the ancients alluded when they spoke of Kronos seeking to devour his children and swallowing stones instead of them. For the teeth of time which produce no effect on the air appear to devour whatever is composed of the element of earth. My-

thologists, however, have generally omitted to remark that the stones which Kronos mistook for his children were not ordinary blocks of basalt or granite but rather so many statues of children endued, *pro tempore*, with life.—"Ἐτι δέ, φησὶν, ἐπενόησε θεὸς Οὐρανὸς βαιτύλια, λίθοις ἐμψύχοις μηχανησάμενος.—Sanchon. ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. i. c. 10. p. 37.

did the ocean which appears to be alive in all its extent, and the earth on whose inexhaustible bounty we subsist.

Out of these elements the sacerdotal families of Greece framed its religion, which, however, is by no means to be considered a system of materialism. They conceived every portion of nature to be animated by its particular soul, just as they believed the whole, as a whole, to have one universal soul, the source of all the others. Their mythology was based on unity. At every step backwards we find the number of gods diminish, till at length we arrive at the Great One, surrounded by the unfathomable splendours of eternity. This is the *Θεὸς ὁ ὅλων Ζεὺς*, of whom Plato¹ and Aristotle constantly speak when they employ the expression *τὸ δαίμόνιον*.² Philosophy, indeed, considered it to be its chiefest task to deliver men from their multitudinous errors respecting the nature of God, and of our duties towards Him; so that, in their speculative notions, very little difference from our own can be detected. Above all men, Plato sought to elevate the sphere of philosophy. In his works, in truth, it moves frequently within the confines of theology, and seldom quits them except for the purpose of infusing spirituality into politics and morals.

This great man, whose profound veneration for the Deity equalled, perhaps, that of Newton himself, conceived that human happiness consists wholly in the knowledge of God, concerning whose character and attributes he was anxious that no unworthy ideas should be entertained. His doctrine was, "that we should ever describe God such as he is." But, as Muretus has well observed, this was requiring too much of human nature, for, most assuredly, we should never speak of God if we waited to discover language befitting His majesty. "For the mind of man is incapable of comprehending the essence

¹ Crit. t. vii. p. 173.

² Poll. i. 5.

“ of God ; the nature of God is known to God
 “ alone ; he alone perfectly understands himself, and
 “ in himself all things. The mind of man waxes
 “ dim, beholding that stupendous light whose bright-
 “ ness excels all other lights ; and, in proportion as
 “ it endeavours more daringly to soar, is it conscious
 “ of falling below its great aim.”¹ The Egyptians
 expressed the same conviction in the celebrated epi-
 graph on the base of the veiled statue of Neith at
 Saïs : “ I am whatever has been, is, or shall be,
 “ and no mortal has drawn aside my veil.” To the
 same purpose was the saying of Simonides to Hiero,
 “ that the more he contemplated the Divine Nature
 “ the less he appeared to comprehend it.” And
 Socrates, in the *Philebos* of Plato, observes that he
 shuddered as often as the Great Name was to be
 pronounced lest he should bestow upon it some
 unworthy epithet.

It would appear, indeed, that the idea which the
 theologians of Greece had formed of the Almighty
 was very nearly the same as our own ; though, in
 compliance with popular prejudices, they often made
 use of the plural for the singular. Goodness, power,
 and knowledge were his characteristics, which in sub-
 stance are the same as the types of the theologians
 of modern times—goodness, immutability, truth,—
 goodness leading the van in both cases, and the re-
 maining conditions answering perfectly to each other.
 For in supreme power and supreme wisdom must
 be immutability and truth, since the Almighty can
 do all he wills and must ever will what is right.²
 In accordance with these views, the spiritual philo-
 sophy of Greece maintained that the Deity is the
 source of no evil, though traces of a far different
 theory are here and there discoverable among the
 poets. Thus, speaking of the calamities arising from
 the anger of Achilles, Homer says

Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή.

¹ Muret. ad Plat. Rep. p. 726.

² Muret. ad Plat. Rep. p. 727.

And, again—

Ζεὺς δ' ἀρετὴν ἀνδράσιν ὀφείλλει τε, μινύθει τε
"Ὅπως κεν ἐθέλῃσιν.¹

So, again, the two vases in the palace of Zeus, out of which he distributed good and evil to mankind.² Hesiod also introduces Zeus, boasting that instead of fire he will give men a curse :—

Τοῖς δ' ἐγὼ ἀντὶ πυρὸς δάσω κακόν.

But in all ages men lay their misfortunes at the door of Providence. However, though the notions men entertain of God be ever so just, their conduct will not be thereby influenced, or a religion, properly speaking, created, unless several other truths be equally believed. It must be established not only that the maker of the universe still regards his workmanship, and will punish all those who seek to disorder the machine, by entailing remorse upon transgression, but that man is not a fugitive being, who can escape out of the hands of God by shrinking into annihilation, but a creature who, in accordance with his will, must run the vast circle of eternity, co-lasting with God himself.³ This is the great keystone of religion : without this, men will believe that even the Almighty can have no hold upon them ; that they die, and their accountability ceases. The doctrine of immortality, however, has everywhere opened the skies to man, and set him upon the discovery of the steps leading thither, and, at the same time, has checked his daring, and poisoned his guilty pleasures.

From the remotest ages the immortality of the soul constituted a leading dogma in the religion of Greece, and was necessarily accompanied by the persuasion, that to the good that immortality would bring happiness, and to the evil the contrary.⁴ Homer is full of this, and the fables, wherein the enemies of God, parricides,

¹ Iliad, v. 242. seq.

² Iliad, ω. 527. seq. Cf. Mu-
ret. p. 737.

³ Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 95.

⁴ Among the people of the
East we even discover traces of
the doctrine of the resurrection :
—Καὶ ἀναβιώσεσθαι, κατὰ τοὺς

murderers, the perpetrators of impiety and wrong, are, after death, banished to the depths of Tartarus, while various degrees of glory and happiness, not altogether unlike what is sublimely shadowed forth by St. Paul, are attributed to the good. That part, for example, of Heracles, which is divine, ascends to Heaven: Achilles enjoys the everlasting serenity of the Islands of the Blessed; and, generally, every virtuous man who rightly performed his duty ascended to the mansion prepared for him in the stars, there to live for ever in happiness.¹ They taught, moreover, that the spirit of man is of heavenly birth: without this we had lived as so many animals. But God bestowed upon us an immortal soul, to watch as a guardian angel over the body, and placed it in the loftiest part of our frame, to teach us to look upward, and remember our birth, — that men are not creatures of clay but children of God and heirs of immortality.²

It will not, however, surprise those who comprehend the constitution of human nature, to find that the Greeks, deprived as they were of revelation, were not content with the simple dogma of immortality, rendered happy or otherwise by rewards and punishments, but imagined a return of the soul to earth, and its passage through a long succession of bodies, until the stains,³ contracted during its first sojourn, had been obliterated: properly, therefore, their Hell was a kind of Purgatory, and, no doubt, suggested the original idea of that intermediate place to the Church of Rome. The religious part of the pagan world, those especially who went through the ceremonies of expiation and initiatory rites, firmly believed that bad men

Μάγους, φησὶ (Θεόπομπος) τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἔσεσθαι ἀθανάτους.—Diog. Laert. Pr. vi. 9.

¹ Plato, Tim. Opp. vii. 45. Cf. p. 97.—Is there not some allusion in the following passage to the scriptural account of the creation of man before woman? Ὡς γὰρ ποτε ἐξ ἀνδρῶν γυναῖκες καὶ τᾶλλα

θηρία γενήσονται ἡπίσταντο οἱ ἐννιστάντες ἡμᾶς.—Tim. Opp. t. vii. p. 111.

² Plato, Tim. Opp. t. vii. p. 137.

³ Even among the ancient Christians this doctrine was not wholly exploded. Origen believed it:—Λέγει δὲ καὶ ἄλλα παραλογώτατα καὶ δυσσεβείας

met in the realms of Hades with a just retribution for their crimes, and were again launched into the career of life, that they might receive from others that which they had done unto them.¹ Though even in those days there were not wanting persons who affected to possess the power of absolution, nay, of granting for a moderate sum of money indulgences and licences to sin. These ragged impostors, of course, patronised only rich sinners, over whose heads vengeance might be hanging for crimes committed either by themselves or their ancestors, (since the Greeks also believed that the sins of the parents are visited upon the children to the third and fourth generations,²) professing to be masters of arts and incantations by which the gods were compelled to grant their prayers.

But while the vulgar and the superstitious were thus deluded, they who possessed superior education and superior minds, united, with a belief in the future, a more cheerful faith in the justice and beneficence of the Deity. They discovered, even by the light of reason, that human nature has been perverted from its original perfection,—that an evil principle has been introduced into our inmost essence,—that in our sinful state we are at enmity with God and all goodness,—and must by prayers and sacrifices be purified and reconciled to him ere we can taste of happiness. On the subject of prayer the wiser Greeks entertained notions not wholly unbecoming a Christian.³ They well enough understood, that it is not to be considered as an importuning of God for wealth or fame or wisdom, or, as ignorant persons suppose, an impious desire that

πλήρη μετεμψυχώσεις τε γὰρ ληρωδεὶ καὶ ἐμψύχους τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ ἑτέρα τούτοις παραπλησία.—Phot. Bib. p. 3. seq.

¹ Plato de Legg. ix. Opp. viii. 152. seq. Cf. 172. seq. 191. seq. De Rep. i. Opp. vi. 9. sqq.

² De Rep. ii. 7. t. i. p. 112. sqq. Stallb.—The belief that children suffered for the crimes of

their parents, which widely pervaded the pagan world, is nowhere more clearly stated than by Plato:—Γὰρ ἐν Αἴδου δίκην δώσομεν ὧν ἂν ἐνθαδε ἀδικήσωμεν, ἢ αὐτοὶ ἢ παῖδες παῖδων.—Id. c. 8. p. 119.

³ Cf. Mitford, Hist. of Greece, i. 115. 8vo.

He would for our sakes depart from his eternal purposes; but merely the nourishing in our minds of a profound veneration for the Almighty, a trust in his Providence and wisdom, an habitual disclosure voluntarily made of our inmost thoughts and desires, which must be known to him whether we will or not. Hence the great philosopher of antiquity¹ simply prayed for those things which it might please God to send, and that if he asked for anything wrong it might be denied him.

It is no doubt true, as Mr. Mitford² has observed, that the Gods in Homer are sometimes introduced favouring the perpetrators of injustice. But this is in contradiction to the general tone of the Greek religion; according to the tenets of which, every injured person had his Erinnyes who avenged whatever wrongs or violence he might suffer. Nay, even animals were comprised within the protecting circle of this beneficent superstition; and the God Pan was intrusted with the punishment of excesses perpetrated against them,³

“ When vultures that, with grief exceeding measure,
Lament their heart's lost treasure,
And o'er their empty nest, in torturing woe,
Pass to and fro,
Borne on their oarlike wings,
Missing the task that brings
Joy with it, send their piercing wail on high,
Apollo, Pan, or Zeus hearing the cry,
Charges th' Erinnyes, though late,
The penalty decreed by Fate
To visit on the spoilers far or nigh.”

Another doctrine, which we might scarcely expect to discover in paganism, constituted, nevertheless, a part of the Greek religion,—I mean the power of peni-

¹ Xen. Mem. i. 3. 2. Cf. Plut. Inst. Lac. § 26.

² Hist. of Greece, i. 108.

³ Æsch. Agam. 55. sqq. with the commentary of Klausen. p. 104. — There occurs in the Scriptures a like sentiment, “ He

who stilleth the young ravens, when they cry.” So also the Mahomedan tradition, that in the midst of a battle-field, where two mighty hosts were engaged, God preserved from the hoofs of the chargers, and from the feet of men, the lapwing's nest.

tence. In all cases, indeed, this would not avail. The laws of nature (*παραμύμη*, fate) would have their course whatever might be the conduct or disposition of man; but in all other cases, tears¹ shed in secret, solemn acts of religion, and deep contrition were supposed to appease the anger of Heaven. Besides, when afflictions fell upon men, they were not necessarily regarded as evils; for by suffering, the soul, they thought, is purified, chastened, endued with wisdom,—

“Sweet are the uses of adversity;”

and, hence, of those trials which ignorance regards as evils, most, if not all, are but so many dispensations of mercy, designed to work off the dross of sin, and restore the spirit to its original brightness.² By these means, likewise, transgressors were believed to make some atonement for their crimes. Remembrance haunted them even in sleep. Their miseries rose up before them, compassed them round, and urged them by invisible stripes into her track, “whose ways are ways of pleasantness, and all whose paths are peace.”

But over the impenitent wicked vengeance for ever impended; nor could wealth or rank purchase impunity, as the bare-footed friars and ass-mounters of the time were fain to persuade the credulous and weak-minded. Long withheld, the anger of the Gods descended at length in showers, utterly extirpating the evil-doers.³ Thus perished Paris, the violator of marriage and of hospitable rites; thus Clytemnæstra and Ægisthos, adulterers and murderers; thus the whole house of Œdipos, involved in an unutterable cycle of misery and crime. The interval, moreover, between the commission of guilt and its final punishment, was given up to the Erinnyes,⁴ those dire and

¹ Πηγὴ δακρύων.—Soph. Trach. 852. Antig. 802. A Scriptural expression, “O that mine eyes were a fountain of tears.” Æsch. Agam. 68. sqq. Eumen. 900. Suppl. 1040.

² Æsch. Agam. 160. sqq.—Klaus. Com. p. 120. Hence the

proverb, παθήματα μαθήματα.—Blomfield.

³ Pind. Pyth. iii. 11. Æsch. Agam. 342. sqq. Klausen. Com. p. 140.

⁴ Cf. Æsch. Eum. 859. seq.—Schol. ad Æsch. Tim. Orat. Att. t. 12. p. 384.

mysterious powers of vengeance, whose breathless chase after crime is portrayed with so much sublimity by Sophocles. These divinities, starting into instant birth, whenever blood was unlawfully shed, walked perpetually beside the murderer to his grave,—to him alone visible, to him alone audible.

The gross and carnal-minded contrived, indeed, in the case of lesser transgressions, to remain blind to this deformity, while youth and health and prosperity cast their illusions over their path. But age in this matter sharpened their sight. On drawing near the brink of the grave, the vices, hitherto so blythe and comely, appeared to grow more shrivelled and hideous and unlovely than their own impure countenances, and they would then fain have parted company with them. But, no! Having been comrades of their own choosing, Zeus chained them to their side to the last, unless repentance severed the link; and their fearful howlings, night and day, broke their repose, harrowed up their feelings, augmented tenfold their terrors, while sweat and tears, and agonising shrieks burst from them even in their dreams. The wicked, therefore, in the deepest darkness of paganism, were not left wholly to the error of their ways. But God reserved himself a witness in their hearts, and set up a light by which they might rightly, if they chose, direct their footsteps. It is true that the cardinal verities of religion were then but very imperfectly perceived, that, to get at them at all, men had to break through the shells of many fables, and that, when found, they must be for the most part enjoyed in secret, far from the din of ambition. Not, indeed, that the people refused their sympathy to virtue,—public opinion is never so far corrupted,—but that in the world there has always existed a strong current bearing men far from the track of duty and holiness.

There was, no doubt, some degree of fanaticism mixed up with all this. The priesthood, an order of men much calumniated, but without whom society

would be worse by far than it is, found it necessary to allure men into the bosom of their church by imposing ceremonies, by sacrifices, and by the mysterious disclosure of certain truths in the performance of certain rites. It will be seen that I allude to the mysteries. On the occasion of initiation, as if to intimate that men cannot be virtuous or religious by proxy, each individual became his own priest and sacrificed¹ for himself. But in what initiation itself consisted, no man knows. Antiquity has revealed nothing, and nothing can we discover. The hypotheses of scholars are, therefore, so many dreams, and a mere waste of ingenuity; for, if they should by chance hit the mark, there exist no means of proving that they have done so. But of this we are sure, that a persuasion was widely spread that a blissful immortality awaited the initiated. A greater degree of holiness was supposed to attach to them,—there was a spell shed around their persons,—in situations of danger they experienced less of the fear of death. In storms, for example, at sea, when the ship seemed about to sink — “Have you been initiated?” was the question men asked each other. Still, among philosophers, the wisest and best sometimes neglected this popular consummation of a pious life. Socrates belonged not to this communion, a circumstance which rendered it more easy to fasten upon him the charge of impiety, in those days more atrocious than now, since, to be esteemed inimical to the gods, was the surest way to make enemies of men. Further than this, it is not necessary that I enter into the gentile faith, which only incidentally, as it affected morals, belongs to my subject.

But there exists in all countries a minor cycle of superstitions, which, more strongly perhaps than anything paints the peculiarities of the national character. In the north, as we know, this indigenous belief has survived all changes in the public creed, and will sub-

¹ Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 712.

sist to the last, lingering among our woods, our ruins, our moonlit meadows, our churchyards, by our firesides. Fairies, witches, ghosts, goblins can by no advances in civilisation be put to flight. They sail in our steamers on the ocean, ride at quickest speed along the railroads, go to bed with the first lady in the land, and even nestle beneath the statesman's vest.¹ With us these aërial beings, or spectres of crime, too commonly assume an aspect grotesque or devilish, but they nevertheless keep alive in the popular mind the spirit of romance and poetry, one of the never-failing handmaids of religion. Mythology rarely penetrates down to these primitive superstitions, which, however, constitute the basis of the whole science, and in Greece assumed, in many cases, forms of beauty analogous to its loftier and more poetic fables.

The place occupied in our own popular mythology by the "light-sandalled fays," was in Greece filled by the Hamadryads and Nymphs.² No wood or grove or solitary tree, no fountain or rill in moss-grown cell or rustic cavern, existed without its co-existent divinity, female generally, and instinct with beauty and beneficence. These creatures, the Jinn and Jinneh of the Arabs, extended their dominion over all minor streams, and sported, in the softness and stillness of night, athwart the billows silvered by the moon; but the deities of great rivers, as the Acheloös, the Peneios, and others, were male. Being only a few degrees raised above humanity, they were often enamoured of mortals, to whom they appeared arrayed in loveliness, amid the glimmering forests,

¹ See, for example, Lord Castlereagh's vision of the fire-devil in Mr. Lockhart's Life of Sir Walter Scott.

² The same superstitions, a little modified, are still found in

many parts of Greece. "The religious feelings of the Cretan, in the nineteenth century, differ very little, if at all, from those entertained for the Naiads by his heathen ancestors."—Pashley, Trav. in Crete, i. 89.

at dawn or twilight, or when

“overhead the moon
Wheels her pale course.”

It was not always, however, that the love of a nymph proved a blessing. There were occasions when, having for a moment revealed their superhuman charms to some shepherd in his romantic solitude, or to some poet worshiping the muses alone, beside the inspiring mount or spring, they again capriciously withdrew, and left him vision-smitten to pine or, perchance, to die.

Nor were the Greeks wholly devoid of belief in evil spirits, for the demon Alastor,¹ which was a deification of the principle that incites to crime and afterwards brings vengeance, can in no way be regarded as good. Typhon, too, with the Giants and Titans, had at least a predominance of evil in their character, but these are treated of at length by the mythologists. Several superstitions, commonly supposed to be wholly Oriental, were current in Greece, such as that men had the power by using certain spells to quit their mortal forms and roam disembodied through the earth. By magic rings, too, and helmets they might be rendered invisible, and, thus protected, enter into the secret chambers of kings, pollute their wives, and rifle their treasures.² Means, moreover, they had, confounded in those ages with supernatural power, of charming poisonous serpents, as to this day is done by the subjects of our Eastern empire, and the snake-catchers of Egypt; and though it be now known that opium constitutes no small portion of this charm, the people

¹ Cf. Poppo, Proleg. in Thucyd. i. 14. Xenarchos observes that the home perishes when conflicting fortunes attach to the master, and into which the Alastor creeps :

φθίνει δόμος
ἀσυντάτοισι δεσποτῶν κεχρημένος
τύχαις, ἀλάστορ τ' αἰσπείκαιε.

Ap. Athen. ii. 64. seq. See also Æsch. Choeph. 119. Eumen. 560. 802. with Klausen. Æsch. Theolog. i. 9. 56. seq. et ad Agam. p. 119. The Egyptians had their Babys or Typhon, a god of evil.—Athen. xv. 25.

² Plat. Rep. ii. § 3. Stallb.

generally, both in the East and West, conceive other influences to be employed than those of legitimate art.

There was not in later times, perhaps, that boundless faith in spells and transformations still subsisting in the East. But in the earlier ages, and in the gloomy mountain recesses of Arcadia, events equally strange were supposed to have happened. Thus Lycaon having sacrificed an infant to Zeus Lycæos, and sprinkled the blood upon the altar, immediately became a wolf;¹ and it was reported that any one who performed this dreadful sacrifice, and afterwards by accident tasted of the human entrails, when mingled with those of other victims, forthwith underwent the same transformation.² Thus we find the gloomy legend of the Breton forests existing in the heart of the Peloponnesos, where there can, I fear, be little doubt, that human victims were habitually offered up. Another ancient superstition, which found its way into Italy, was, that a person first seen by a wolf lost his voice, whereas if the man obtained the prior glimpse of the animal no evil ensued.³

The belief in ghosts, coeval no doubt with man, flourished especially among the Greeks. Hesiod entertained peculiar notions on this subject, which some suppose to have been borrowed from the East, that is, he believed that the good men of former times became, at their decease, guardian spirits, and were entrusted⁴ with the care of future races. Plato adopts these ghosts, and gives them admission into his Republic, where they perform an important part and receive peculiar honours.⁵ When they appeared,

¹ Paus. viii. 2, 3. Cf. Plat. Rep. viii. 16. Stallb.

² Plat. Rep. viii. 16. t. ii. p. 223. Stallb. Cf. Boeckh in Platon. Minoem. p. 55. seq.

³ Muret. ad Plat. Rep. i. p. 670. where, with much ingenuity, he detects an allusion to this superstition in a hasty glance of the

philosopher.—Plin. Hist. Nat. viii. 34. Schol. ad Theocr. xiv. 21. Virg. Ecl. ix. 53. Donat. in Ter. Adelph. iv. 1. 21. et Stallb. ad Plat. Rep. i. 37.

⁴ Hes. Opp. et Dies, 121. seq. where see Goettling.

⁵ De Rep. v. 15. t. i. 377. seq. The Magi, among whom super-

as sometimes they would, by day, their visages were pale and their forms unsubstantial like the creations of a dream.¹ But, as among us, they chiefly affected the night for their gambols, and in Arcadia particularly, would appear to honest people returning home late in cross-roads, and such places whence they were not to be dislodged but by being pelted apparently by pellets made from bread crumb, on which men had wiped their fingers, carefully preserved for this purpose by the good folks about Phigaleia.²

The most remarkable prank played by any ancient ghosts, however, with whose history I am acquainted, did not take place in Greece, but in the Campagna di Roma, where, after a bloody battle between the Romans and the Huns, in which all but the generals and their staff bit the dust, two spectral armies, the ghosts of the fallen warriors, appeared upon the field to enact the contest over again. During three whole days did these valiant souls of heroes, as the Homeric phrase is, carry on the struggle; and the historian who relates the fact, is careful to observe that they did not fall short of living soldiers, either in fire or courage. People saw them distinctly charge each other, and heard the clash of their arms. Similar exhibitions were to be seen in different parts of the ancient world. In the great plain of Sogda,³ for example, spectral armies of mighty courage but voiceless, were in the constant habit of engaging in mortal combat at the break of day. Caria likewise possessed a favourite

natural sights and powers were most familiar, maintained that the Gods occasionally appeared to them, and that the atmosphere is filled with spectral shadows, which, floating about like mists or exhalations, are visible to the sharpsighted.—Diog. Laert. Pr. vi. 9. A similar belief prevailed among the early anchorites. "It was their firm persuasion, that the air which they breathed was

peopled with invisible enemies; with innumerable dæmons who watched every occasion and assumed every form, to terrify, and, above all, to tempt, their unguarded virtue."—Gibbon, vi. 263.

¹ *Æsch. Agam.* 68. — *Klaus. Com.* p. 108.

² *Athen.* iv. 31.

³ Which had once been a lake. — *Vit. Isidor. ap. Phot. Bib.* p. 839.

haunt of these warlike phantoms. But here the apparition was only occasional, and all its evolutions were performed in the air, which was the case in England, as we have been assured by very old people, before the breaking-out of the American war. Another fray of ghosts took place every summer in Sicily on the plain of the Four Towers, but in this case the whole business was carried on at noon, to the no small annoyance of Pan who usually takes his siesta at that hour,—that is, if they were as noisy in their battles as the Campanian spectres.¹

Like the Roman Catholics, the Greeks had great faith in miraculous images, holy wells, &c. and their descendants still maintain the same creed. Near the Church of Haghia Parthenoë in Crete, is a most copious fountain deriving its name from the same holy and miracle-working virgins to whom the church is dedicated, and who also preside over the waters. “The worship of the headless body of Molos has “also its parallel in modern times.”² As the Cretan Christians for many years revered the head of Titus, though deprived of its body, so their heathen ancestors used annually to honour by a religious festival the body of Molos, the well-known father of Meriones, though deprived of its head. The legend, told to explain the ancient ceremony in which the headless statue of a man thus exhibited, was that “after Molos “got possession of a nymph’s person without having “first obtained her consent, his body was found, but “his head had disappeared.”³ An image of the Virgin travelled by water from Constantinople to Greece, where it was shortly after seen standing up in the waves near Mount Athos. Similar legends obtained of old. Near Biennos in Crete,⁴ “has been dug up “the bones and skulls of giants, many of whom were “eight or ten times the size of common men.”⁵

¹ Phot. Bib. p. 339.

² Pashley, *Travels in Crete*, i. 88.

³ Pashley, *Travels in Crete*,

i. 177.—Plut. de Orac. Def.

⁴ Herod. iv. 33.—Pashley, *Travels in Crete*, i. 192.

⁵ Pashley, i. 278.

Of the various modes of penetrating into the future,¹ prevalent among the people, I may mention some few. Prophetesses are frequently spoken of in Scripture, and in the Acts of the Apostles² is given an account of a young female slave who brought her master large sums of money by this trade, which was that of a gipsy. Others there were who, like many among the Orientals, professed to understand the language of birds. A slave, said to possess this knowledge, is celebrated, by Porphyry, and was probably from the East.³ One sort of divination was practised by pouring drops of oil into a vessel and looking on it, when they pretended to behold a representation of what was to take place. This in Egypt is still practised, merely substituting ink for oil, and a great many travellers appear to believe in it. Soldiers going to war were especially liable to fall into this kind of foolery.⁴

The use of holy water on entering temples is of great antiquity. This custom was called *περίεργανσις*, and the act was performed with the branch of the fortunate olive.⁵ There stood at the door of the temple a capacious lustral font, whose contents had been rendered holy by extinguishing⁶ therein a lighted brand from the altar; thence water was sprinkled on themselves, by worshipers or by the officiating priest. A similar apparatus stood at the entrance to the Agora, to purify the orators, &c. going to the public assembly. It was likewise placed at the door of private houses, wherein there was a corpse, that every one might purify himself on going out.⁷ Superstitious persons usually walked about

¹ See Max. Tyr. Diss. iii. p. 31—38.

² C. xvi. v. 16. sqq.

³ De Abstinentiâ, iii. Cf. Cedren. Michael, Compotat. εἰσὶ γὰρ τίνες οἱ ἐν ἐλαίῳ ὀρίοντες μαντεύονται. — Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 1093.

⁴ Οἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἐξιόντες ἐπητήρουν τὰς διοσημείας. — Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 1106.

⁵ Ramo felicis olivæ. — Virgil. Æn. vi. 230.

⁶ Athen. ix. 76.

⁷ Casaub. ad Theophr. Char. p. 287. Eurip. Alcest. 99.

with a laurel leaf in their mouth, or occasionally bearing a staff of laurel, there being a preserving power in that sacred shrub: hence arose the proverb *δαφνίαν φορῶ βακτῆριαν*, — “I carry a laurel staff,” when a man would say, I have no fear. Persons not thus protected it is to be presumed were terrified if a weasel or dog crossed their path; and the omen could only be averted by casting three stones at it, the number three being exceedingly agreeable to the gods. Certain fruits would not burst on the tree if three stones were cast into the same hole with the seed when the tree was planted. Two brothers walking on the way conceived it ominous of evil if they happened to be parted by a stone. On every trifling occasion altars and chapels were erected to the gods, particularly by women; no house or street was free from them. For example, if a snake crept into the house through the eaves, forthwith an altar was erected. At places where three roads met, stones were set up, to be worshiped by travellers, who anointed them with oil. If a mouse nibbled a hole in a corn-sack, they would fly to the portent interpreter, and inquire what they should do, — “Get it mended,” was sometimes the honest reply. Horrid dreams¹ might be expiated, and their evil effects be averted, by telling them to the rising sun. When the candles spit, it was a sign of rain.² During thunder and lightning they made the noise called *Poppysma*,³ which it was hoped might avert the danger. On board ship sailors entertained the idea, that to carry a corpse would be the cause of shipwreck, as happened to the vessel which was bearing to Eubœa the bones of Pelops.⁴ The sailors of the Mediterranean, for this reason, will refuse to receive mummies on board.

¹ Cf. Plut. Alcib. § 39.

³ Sch. Aristoph. Vesp. 260. 262. 626.

² Casaub. ad Theophr. Char. p. 300.

⁴ Pausan. v. 13. 4. Palm. Exerc. in Auct. Græc. d. 398.

BOOK III.

WOMEN.

CHAPTER I.

WOMEN IN THE HEROIC AGES.

THERE is no question connected with Grecian manners more difficult than that which concerns the character and condition of women.¹ On so many points did they differ in this matter from us, that, unless we can conceive ourselves to be in the wrong, the condemnation of the whole Hellenic theory of female rights and interests and influence must, as a matter of course, ensue. I do not say that, after all, this is not the conclusion we should come to. Reason may possibly be on our side; but certainly it appears to me, that too little pains has hitherto been taken to arrive at the truth; and as it is a consideration by no means unimportant, I have bestowed on it more than ordinary attention in the hope of letting in additional light, however little, on this obscure and unheeded department of antiquities.

In form the Greek woman was so perfect as to be still taken as the type of her sex. Her beauty, from whatever cause, bordered closely upon the ideal,

¹ Describing the approach to the temple of Aphrodite, Lucian says: εὐθὺς ἡμῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ τεμένους Ἀφροδίσσιοι προσέπνευσαν αἶραι. — Amor. § 12. These gentle airs should breathe into the style and language of

the author who treats of the women of Greece; but, in my own case, research I fear and the effects of fifty-two degrees of north latitude will prevent this consummation so devoutly to be wished.

or rather was that which, because now only found in works of art, we denominate the ideal. But our conceptions of form never transcend what is found in Nature. She bounds our ideas by a circle over which we cannot step. The sculptors of Greece represented nothing but what they saw,¹ and even when the cunning of their hand was most felicitous, even when loveliness and grace and all the poetry of womanhood appeared to breathe from their marbles, the inferiority of their imitations to the creations of God, in properties belonging to form, in mere contour, in the grouping and developement of features, must have sufficed to impress even upon Pheidias, that high priest of art, the conviction of how childish it were to dream of rising above nature. The beauty of Greece was, indeed, a creature of earth, but suggested aspirations beyond it. Every feature in the countenance uttered impassioned language, was rife with tenderness, instinct with love. The pulses of the heart, warm and rapid, seemed to possess ready interpreters in the eye. But, radiant over all, the imagination shed its poetic splendour, communicating a dignity, an elevation, a manifestation of soul, which lent to passion all the moral purity and enduring force that belong to love, when love is least tainted with unspiritual and ignoble selfishness.

I despair, however, of representing by words what

¹ On the beauty of the modern Greek women I can speak from my own observation; but most travellers are of the same opinion, and Mr. Douglas, in particular, gives the following testimony in their favour: "Though the delicacy of her form is not long able to sustain the heat of the climate and the immoderate use of the warm bath, I can scarcely trust myself to describe the beauty of a young Greek when arriving at the age which

"the ancients have so gracefully personified as the *Χρυσόστέφανος* " *Ἡῆνη*. Were we to form our ideas of Grecian women from the wives of Albanian peasants we should be strangely deceived; but the islands of Andro, Tino, and, above all, that of Crete, contain forms upon which the chisel of Praxiteles would not have been misemployed." — Essay, &c. p. 159.

neither Pheidias nor Polycletos could represent in marble or ivory. The women of Greece were neither large nor tall. The whole figure, graceful but not slender, left the imagination nothing to desire. It was satisfied with what was before it. Limbs exquisitely moulded,¹ round, smooth, tapering, a *torso* undulating upwards in the richest curves to the neck, a bosom somewhat inclined to fulness, but in configuration perfect, features in which the utmost delicacy was blended with whatever is noblest and most dignified in expression. Both blue eyes and black² were found in Greece, but the latter most commonly. Even Aphrodite, spite of her auburn hair, comes before us in the *Iliad* with large black eyes, beaming with humid fire. No goddess but the Attic virgin has the cold blue eye of the North, becoming her maidenly character, reserved, firm, affectionate, with a dash of shrewishness. The nose was straight and admirably proportioned, without anything of that breadth which in the works of inferior sculptors creates an idea of Amazonian fierceness. Beauty itself had shaped the mouth and chin, and basked and sported in them. In these, above all, the Grecian woman excelled the barbarians. Other features they might have resembling hers, but

¹ Cf. Winkelmann, iv. 4. 44.

² Plat. *Repub.* iv. t. vi. p. 167.

—That black eyes were most common among the Greeks may be inferred from this, that, in describing the parts of the eye, they called the iris τὸ μέλαν, which is sometimes of one colour, and sometimes of another. —Arist. *Hist. Anim.* I. viii. 2. He observes, further on, that some persons had black eyes, others deep blue, others gray, others of the colour of goats.—§ 4. Other animals have eyes of one colour, except the horse, which has sometimes one blue eye. Eyes

moderate in size and neither sunken nor projecting were esteemed the best.—§. 5. Large eyes, likewise, were greatly admired. Hence Hera is called ῥοῶπις by Homer. Aristænetos, describing his *Laïs*, says: ὀφθαλμοὶ μεγάλοι τε καὶ διαυγεῖς καὶ καθαρῷ φωτὶ διαλάμποντες.—Scheffer ad *Æl. Hist.* Var. xii. 1. With respect to the colour of the hair see Winkelmann, iv. 4. 38. It was, of course, considered a great beauty to have it long, and, therefore, Helen, in honour of Clytemnæstra, cut off the points only.—Eurip. *Orest.* 128. seq.

seldom that Attic mouth, that dimpled, oval, richly-rounded chin, which imprinted the crowning characteristic of womanhood upon her face, and stamped her mistress of man and of the world.

A creature thus fashioned and gifted with an intellect which, if less robust and comprehensive, is equally active with that of man and still more flexible, could scarcely be degraded into a domestic drudge and slave, and in Greece was not.¹ Already, in the heroic ages, women occupied a commanding position in society, somewhat less honourable than is their due, but, in many respects, higher and more to be envied than was appropriated to them in the ignorant and corrupt times of chivalry which the Homeric period has been thought greatly to resemble. In those days, though fashion required more reserve in the female character than is consistent with the spirit of modern manners, persons of different sexes could meet and converse together without scandal. Gentlewomen of the highest rank went abroad under their own guidance. On the arrival of a foreign ship upon the shore we find an Argive princess descending without any male protector to cheapen articles of dress and trinkets, which however, as the event proved, was not without danger, for both she herself and a number of her maids were carried away captives by the perfidious strangers.²

Homer abounds with proofs both of the liberty women enjoyed and the high estimation in which they were held. They were quite as much as is consistent with prudence and delicacy the companions of men.³ And in more than one particular, as in the bathing⁴ and perfuming of distinguished male

¹ On the respect paid to women, see Demosth. in Ev. et Mnes. § 11.

² Herodot. i. 1.

³ Athen. i. 18.

⁴ Describing the beauty of Hippodameia, daughter of Anchises, Homer says, she excelled all the

maidens of her age in beauty, skill in female accomplishments, and endowments of the mind, for which reason Alcatheos, the noblest man in Troy, chose her to be his wife.—Iliad, ε. 430. sqq. He must necessarily, therefore, have enjoyed opportunities of

guests, the manners of those times allowed of or rather enjoined familiarities greater than the customs of any civilised modern nations permit. Ladies lived at large with their husbands and families in the more frequented parts of the house, dined and drank wine with them, rode or walked out in their company, or, attended by a female servant, and were, in fact, in the modern sense of the word, mistresses of the house and everything it contained.

When the husband happened to be absent it was not, indeed, considered delicate, if the mansion was filled with youthful and petulant guests, for the wife to be seen much among them,¹ though it still appears to have been incumbent upon married ladies to exercise the rites of hospitality, which sometimes, as in the case of Helen, opened the way to intrigue and elopement. A similar event, veiled in mythological obscurity, shipwrecked the virtue of Alcmena.² Clytemnæstra, too, and Ægialeia the wife of Diomede, fell before the temptations afforded by the absence of their lords,³ while Penelope surrounded with youthful suitors, assailed by reports of her husband's death, alternately soothed and menaced, remained true to her vows and became to all ages the pattern of conjugal fidelity.

The examples are many of the facility of their intercourse with strangers. Sthenobœa wife of Prætos, king of Argos, must have enjoyed numerous occasions of being alone with Bellerophon before she could, like the wife of Potiphar, have tried his

studying her character. Another illustration of the freedom of heroic female manners is furnished by the author of the *Little Iliad*, who relates that, when Aias and Odysseus were contending for the armour of Achilles, the Greeks, by the advice of Nestor, sent certain scouts to listen beneath the battlements of Troy to the conversation of the virgins who,

in the cool of the evening, it may be presumed, were wont to walk upon the ramparts and converse frankly of the exploits of their illustrious enemies. — Sch. Aristoph. *Equit.* 1051. Cf. *Il.* ζ. 239.

¹ Hom. *Odyss.* α. 330. sqq.

² Apollod. ii. 4. 8.

³ Ovid. *Ibis.* 349. seq. Tzet. ad Lycoph. 384. 1093.

honour and forfeited her own.¹ Helen after her return to Sparta, banquets and associates freely with strangers at the table of her husband, where, by her conversation and remarks, we discover how quick and penetrating the understanding of women was in those ages supposed to be. Nothing could be further from the mind of those heroic warriors than the idea of regarding woman merely as an object of desire, or as a household drudge.² If she receives praise for her beauty, or industrious habits, still more is she celebrated for her mental endowments, for her wisdom, for her maternal love. Where in fiction or in life shall we find a lady more gentle, more graceful, more accomplished, more gifted with every charm of womanhood than Helen, who, nevertheless, falls a prey to seduction! Where more feminine tenderness, or truer love than in Andromache? Where more matronly sweetness and dignity than in the Phæacian Arete; more unblameable vivacity, blithe unreserve, greater sensibility, united with the noblest maiden modesty, self command and proud consciousness of virtue, than in that loveliest of poetical creations her daughter Nausicaa.

Homer himself felt all the charm of this exquisite creation and lingered over it with the fondness of a parent. She is the very flower of the heroic age. In the rapid glimpse afforded us of her life, we discover what the condition and occupations of a noble virgin were in those primitive times, a felicitous mixture of splendour and simplicity, approaching nature in the rough energy of the passions, with feelings healthy and vigorous and happy in the utter absence of sickly sentimentality. Though daughter to a king Nausicaa does not disdain to care for the family wardrobe. Her nuptial day is not far distant, and, agreeably to the nature of her sex in all

¹ Apollod. ii. 3. 7. Sch. Aristoph. Ran. 1041.

² Hesiod suggests a luxurious

picture of female life in the heroic ages.—Opp. et Dies. 519. seq.

ages, she is desirous that her dress should on that occasion appear to the best advantage, but to her father modestly feigns to think principally of her brothers.¹ Alcinoos aware of the feint, smiles inwardly while he approves of her solicitude. With his ready permission she piles the garments on the royal car drawn by mules, and then, mounting the seat whip in hand, departs for the distant rivulet accompanied by her maids. Of these girls, the poet says, two, clothed by the graces with loveliness, used to sleep in the Princess's chamber one on either side the door.

On reaching the secluded spot, the umbrageous embouchure of a mountain brook where they usually performed their lowly task, it was their first care to unharness the mules, which were turned loose to graze on the shore. Their labours occupy them but a portion of the morning, and these concluded, they dine sumptuously enough, in some shady nook overlooking the stream, on wine and viands brought along with them from the palace. To remove every idea of sordid toil and fatigue Homer is careful to represent them full of life and animal spirits, bounding sportively along the meadows, having first bathed and lubricated their limbs with fragrant oils. The game which engages them while their robes and veils are drying on the pebbly beach received in later ages the name of Phæninda,¹ and consisted in throwing a ball unexpectedly from one individual to another of a large party scattered over a field. As it was uncertain to whom the person in possession of the ball would cast it, every one was on the watch, and much of the sport arose from the eagerness of each to catch it.

In this game the princess takes part, laughing and singing with the rest, and it is a clumsy throw of her's which sends the ball into the river that excites the loud exclamation from her maids which

¹ See Book II. Chapter III.

awakens Odysseus. Her conversation with the hero thereupon ensuing suggests a high notion of female education at the period. The maids of honour terrified at his strange and grotesque appearance, unclothed, and deformed with ooze and mud, take to flight, but Nausicaa relying on the respect due to her father maintains her ground. Odysseus reverencing her youth and beauty prefers his petition from a distance. She grants far more than he seeks, and with many indications of female gentleness mingles so much self-possession, forethought, compassion for misfortune, consideration of what is due to her own character, and confidence in the generosity and unsuspecting goodness of her parents, that we are constrained to suppose the existence of much instruction, mental training, and knowledge of the world. And if such qualifications had not at that time been found in women, Homer had much too keen a sense of propriety to have hazarded his reputation and his bread by supposing their prevalence in his poems.¹

How the women of the heroic times received their instruction it is not difficult to comprehend, though there has come down to us very little positive information on the subject. The poets, those prophetic teachers of the infancy of humanity, had already commenced their revelations of the good and beautiful. Wandering from town to town, under the immediate direction of Providence, they scattered far and near the seeds of civilisation. Their songs were in every mouth: both youths and maidens imbibed the wisdom they contained, and with their sprightly strains, as in the case of Nausicaa, enlivened their lighter moments when alone, or delighted the noble and numerous guests at their fathers' board. Homer, indeed, nowhere introduces a lady singing at an enter-

¹ Clytemnæstra, again, in *Æschylus* exhibits considerable knowledge of geography, which she could only have acquired from

conversation with travellers or from the songs of the poets.—*Agamemn.* 287. sqq.

tainment, excepting in Olympos, where the Muses represent the sex; but Æschylus, a poet profoundly versed in antiquity, speaks of Iphigenia as performing this sweet office in her father's hall.¹ The daughter of Alcinoos, however, shares in the amusements and instruction supplied by the bard during the entertainment described by Homer, and converses freely with their illustrious guest.²

We have above seen that women in those ages were not creatures of mere luxury or show. Possessing considerable physical power and energy, and much skill in the elegant and useful arts of life, they were deterred by no false pride or ignorant prejudices from converting their capacity to the use of their families. The magnificence of their attire, their costly ornaments, or the consciousness of the highest personal beauty, nowise interfered with their thrifty habits; and Lord Bacon³ tells a very good anecdote to show that the same in former days was the case in England. There was a lady of the West country, he says, who gave great entertainments at her house to most of the gallant gentlemen of her neighbourhood, among whom Sir Walter Raleigh was one. This lady, though otherwise a stately dame, was a notable good housewife, and in the morning betimes she called to one of her maids that looked to the swine, and asked, "Is the piggy served?" Sir Walter's chamber being near the lady's, he heard this homely inquiry. A little before dinner the lady came down in great state to the drawing-room, which was full of gentlemen, and as soon as Sir Walter Raleigh saw her, "Madam," says he, "is the piggy served?" To which the lady replied, "You know best whether you have had your breakfast."

An Homeric princess resembled this stately dame

¹ And Theocritus enumerates among the accomplishments of Helen, that she could sing and play upon the cithara. — Eidyll.

xviii. 35. sqq. et Kiesling ad Theocrit. Cf. Æneid. vi. 647.

² Odyss. 9. 457. sqq.

³ Apophthegms, Old and New, § 278.

of the West, in thinking nothing beneath her which could contribute to the comfort or elegant adornment of those she loved. The employments of women in those ages, however, included some things which, in the present state of the useful arts, would seldom fall to their share, and among these were the labours of the loom, to excel in which was evidently considered one of their chiefest accomplishments and most necessary duties.¹ In this occupation they took refuge from anxiety and sorrow; to this we find Hector with rough tenderness urging his beloved wife to have recourse, when her affection would withdraw him from his post;² and Telemachus, in a tone somewhat too authoritative, recommends, in the *Odyssey*, the same course to his mother:³ and in the Eastern world the same tastes and habits continued to prevail down to a very late age. When Sisygambis, the captive Persian queen, was presented, however, by Alexander with purple and wool, she sank into an agony of grief and tears: they reminded her of happier days. But the conqueror, misunderstanding her feelings, and desirous to remove the notion that he was imposing any servile task, observed: — “This garment, mother, which you see me wear, is not merely the gift but the work also of my sisters.”⁴ Similar presents passed between near relations in Persia; for in Herodotus we find Amestris, the queen of Xerxes, conferring upon her husband, as a gift of price, a richly variegated and ample pelisse, which the labours of her own fair hands had rendered valuable.⁵ Augustus, too, even when all simplicity of manners had expired with the republic, affected still to bring up the females of his family upon the antique model, and wore no garments but such as were manufactured in his own house.⁶

To return: constant practice and the delight which familiar and voluntary labour inspires, had already in the heroic ages, enabled the Grecian ladies to throw

¹ Alexand. ab Alexand. iv. 8.

⁵ Herod. ix. 188.

² *Iliad*, ζ. 491.

³ *Odyss.* α. 357.

⁴ *Q. Curt.* v. 2. 18.

⁶ *Suet. in Vit.* § 64. Conf. *Feith. Antiq. Homer.* iv. 34.

much splendour and richness of invention into their fabrics. The desire also, perhaps, of excelling in works of this kind the ladies of Sidon, communicated an additional impulse to their industry. At all events, Homer makes it abundantly clear that they understood how to employ with singular felicity the arts of design, and to represent in colours brilliant and varied, cities, landscapes, human figures, and all the complicated movements of war.¹ We must, no doubt, allow something for the poet's own skill in painting; but, after every reasonable deduction, enough will remain still to prove that at the period of the Trojan war Greece had made remarkable progress in every art which tends to ameliorate and embellish human life.

Carding, also, and spinning entered into the list of their occupations. Even Helen though frail as fair, is laborious as a Penelope, plying her shuttle or her golden distaff, and surrounded habitually by a troop of she-manufacturers.² Arete, queen of Phæacia, is likewise depicted sitting at the fire, distaff in hand, encircled by her maids;³ and the wife of Odysseus, famed for her household virtues, is seen in the *Odyssey* at her own door spinning the purple thread.⁴ The work-baskets of the ladies of that period, if we can rely on a poet's word, were such as more modern dames might envy, formed of beaten gold and chased with figures richly wrought, and grouped with infinite taste and judgment.⁵ In these their balls of purple were deposited when spun, though probably reed baskets or osier work contented the ambition of ladies less aspiring than Europa.

¹ In northern Greece and Macedonia women could depict such scenes from the life, since they learned the use of arms, and engaged personally in war. — Athen. xiii. 10. Tradition relates that Queen Matilda and her maids wrought the tapestry of Bayeux, representing the conquest of England by her husband.

² *Iliad*, ζ 491. — *Odys.* δ. 131. — Theocrit. *Eidyll.* xviii. 32. sqq.

³ *Odys.* ζ 491. 38. — Feith by mistake introduces the name of Nausicaa instead of that of her mother. — *Ant. Hom.* iv. 3. 2.

⁴ *Odys.* u. 97.

⁵ Mosch. *Eidyll.* ii. 37. seq.

Women also, but chiefly slaves, performed in those primitive times all the operations of the kitchen. They even in the great establishment of Alcinoos work at the mill, as they do also in the palace of Odysseus, where guided perhaps by the nature of the climate we find the young women preferring for this operation the cool of the night.¹ Even in later ages, when juster ideas of what is due to the sex prevailed, this severe toil sometimes devolved upon female slaves, though in general it was the males, and of these the most worthless, who worked the mills, regarded at length almost in the light of correctional establishments.² But the making of bread was very properly appropriated to women almost throughout the East. The Egyptians, indeed, an effeminate and servile people, very early, as we learn from Genesis, confounded the offices of the sex; but among the Lydians, even in the palace of Cræsos, we meet with a female baker,³ and the Persian armies carried along with them women to bake their bread in their longest and most dangerous expeditions.⁴ In Greece to preside over the oven, was up to a very late period the prerogative of the fair. One hundred and ten women had the honour of being locked up with the handful of warriors who during three years baffled the whole force of the Peloponnesos from the glorious walls of Plataea,⁵ and in the primitive ages of Macedonia the queen herself prepared the bread distributed among the royal shepherds.⁶

The Sacred Scriptures have rendered familiar and reconciled to us the simplicity of patriarchal manners. To behold the daughter of Bethuel or of Laban coming forth to draw water for her flock, does not strike us as at all out of keeping with the opulence or dignity of her father, or with her own feminine delicacy; and we know that at this present day the wealthiest Bedouin Sheikh of the desert, though lord of a thou-

¹ *Odyss.* η. 103. seq.—ο. 107.

² *Theoph. Char.* c. v.

³ *Herod.* i. 51.

⁴ *Herod.* vii. 187.

⁵ *Thucyd.* ii. 78.

⁶ *Herod.* viii. 139.

sand camels, discovers nothing in his daughter's condition which should relieve her from this healthful employment. Similar notions prevailed among the Greeks of the Heroic Age. For though in many cases slave-maidens¹ are found engaged in drawing water from the springs, virgins of noble birth, nay the daughters themselves of kings, descend to the fountain with their urns, mingling there with female captives and young women of inferior rank. Thus, for example, the princess of the Lestrygons in Homer goes forth with her water-jar² to the well, and even among the Athenians, where refinement of manners first sprang up, and civilisation made most rapid strides, the daughters of the citizens in early times used to descend to the fountain of Callirrhoe to draw water.³ But the task was commonly allotted to female captives and other slaves. Euryclea, Odysseus' house-keeper, sends a troop of girls on this errand with orders to be quick in their movements, and Hector, in his deep fear for Andromache, already in apprehension beholds her toiling at the fountains of Argos.⁴

¹ Eurip. *Electr.* 107. 309. *sqq.*

² *Odyss.* κ. 105.

³ Herod. vi. 137—The historian uses the name of Enneacrounos given to the fountain by the

tyrants. A similar practice is noticed by Arrian.—*Anab. Alexand* ii. 3.

⁴ *Odyss.* φ. 153. *seq.*—*Iliad.* ζ. 59. *seq.*

CHAPTER II.

WOMEN OF DORIC STATES.

THE women of Sparta were even in Greece remarkable for their personal beauty. Their education and exercises promoting their health and physical energies, aided, at the same time, the natural developement of the frame, with all its inherent symmetry and proportion. It is probable, however, that the charms of Helen may have led on this point to some misapprehension; but Helen belonged to the old heroic race, with which the Dorians of Sparta had nothing in common, that is, like so many other women celebrated by the poets of after times for their beauty, was an Achæan. Still, lovely they were, well-formed, brilliant of complexion, with features of much regularity, and eyes into which exuberant health infused a sparkling brightness irresistibly pleasing. But it would require to be peculiarly constituted to pronounce them the most beautiful women in all Greece.¹ They were what in modern phrase would be termed fine women, but exceeding considerably what we deem true feminine proportions, being, in fact, a sort of female grenadiers, robust, vigorous, bull-stranglers, as *Lysistrata*² somewhat ironically expresses it, their beauty was rather that of men, than of women. Some

¹ See Müll. Dor. ii. 296.

² ὦ φιλότατη Λάκαινα, χαῖρε.
οἷον τὸ κάλλος, γλυκυτάτη, σοῦ
φαίνεται.

ὥς δ' εὐχροεῖς, ὥς δὲ σφριγᾷ τὸ
σῶμά σου,

κἄν ταῦρον ἄγχοις.

Which may be thus translated:

Beloved Laconian, welcome!

How glorious is thy beauty,
love! how ruddy

The tint of thy complexion!
Vigour and health

So brace thy frame that thou a
bull couldst throttle.

Aristoph. *Lysist.* 78 sqq.

among the Greeks preferred, it is true, ladies of this large growth. Thus, we find Xenophon, in the *Anabasis*, expressing his apprehension that should his countrymen become acquainted with the fine tall women of Persia, they would, like the Lotos-eaters, forget the way to their country and their home.¹ But this was a taste which never became general. The beauty which excited most admiration, where beauty constituted the noblest object of literature and art, was a kind totally different in character, exquisitely feminine, gentle, soft, retiring, modest, instinct with grace and delicacy, the parasite of the moral creation, clinging round man for support, but imparting more than it receives.

Such beauty, however, would have been inconsistent with the aim of Lycurgus. Like a well-known modern despot, this great legislator aimed solely at creating a nation of grenadiers, and to effect this, both the education, laws, and manners of Sparta received a military impress. Everything there breathed of the camp. The girls from their tenderest years, instead of being instructed as in other communities to entwine all their feelings round the domestic hearth, and expect their chiefest happiness at home, were systematically undomesticated, brought incessantly into contact with men, initiated in immoral habits, subversive of the female character,² and taught to consider themselves designed to be the wives of the state rather than of individuals. Nature, the

¹ *Anab.* iii. 2. 25.—'Ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰδοῖκα μὴ, ἂν ἅπαξ μάθωμεν ἄργοι ζῆν, καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοισι βιοτεύειν, καὶ Μήδων δὲ καὶ Περσῶν καλαῖς καὶ μεγάλας γυναῖξαι καὶ παρθένους ὁμιλεῖν, μὴ, ὥσπερ οἱ λωτοφάγοι, ἐπιλαθώμεθα τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ.—And again, in the *Cyropædia*, *Araspes* praises *Panthea* for her majestic size. It appears from *Homer* that when *Athena* was desirous of making

Penelope appear more lovely than ordinary, she added to her height.—*Odys.* σ. 194.

² *Athen.* xiii. 79.—Even *Plutarch* denominates the system of discipline observed by the Spartan women ἀναπεπταμένη καὶ ἄθηνος,—“lax and unfeminine,”—and confesses that it afforded the poets an inexhaustible fund for ridicule. *Ibycos*, for example, called them φαινομηρίδες: and

legislator was aware, has implanted the principles of love and modesty deep in the female heart; in general also, to eradicate one, is to root up the other; and both in the sense in which we contemplate them, being inimical to the purpose which his constitution was intended to promote, he sought to subvert the power of love by obliterating from the female mind every trace of maidenly modesty.

The power of political institutions over the feelings of the heart, over manners, over habits, over conscience, and opinions, was never so strikingly exemplified as at Sparta. Whatever the legislator determined to be good was good.¹ Example, affection, nature pleaded in vain. An iron system, strong as fate, encircled the whole scope of life, repressing every aspiration tending above the point prescribed, guiding every wish into a given channel, curbing every passion inconsistent in its full developement with the views of the legislator. Aristotle, indeed, maintains that while the men of Sparta conformed to the design of the constitution, the women refused to bend their neck to the yoke, and persisted in the enjoyment of a freedom constantly degenerating into licentiousness.² He probably, however, supposes the existence in Lycurgus of a moral purpose, far loftier than he really aimed at. The virtues of a camp—and Sparta was nothing else—are never too rigid, nor must we look among female camp-followers for much of that delicacy, reserve, self-control, or keen sense of what is just and upright, of which none judge

Euripides *ἀνδρομανεῖς*. Their education, in fact, rendered them coarse and domineering, “bold and mannish;” *ῥασιύρεται*, and *ἀνδριοδεῖς*, are the words of Plutarch, who observes that they desired not only to rule by violence at home, but even audaciously to meddle with public affairs.—Compar. Lycurg. cum Num. § 3.

¹ Philosophers, also, were found in antiquity as in modern times, who theoretically maintained this doctrine. Thus Archelaos contended, *καὶ τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι καὶ τὸ αἰσχροὺν οὐ φύσει, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ*. —Diog. Laert. ii. 4. 3. Here we discover the fundamental maxim upon which the whole system of Hobbes was constructed.

² Polit. ii. 9.

more accurately than well educated women. Doubtless the Doric lawgiver cherished no other design than to promote the happiness of his countrymen. It would be unjust to suppose otherwise. But how far the regulations by which he sought to effect this purpose were calculated to ensure success, is what we have to inquire.

It may at once be observed that Lycurgus's system of female education was the furthest possible removed from common place. He contemplated both the sexes in nearly the same point of view. Their form he saw; and in many points their character, their affections, their virtues, their vices, bear a close resemblance; and in his conception, perfection would be attained, if all such discriminating marks as nature has set up could be removed, and every quality of what he considered the superior sex transferred to the inferior. Much misapprehension appears to exist on this point. Writers pretend that among the Dorians the female character stood in high estimation, while the reverse they suppose to have been the case in Ionic States. But the Dorians betrayed their contempt for women as they came from the hands of nature, by endeavouring to convert them into men; their neighbours the reverse, by contenting themselves with their purely feminine qualities, which among people of Ionic race were cultivated and improved, perhaps, as far as was consistent with domestic happiness.

In the harems of the East the whip is of great service in maintaining order, and the same, it is evident, was the case at Sparta. Both youths and virgins from their tenderest years were subjected to a severe discipline; regular floggers, as at our own great schools, always attended the inspectors of public instruction; and in this the system was wise, that habits were more regarded than acquisitions.¹ But of the habits cherished by the Spartan system we cannot always approve. Like the boys, the virgins fre-

¹ Jamblich. vit. Pythag. xi. 5. 6.—Müller. Dor. ii. 317.

quented the gymnasia, where, naked as at their birth, they exercised themselves in wrestling, running, pitching the quoit, and throwing the javelin.¹ To these accomplishments, others, according to a Roman poet, still less feminine were added. They contended, he says, in the ring with men, bound the cestus on their clenched fists, and boxed their future husbands like so many prize-fighters. No wonder that the partners of such women were henpecked. Horsemanship, the sword exercise, and the rough sports of the chase, affected by women of similar character in our own country, completed the circle of female studies,² and rendered the Spartan maids something more than a match for their worse halves, whether after marriage or before.³

Some pains have in our own days been taken to pare away the roughnesses, and obliterate the peculiar features of the Doric educational institutions, in order to bring them into greater uniformity with modern notions. There is no probability, we are told, that either youths or men were permitted to be present at the extraordinary exhibition of the female gymnasia.⁴ But whence is this inference derived? From the delicacy of Spartan manners in other re-

¹ Plut. Lycurg. §. 14. Compare the remarks of Ubbo Emmius who adopts, however, too implicitly the notions of Plutarch.—iii. 22. seq.

² Propert. iii. 12. p. 261. iv. 13. p. 88. Jacob.—Cicero, after quoting certain verses from an old poet, describing the exercises of the female Spartans, adds in his own words: “ergo his laboriosis exercitationibus et dolor intercurrit nonnumquam; impelluntur, ponuntur, abjiciuntur, cadunt: et ipse labor quasi calidum quoddam obducit dolori.” Tuscul. Quæst. ii. 36.—In remoter ages we find women celebrated

for their skill in hunting, and there were those who in later times sought to recommend this taste to their countrywomen:—Οὐ μόνον δέ, ὅσοι ἄνδρες κυνηγεσίῳν ἠράσθησαν, ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες, αἷς ἔδωκεν ἡ θεὸς ταῦτα Ἀρτεμις, Ἀταλάντῃ, καὶ Πρόκρις, καὶ εἰ τις ἄλλη. Xen. de Venat. xiii. 18. 345. Schneid. Cf. Callim. Hymn. in Dian. 209. 215. Spanh.

³ Alluding to the political power of women at Sparta, Aristotle inquires: what signifies it whether women govern or men be governed by women? Polit. ii. 9.

⁴ Müll. Dor. ii. 333.

spects? And are we in fact reduced on this curious point to depend on inferences and probabilities? On the contrary, we are informed by antiquity that besides the personal advantages of health and vigour, derived to the women themselves, the legislator contemplated others little less important, the promotion of marriage and the recreation of all the useful portion of the citizens. For while the married men and youths intent on connubial happiness, enjoyed the free entry to these gymnasia,¹ those sullen egotists called bachelors were very properly excluded. The former had some property in the young ladies, who were their daughters, sisters, or future spouses, but persons avowedly indifferent to the seductive influence of female charms could have no business there.

Admitting, therefore, that when the Spartan virgins² performed in the gymnasia, for we must consider their exercises partly in the light of scenic exhibitions, the whole city, bachelors excepted, could be present, it remains to be seen what other accomplishments they could display for the public entertainment. Singing and dancing it has been shown were practised publicly by ladies of rank in the heroic ages, and this feature of ancient manners was preserved at Sparta, where not youths and maidens only, but even the grave and aged joined, during several great festivals, in the dance and the song.³ But we must beware how we apply to these per-

¹ Plut. Lycurg. § 14. 15. Müller, with the amusing partiality of an apologist, overlooks the passage, and introduces Plutarch affirming "that they only witnessed the processions and dances of the young (wo)men." Note K. Dor. ii. p. 328. Here though *men* be the printed word in the English translation women must be clearly meant. Even so, however, the assertion is unfounded, since we find that even strangers were ad-

mitted:—ἐπαινεῖται δὲ καὶ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν τὸ ἔθος τὸ γυμνοῦν τὰς παρθένους τοῖς ξένοις. Athen. xiii. 20. The islanders of Chios would appear to have imitated this laudable practice, since the sophist speaks of it as a most pleasant spectacle to behold the youths and virgins wrestling together in the public place of exercise. Ibid.

² Cf. Plato. De Legg. t. viii. p. 85.

³ Plut Lycurg. §. 21.

formances the ideas suggested by those of modern times, or the gay and graceful movements of Ionian women. To dance at Sparta required great physical force.¹ The maidens, unencumbered by dress, bounded aloft like an Anatole or a Taglioni, but instead of twirling round with one foot on earth, and the other suspended at right angles in air, the supreme merit of her performance consisted in slapping the back part of the body with her heel for the greatest possible number of times in succession.² In this feat, which resembles strongly a Caribbee or Iroquois accomplishment, whole troops of men and women often united; an exhibition which with the shouts of laughter arising from the bystanders, the grins of the girls, and the wilful mistakes of young men who might send their feet in the wrong direction, must convey a curious idea of Spartan gravity. Such, however, was the celebrated dance called *Bibasis*,³ upon the frequent execution of which a Laconian girl prided herself no less than a modern lady on her activity in the indecent waltz.

But the other dances in which the Spartan maidens excelled were numerous. Among them was the *Dipodia*⁴ of which the nature is not exactly known, but it was accompanied by music and song and apparently consisted of a series of orgiastic movements, like those of the Bacchantes when, inspired by wine, they bounded fawnlike with dishevelled hair along the mountains.⁵ On other occasions their movements were designed to express certain passions of the mind, sometimes, as in the *Calabis*,⁶ highly wanton and licentious, though the latitudinarian spirit of paganism contrived to admit them among the religious ceremonies, and that too in honour of

¹ As now among the Galaxidiotes. Dodwell. i. 133. seq.

² Aristoph. Lysistr. 82.

³ Pollux. iv. 102.

⁴ Scaliger's idea of the dance is peculiar: Erat et διποδία, in qua

junctis pedibus labore plurimo et conatu picas imitabantur. Poet. i. 18. p. 69.

⁵ Aristoph. Lysistr. 1303. sqq.

⁶ Athen. xiv. 29

Artemis. Another of these lewd dances performed in the worship of Apollo and his sister, and accompanied by songs, conceived no doubt in the same spirit, was the *Bryallicha*,¹ which the historian of the Doric race finds some difficulty to reconcile with the worship of Apollo, as if their deity had been himself free from the inherent vices of the Olympian dynasts. There was another dance called the *Deicelistic*,² a kind of rude pantomime intermingled with songs supposed to have been performed by unmarried women.³

To these dances may be added the *Hyporchematic*, which was executed by a chorus, while singing, for which reason Bacchylides says, "This is not the work of slowness or inactivity." By Pindar it is described as a dance performed by Spartan girls; but in fact both young men and women united in the Hyporchema, and as this dance is said to have resembled or been identical with the Cordax,⁴ it will assist us in forming a notion of female delicacy at Sparta, where young women could execute publicly in company with the other sex a dance scarcely less indelicate than the fandango or bolero.⁵

From such an education and such habits tastes essentially unfeminine would naturally spring. Accordingly we find Laconian ladies of the first rank,—Cynisca daughter of king Archidamos, for example,—attending to the breed of horses, and sending chariots to contend at the Olympic games. Nor was her masculine ambition condemned by the Greeks. A statue of the lady herself, together with her chariot, and charioteer, existed among other Olympian monuments in the age of Pausanias. Afterwards many other women, but chiefly among the half barbarous Macedonians, followed

¹ Poll. iv. 104. Hesych. v. *Βρυδαλίχα*.

² Etym. Mag. 260. 42.

³ Müll. Dor. ii. 335.

⁴ Cf. Nonn. Dionys. xix. 265. sqq. Etym. Mag. 712. 53. 635.

⁵ 2. Scalig. Poet. i. 18. Poll. iv. 99.

⁵ Athen. xiv. 30.

the example of Cynisca and Euryleonis another Spartan dame who had been honoured with a statue at Olympia for the success of her chariot at the games.¹

In strict keeping with the rough manners and masculine bearing of these ladies was the habit of swearing,² to which in common with most other Greek women they were grievously addicted. At Athens, however, gentlewomen swore by Demeter, Persephone and Agraulos,³ an oath by divinities of their own sex⁴ being considered more suitable to female lips; but the viragos of Sparta spiced their conversation with oaths by Castor and Polydeukes. According, moreover, to the poet whose testimony is commonly adduced against the Athenian ladies, the women of Sparta drank⁵ as well as swore, and we know from authority altogether indisputable, that in the age of Socrates their licentiousness had already become universally notorious in Greece.⁶ A scholar, and a diligent inquirer, whose merits are too often overlooked, observes very justly that it was probably the austerity, or more properly the pedantry of Lycurgus's institutions that gave rise to the notion that chastity was a common virtue at Sparta.⁷ It was supposed because occasionally subjected to violent exercise, that they must necessarily be temperate in their pleasures. But we might *à priori* have inferred the contrary, and the uniform testimony of antiquity proves it. Their wantonness and licentiousness knew no bounds. Even during the ages immediately succeeding the establishment of their constitution, that is at the time of the Messenian wars, to preserve for any length of time their chas-

¹ Pausan. iii. 15. 1. 17. 6. Cf. Vandal. Dissert. vii. p. 562. seq.

² Aristoph. Lysistr. 81. sqq.

³ Sch. Aristoph. Thesmophor. 533.

⁴ But men we find likewise swore—*Κατὰ ταῖν θεῶν καὶ τῆς*

Πολιάδος. — Lucian. Diall. Hetair. vii. 1.

⁵ Aristoph. Lysistr. 198. seq.

⁶ Plat. de Legg. i. t. vii. p. 204. Bekk.

⁷ Goguet. Orig. des. Loix. t. v. p. 429.

tity while their husbands were absent in the field was beyond their power, and substitutes were selected and sent home to become the husbands of the whole female population.¹

But for this ungovernable sway of temperament the institutions of the state were chiefly to blame.² We have seen by the whole tenor of their education, modesty and virtue were sapped and undermined; no merit, it was visible, attached to them in the eye of the law; and shrewdly gifted as they were with good sense, they must quickly have discovered that marriage was a mere unmeaning ceremony, and that provided they gave good citizens to the state it would be of little consequence who might be their fathers.³ The ceremonies attending that lax union which for lack of a better term we must call marriage, resembled closely those which have been found to prevail among other savages in very distant parts of the world.

Having gone through the ceremony of betrothment,⁴ in which the bride's interest was represented by her father or brother, the lover chose some fitting occasion to seize and carry her away from amongst her companions. She was then received into the house of the bridesmaid, where her hair was cut short and her dress exchanged for that of a young man, after which custom directed that she

¹ Dion. Chrysostom. Orat. i. 278. Justin. iii. 4.

² Plut. Compar. Lycurg. cum. Num. § 3. Aristot. Polit. ii. 9. who observes:—*ζῶσι ἀκολαστῶς πρὸς ἅπασαν ἀκολασίαν καὶ τρυφερῶς.*—Hermann in his Political Antiquities § 27, reasoning consistently with these ancient authorities, observes that the system of Lycurgus “gradually effaced every characteristic of female excellence from the Spartan women.”

³ *βουλόμενος γὰρ ὁ νομοθέτης*

ὥς πλείστους εἶναι τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας, προάγεται τοὺς πολίτας ὅτι πλείστους ποιεῖσθαι παῖδας· ἔστι γὰρ αὐτοῖς νόμος τὸν μὲν γεννήσαντα τρεῖς υἱοὺς ἄφρουρον εἶναι, τὸν δὲ τέτταρας ἀτελὴ πάντων.—Aristot. Polit. ii. 9. Cf. Ælian. Var. Hist. vi. 6, who substitutes the number five for four.

⁴ Cf. Xen. de Rep. Lac. i. 6. Plut. Lycurg. § 15.—Ubbo Emmius. Descr. Reip. Lacon. p. 96. seq.

should be left reclining on a pallet bed, in a dark chamber, alone. Thither the bridegroom repaired by stealth, and, afterwards, with equal secresy, returned to his companions, among whom he continued for some time to live as if no change in his condition had taken place. During this period, therefore, their union must be regarded rather as a clandestine intercourse than a marriage, since the husband continued, as at first, to steal secretly into the company of his wife and to effect his escape with equal care, it being considered disreputable for them to be seen together. Even the children springing from this connexion have been supposed to have ranked as bastards; but of this there is no sufficient proof.

A different account is given by other authors of the marriage ceremony at Sparta, but, if properly examined, both relations may very well be reconciled. The above, in fact, appears to have been the ordinary mode when young women of property who had dowries¹ to bestow upon their husbands, were to be disposed of. But the portionless girls, excepting, perhaps, the more beautiful, finding some difficulty in providing themselves with helpmates, a contrivance was hit upon by the legislator, calculated to give a fair chance to all. The unmarried damsels of the city, thus circumstanced, were shut up in the dark, in a spacious edifice,² into which the young unmarried men were introduced to scramble for wives, the understanding being, that each was to remain content with the maiden he happened to seize upon. And it would appear that the awards of chance were, in most cases, satisfactory, since we

¹ According to Justin, indeed, the Spartan legislator abolished the usage of dowries: *Virgines sine dote nubere jussit, ut uxores eligerentur, non pecuniæ; severiusque matrimonia sua viri coërcerent, cum nullis dotis frænis tenerentur*, iii. 3. But Aristotle,

who had deeply studied the polity of Sparta, gives a very different account:—*ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν σχεδὸν τῆς πάσης χώρας τῶν πέντε μερῶν τὰ δύο, τῶν τ' ἐπικλήρων πολλῶν γινομένων, καὶ διὰ τὸ προῖκας δίδόναι μεγάλας.* —*Polit.* ii. 9. ² *Athen.* xiii. 2.

read of no one but Lysander who abandoned the wife he had thus chosen. He, however, having been presented, by fortune, with a maiden of homely features, immediately deserted her for one more beautiful. The bad example thus set was not without its evil consequences, for the men who married his daughters put them away in like manner after his death.¹ But, in both cases, fines for contumacy were exacted by the Ephori. According to the laws of Sparta, men were likewise fined for leading a life of celibacy,² for marrying late, or for marrying unsuitably. Thus, king Archidamos was fined for selecting a little woman to be his queen, as if there was something regal in loftiness of stature.³

On almost every point connected with Spartan marriages the accounts transmitted to us are contradictory. Thus, we are by some told, as has been seen above, that the union of the bride and bridegroom took place secretly, and remained for some time almost unknown. Nevertheless, there are not wanting those who speak of public ceremonies which took place on the occasion, as for example Sosibios,⁴ who informs us, that the cake, called *cribanos*, shaped like the female breast, was eaten at that repast which the Lacedæmonian women gave in honour of a betrothed maiden when her youthful companions assembled in chorus to chaunt her praises. At Argos, another Doric state, it was customary before the bride joined her husband for her to send him, as a present, the cake called *creion*, which his friends were invited to partake of with honey. It was

¹ Plut. Lysand. § 30.

² Athen. xiii. 1.

³ Plut. Agis, § 2. Athen. xiii. 20. It was not without reason, perhaps, that the Ephori interfered with the marriages of their kings, since royalty has everywhere been capricious. But these honest magistrates were sometimes tyrannical in their ordinances

and behaviour. Thus, when Anaxandrides married his niece for love, because she had no children he was compelled by them to take a second wife. When the first wife was confined they, fearing imposition, or feigning incredulity, sat about her bed.—Herod. v. 39—41.

⁴ Athen. xiv. 54.

baked upon the coals as cakes are still in the East.

When at Sparta the state had recognised the marriage, by permitting cohabitation, no man could call his wife his own. Any person might legally claim the favour of borrowing her for a certain time, in order, if he did not choose to be burdened with a wife, to have a family by her while she remained in the house of her lord. An elderly man was sure to have his connubial privileges invaded in this way, and the most able and philosophical advocates of Lycurgus's institutions inform us that the Spartan ladies highly approved of all these arrangements. Yet, famous and learned authors undertake to break a lance for the chastity of the Spartan dames, and maintain with infinite complacency that adultery was unknown among them. The truth is that the Spartan laws recognised no such offence.¹ It was legal, common, of every day occurrence, though, from many circumstances, it would appear, that such Lacedæmonians as travelled into other parts of Greece, and learned in what light manners and morals so lax were by them viewed, blushed for their country's institutions; and, in defence of them, put in practice those arts of delusion and hypocrisy which constituted so distinguished a part of their education.

Much has been said of the stern virtue and patriotism of the Spartan women, and high praise has been bestowed on the callous indifference which they sometimes exhibited on learning the death of their sons;² but English mothers, who have given birth to sons as brave as ever fought or bled for Sparta, will, I think, agree with me in rating very low their boasted stoicism, which, if properly analysed, might prove to be nothing more than a coarse and unnatural apathy. The reader of the Greek Anthologia will here remember her who meeting her son a fugitive among the flying from a victorious enemy, inflicted on him with

¹ Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. i. 7. 8. 9.

² Cic. Tusc. Quæst. i. 49.

her own hands the death he sought to shun. Had Nature, which is but the voice of God indistinctly heard, anything to do with virtue such as that? Supposing the youth to have been a coward, which the fact of his flying before the enemy by no means proves, was it for the hands that had nursed him to become his executioners? A mother, deserving of the name, would no doubt have sorrowed not to find her boy numbered among the brave, but her maternal heart would not the less have yearned towards the unhappy youth; she would have fled with him into obscurity, and uttered her mild reproaches and shed her tears there.

As often happens, however, these female stoics who were so lavish of the blood of their children, displayed no readiness to set them the example of making light of death when the fortunes of war afforded them an occasion of putting their heroic maxims in practice; for when the Theban army¹ burst forth from the depths of the Menelaion, and swept down the valley of the Eurotas like a torrent, wasting everything before them with fire and sword, the women of Sparta, who had never before seen the smoke of an enemy's camp, lost in a moment their presence of mind, and, instead of encouraging their sons and husbands calmly to rely upon their valour, ran to and fro through the streets, filling the air with their effeminate wailings,

¹ Aristot. Polit. ii. 9. Xenoph. Hellen. vi. v. 27. It should be remarked, however, that on a future occasion, when Sparta was besieged by King Pyrrhus, the female disciples of Lycurgus behaved with more fortitude and energy; for when it was debated in the senate whether they should not convey their wives and children to Crete, and then, deriving courage from despair, determine to conquer or perish on the spot, Archidamia, daughter of the king, entered their assembly sword in

hand, opposed their resolution, saying, it behoved the women of Sparta to live and die with their husbands. The female population was, in consequence, suffered to remain; and by digging with the men in the trenches, sharpening the arms, and attending on the wounded, so strongly excited the courage of the Spartans, that they at length succeeded in repulsing the Macedonians from their city. Cf. Plut. Pyrrh. § 27. — Polyæn. Stratagem. vii. 49.

and distracting and impeding the movements of their natural protectors. Very different from this was the conduct of the female citizens of Argos. For when Cleomenes and Demaratos, after having defeated the Argive army, approached the city in the expectation of being able to take it by storm, the poetess Telesilla armed her countrywomen, who, hastening to the defence of the walls, repulsed the Lacedæmonian kings, and preserved the state. In commemoration of this event a festival was annually celebrated, in which the ladies appeared in male attire while the men concealed their heads beneath the female veil.¹

Again, when the Thebans broke into Platæa during the night, the women, instead of delivering themselves up pusillanimously to fear, joined the men in defence of the city, casting stones and tiles from the house-tops upon the enemy. Yet when defeated and flying for their lives, it was one of these same women who, with the characteristic humanity of her sex, supplied them with a hatchet to cut their way through the gates.²

But the most remarkable instance of self-devotion furnished by women in the whole history of Greece was, perhaps, that which is related of the Phocian ladies,³ who, when their countrymen, under the command of Diophantos, were about to engage with the Thessalians in a battle which it was felt must finally determine the destiny of Phocis, strenuously, with the concurrence of their children, exhorted him to persevere in the design he had formed, of causing them to be consumed by fire should the battle be lost. Examples of this terrible expedient for preserving the honour of women occur but too frequently in the history of India, where it is termed performing *johur*; and the Romans, in their Spanish wars, witnessed a similar act of self-sacrifice at Numantia.

It should, nevertheless, by no means be concealed

¹ Plut. de Mulier. Virtut. t. ii. p. 195. Polyæn. Stratagem. viii. 33.

² Thucyd. ii. 4.

³ Plut. de Mulier. Virtut. t. ii. p. 192.

that the annals of Sparta also contain some brilliant examples of female heroism, of which the most striking, perhaps, is that furnished by the wife of Panteus and her companions after the death of Cleomenes at Alexandria. "When the report of his death," says Plutarch,¹ "had spread over the city, Cratesiclea, though a woman of superior fortitude, sank under the weight of the calamity; she embraced the children of Cleomenes, and wept over them. The elder of them, disengaging himself from her arms, got unsuspected to the top of the house, and threw himself down headlong. He was not killed, however, though much hurt; and when they took him up he loudly expressed his grief and indignation that they would not suffer him to destroy himself. Ptolemy was no sooner informed of these things than he ordered the body of Cleomenes to be flayed, and nailed to a cross, and his children to be put to death, together with his mother and the women her companions. Among these was the wife of Panteus, a woman of great beauty and most majestic presence. They had been but lately married, and their misfortune overtook them amid the first transports of love. When her husband went with Cleomenes from Sparta, she was desirous of accompanying him, but was prevented by her parents, who kept her in close custody. Soon afterwards, however, she provided herself with a horse and a little money, and making her escape by night, rode at full speed to Tænaros, and there embarked on board a ship bound for Egypt. She reached her husband safely, and readily and cheerfully shared with him in all the inconveniences of a foreign residence. When the soldiers came to take Cratesiclea to the scaffold, she led her by the hand, assisted in bearing her robe,² and desired her to exert all her courage,

¹ Cleomen. § 38. I have here made use of the translation of Langhorne, because it would be no easy matter to furnish a better.

² Πέπλος.

“ though she was far from being afraid of death, and
“ desired no other favour than that she might die
“ before her children. But when they arrived at the
“ place of execution the children suffered before her
“ eyes ; and then Cratesiclea was despatched, uttering
“ in her extreme distress only these words : ‘ Oh ! my
“ children ! whither are you gone ? ’

“ The wife of Panteus, who was tall and strong,
“ girt her robe about her and in a silent and com-
“ posed manner paid the last offices to each woman
“ that lay dead, winding up the bodies as well as
“ her present circumstances would admit. Last of
“ all she prepared herself for the poniard by letting
“ down her robe about her and adjusting it in such
“ a manner as to need no assistance after death,
“ then, calling the executioner to do his office, and
“ permitting no other person to approach her, she
“ fell like a heroine. In death she retained all the
“ decorum which she had preserved in life, and the
“ decency which had been so sacred with this ex-
“ cellent woman still remained about her. Thus
“ in this bloody tragedy in which the women con-
“ tended to the last for the prize of courage with
“ the men, Lacedæmon evinced that it is impos-
“ sible for fortune to conquer virtue.”

Another brief narrative given by the same his-
torian exhibits in the most touching manner, the
tenderness and self-devotion of a Spartan woman.
Cleombrotos, in conjunction with other conspirators,
had dethroned king Leonidas his father-in-law and
possessed himself of the crown. Events afterwards
restored the old man to his kingdom, upon which
burning with resentment he hurried to take ven-
geance on his son-in-law. “ Chelonis, the daughter
“ of Leonidas, had looked upon the injury done to
“ her father as done to herself, and when Cleombro-
“ tos robbed him of the crown she left him in order
“ to console her father in his misfortune. As long
“ as he remained in sanctuary she stayed with him,
“ and when he fled, sympathising with his sorrow,

“and full of resentment against Cleombrotos, she
“attended him in his flight. But when the for-
“tunes of her father changed she changed too. She
“joined her husband as a suppliant, and was found
“sitting by him with great marks of tenderness, and
“her two children one on each side at her feet.
“The whole company were much struck at the sight,
“and could not refrain from tears when they con-
“sidered her goodness of heart and uncommon
“strength of affection.

“Chelonis, then, pointing to her mourning habit
“and her dishevelled hair thus addressed Leonidas.
“‘It was not my dear father compassion for Cleom-
“brotos which put me in this habit and gave me
“this look of misery. My sorrows took their date
“with your misfortune and your banishment, and
“have ever since remained my familiar companions.
“Now you have conquered your enemies and are
“again king of Sparta should I still retain these
“ensigns of affliction or assume festival and royal or-
“naments, while the husband of my youth whom
“you yourself bestowed upon me falls a victim to
“your vengeance? If his own submission, if the
“tears of his wife and children cannot propitiate
“you he must suffer a severer punishment for his
“offences than even you require, he must see his
“beloved wife die before him. For how can I live
“and support the sight of my own sex, after both
“my husband and my father have refused to heark-
“en to my supplications, when it appears that both
“as a wife and a daughter I am born to be miser-
“able with my family. If this poor man had any
“plausible reasons for what he did I invalidated
“them all by forsaking him to follow you. But
“you furnish him with a sufficient apology for his
“misbehaviour by showing that a crown is so bright
“and desirable an object that a son-in-law must be
“slain and a daughter totally disregarded when it
“is in question.’

“Chelonis, after this supplication, rested her

“cheek upon her husband’s head, and with an eye
“dim and languid through sorrow looked round on
“the spectators ; Leonidas consulted his friends upon
“the point, and then commanded Cleombrotos to rise
“and go into exile, but he desired Chelonis to stay
“and not to forsake so affectionate a father who
“had kindly granted her husband’s life. Chelonis,
“however, would not be persuaded. When her hus-
“band had risen from the ground she put one child
“into his arms and took the other herself, and after
“having paid due homage at the altar where they
“had taken sanctuary went with him into banish-
“ment. So that had not Cleombrotos been cor-
“rupted by the love of false glory he must have
“thought exile with such a woman a greater hap-
“piness than a kingdom without her.”¹

¹ Plut. Agis §§ 17. 18. Moore in his *Lalla Rookh* has expressed the same idea.

Fly to the desert, fly with me,
Our Arab tents are rude for thee;
But ah ! the choice what heart can doubt,
Of tents with love or thrones without ?

CHAPTER III.

CONDITION OF UNMARRIED WOMEN. — LOVE.

THE condition of an Athenian lady it is far more important and, in proportion, more difficult to describe. Extremely erroneous impressions appear to exist on the subject, several writers of eminence having adopted the theory that they lived in total seclusion, and were little less ignorant and degraded than Oriental women are commonly supposed to be. My own opinion is somewhat different. After very patiently investigating the matter, the conclusions at which I have arrived are as follow:—

In delineating a picture of this kind, positive testimonies are unquestionably required; but I appeal to the impartial reader, whether very great, I had almost said the greatest weight, should not, after all, be attributed to that conviction which grows up, gradually and silently, in the mind, during a long and habitual intercourse with the subject. In this way, new authorities are formed, for to have examined minutely and attentively what others have written, to have weighed authorities and scrupulously sifted their several pretensions, may be allowed to entitle a man, if anything can, to express an opinion of his own.

The notion appears to prevail extensively, even among writers not otherwise ill-informed, that women occupied, among the Ionians generally, and more especially among the Athenians, a very mean position, were neglected and despised, and, consequently, exerted little or no influence on manners, morals, literature, or public affairs. With what de-

sign this error has been propagated it is not difficult to comprehend. But to pervert history for party purposes is, after all, an useless undertaking, since the facts always remain, and it is never too late to rescue truth from the fangs of sophistry.

That the women of Athens were in the condition for which nature designed them, I will not affirm; a little more converse with the world might have improved their understandings, they might have been rendered more pleasing companions; but what they gained as social, they would probably have lost as domestic beings. No woman was ever rendered better as a wife or as a mother by that indiscriminate enjoyment of society, which, it is supposed, the gentlewomen of Athens lost so much by being deprived of.

To form, however, a correct conception of their station, and the happiness within their reach, we must take into consideration several circumstances peculiar to ancient society. In those times something very different was understood by the word education from the meaning now attached to it. It signified rather the disciplining of the mind to certain habits than the imparting of different kinds of knowledge. It was the culture of the intellectual powers, and the sowing of the seed, rather than the transplanting of notions, half-grown, from one mind to another. More care was bestowed on the building up, than on the furnishing, of the mind. There was by far less acquisition, less accomplishment than in modern times; but the faculties were more surely impregnated, quickened sooner, and ripened into more vigorous maturity. Hence, among the ancients, there were few dreamers, either men or women. Exquisitely alive to all the peculiarities of their situation, they were, in the best sense of the word, a poetical people, gifted, indeed, with imagination, but possessing, too, the power to rein it in, to shape its course, and, on most occasions, to render it subservient to the dictates of judgment.

Of the management of infancy I have already spoken. At the age of seven the sexes were separated, the girls still remaining in the nursery, while governors, kept expressly for the purpose, conducted the boys to the public schools.¹ Too little is known of the material circumstances attending the mental and bodily training of the girls, or at what age they were taught to read and write. Much, however, in those ages was communicated orally. Their mothers imparted to them whatever notions they possessed of religion, performed in their presence several sacrifices and other pious rites, and gradually prepared them for officiating in their turn at their country's altars.² In a certain sense, therefore, every Athenian woman was a priestess, and though their piety was imperfect and their faith corrupt, it will still be admitted that important benefits must have been derived from imbuing the youthful mind with some principles of religion.

The performance of these pious duties commenced very early. Immediately on attaining the age of five years, they might be called on to officiate, clothed in saffron robes,³ in the rites of Artemis Brauronia, when a she-goat was sacrificed to the

¹ From a passage in Terence (Phorm. i. 2. 30. sqq.) Perizonius concludes that even girls were sent to school. But he applies to Athenian maidens of free birth what in the Roman poet is related of a servile music girl: *Ea serviebat lenoni impurissimo.* — (Not. ad Ælian. Hist. Var. iii. 21.) It appears, however, from this passage, as Kuhn has already observed, that there existed public schools for girls at Athens, whatever might be the condition of the persons who frequented them. In Lambert Bos's *Antiquitates*, (Pars. iv. c. 5. p. 216,) the error of Perizonius is repeated; that is, in the note; for, according to the

text, the Attic virgins were closely confined to the house.

² Πολλὰς ἑορτὰς αἱ γυναῖκες ἔξω τῶν δημοτελῶν ἤγον ἰδίᾳ συνεργόμεναι. — Sch. Aristoph. Lysistr. i. In Homer we find the Trojan women performing sacrifice to Athena — Il. ζ. 277. 310, just as the Athenian matrons did on the Acropolis. — Aristoph. Lysistr. 179.

³ Suid. v. ἄρκτος. t. i. p. 425. c. — Sch. Aristoph. Lysistr. 645. — Meurs. Græc. Fer. lib. ii. p. 67. — During the dances performed in honour of this goddess, the women commonly played on brazen castanets. — Athen. xiv. 39.

goddess, while professed rhapsodists chaunted select passages from the Iliad. Here they were initiated in the mysteries of their national piety,¹ accompanied by all the charms of music, and of a style of declaiming no less impressive than that of the theatre. At this festival, celebrated every five years, all the ceremonies were performed by virgins, none of whom could be above ten years old;² we must, therefore, infer that they underwent much previous training, and were instructed carefully respecting the object of the rites. Another religious festival at which youthful virgins only officiated, was the Arrhephoria, celebrated in honour of Athena or Herse. The ceremonies performed on this occasion appear to have required something more of preparation, since it was necessary that the youthful sacrificers should, at least, be seven years old and not exceed eleven. Four, selected for their noble birth and training, presided, and other two were chosen to weave the sacred peplos, while engaged in which they resided in the Sphæresterion, on the rock of the Acropolis, habited in white garments with ornaments of gold.³ The bread which they eat during their seclusion was called Anastatos.⁴

¹ As Plato in his Republic appropriates to each sex a separate class of songs, it may be inferred that both in Athens and elsewhere in Greece, men and women habitually sung the same lays. — De Legg. vii. t. viii. p. 30.

² Pollux. viii. 107. — Cf. Herod. vi. 138. Women practised various dances, to perform which with skill constituted a branch of their accomplishments. One of these dances was called the Apokinos, or Mactrismos, of which Cratinos made mention in his Nemesis, Cephisodoros in his Amazons, and Aristophanes in his Centaurs. These dances, however, appear to have been a particular class, and

obtained the name of Marctypiaë. Athen. xiv. 26.

³ Etym. Mag. 149, 13. sqq. — Suid. v. Ἀρρήνηφ. t. i. p. 222. c. Ἀρρήφορία — ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἀρρήτα ἐν κίσταις ἔφερον τῇ θεῷ αἱ παρθένοι. idem. t. i. p. 423. c. et v. χαλκεῖα t. ii. p. 110 d. Harpocrat. v. ἀρρήφορεῖν. p. 48 Maussac. — Aristoph. Lysistr. 643. et. schol. — Lys. Mun. Accept. Apollog. §. 1. — Plut. Vit. Dec. Orat. iv. t. v. p. 145. — Cf. Sch. Aristoph. Acharn. 241. In several religious processions the women except the canephoræ, followed not the pageant, but looked upon it from the housetop.

⁴ Athen. iii. 80.

I own it is not a little remarkable, that in proving the women of Athens to have received what in our times are regarded as the humblest elements of education, we should be compelled to rely on indirect evidence, or on mere inferences, or, indeed, that the point should require proof at all.¹ This fact itself is decisive of their comparative seclusion. Had they mingled much in society, more occasions would have occurred of dwelling on their acquirements, and in dramatic compositions of representing them delivering opinions, and exhibiting tastes and preferences, obviously incompatible with an uncultivated intellect. But, though the difficulty of the investigator be augmented by the paucity and indistinct manner of the witnesses, we are still not left entirely without ground for coming to a decision, and if writers have, hitherto, so far as I know, overlooked some of the principal testimonies, that must be regarded only as an additional cause for bringing them forward now.²

A report current in antiquity, and preserved by Marcellinus in his Life of Thucydides,³ represents the daughter of that great historian as the continuator of her father's work, and as, in fact, the author of the whole eighth book. The biographer does not, indeed, receive the legend, but in rejecting it

¹ Muretus has brought forward several passages to prove that learned women bore but an indifferent character in antiquity. —Var. Lect. viii. 21. The Hetairæ of course were taught to read. Of this we have abundant proof: τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ κεραμεικῷ ἀναγνώθι, ὅπου κατεστηλίτευται ὑμῶν τὰ ὀνόματα—says the jealous lover to Melitta in Lucian. —Diall. Hetair. iv. 2. Nay even the servant maid of this Hetaira Acis is able to read; for desirous to ascertain whether there was any

thing in the report of her lover, Melitta sends forth the girl to examine the walls, who discovers and reads the words "Melitta loves Hermotimos," &c. which written there in jest by some wag had proved the cause of her lover's jealousy and the quarrel that ensued.

² Cf. Telet. ap. Stob. Florileg. Tit. 108. 83. Gaisf.

³ P. xxi. For Plato's views on the education of women, see De Legg. t. viii. p. 36.—Cf. Xen. Conviv. ii. 9, 10.

his assigned reasons are not that in the days of Thucydides Athenian ladies were not taught to read, and were, therefore, incapable of any species of literary exertion, but that the portion in question of the history bears evident marks of the same lofty and masculine mind to which we owe the rest, and no-wise resembles the productions of a woman. Had Marcellinus known the art of writing to have formed no part of an Athenian lady's education, that could have been the proper reason to assign for his doubt. He might, under such circumstances, have ridiculed the folly of such a supposition. But no such objection occurred to him. He knew well that they could and did write, and had, therefore, recourse to the proper argument for establishing his point.

Again, in that fragment of the oration of Lysias which he wrote for the children of Diodotos, an Athenian woman of rank is introduced defending, under very distressful circumstances, the rights of her children against her own father. Diodotos, it seems, had married his niece, and by her had several children. He was at length required by the commonwealth to proceed on a military expedition, during which he fell under the walls of Ephesos. Diogeiton, father of his wife, having been appointed guardian of the children, endeavours to defraud them of their property, and their mother, calling in the aid of impartial arbiters, pleads before them her children's cause, and the orator, addressing one of the tribunals of Athens, does not hesitate to put in her mouth language worthy of a rhetorician. This, however, I am aware, cannot be regarded as a proof. But, in the course of her speech she discloses a circumstance which must be so considered. During the period of her stay in her father's house, the old man removed from one street to another, and in the confusion a small memorandum book, dropped from among his papers, was picked up by one of the

children and brought to their mother.¹ It happened to contain the account of the money her husband had left on departing for the army; this she reads,² and thus discovers the state in which the affairs of the family had been left on the departure of her husband.

Another proof that writing formed one of the accomplishments of women occurs in Xenophon. Ischomachos is laying open the road to domestic happiness and wealth. He enters, as elsewhere will be shown, into a variety of interesting details, and among other things, discusses the character and duties of a housekeeper; for in Greece the principal care of the household was always committed to women. Thus, going back to the Heroic ages, we find Euryyclea the housekeeper of Odysseus,³ and Hector's palace in Troy is also placed under the care of a woman.⁴ In the Cretan states, moreover, even the public tables had female inspectors,⁵ and at Athens, where domestic economy was so much better understood than in the rest of Greece, women necessarily obtained the government of the household,⁶ which men would have certainly managed more imperfectly. But in well-regulated families, the supreme control of everything rested with the wife, whom Xenophon⁷ represents engaging with her hus-

¹ Lys. Cont. Diog. § 5. By τῶν παῖδων: Reiske, however, understands the servants of Diogeton, though these would have been more likely to carry the book to their master.

² See also in Demosthenes the account of a wife and husband examining a will.—Adv. Spud. § 8.

³ Odys. α. 428. ε. 345, 361.

⁴ Iliad. ζ 381. 390.

⁵ Athen. iv. 22.

⁶ In the household of Pericles, however, we find mention made

of a steward, and learn that the regulation of affairs was taken out of the hands of the women.—Plut. Pericl. § 16.

⁷ Œconom. ix. 10. p. 57, Schneid. Similar business habits prevailed among our neighbours, the Dutch, while they enjoyed the advantages of republican institutions. Among the causes of their prosperity Sir Josiah Child enumerates, "the education of their children, as well daughters as sons, all which, be they of never so great quality or es-

band in taking a list of all the moveables in the house, and this afterwards remains in her hands as a check upon the housekeeper, which, had she not known how to read, it would not have been. Besides, she is spoken of as aiding in writing the catalogue, and displays throughout the dialogue so much ability and knowledge that it would not surprise us to find her discoursing with Socrates on household affairs. There is, moreover, a remark of Plato¹ subversive at the same time of another error on this same subject, which exhibits women exercising their judgment in literary matters. Children, he says, may find comedy more agreeable, but educated women, youths, and the majority indeed of mankind, will prefer tragedy. Here we find the opinion corroborated that both the comic and tragic theatres were open to them, otherwise it could not have been known which they would prefer. But of this more elsewhere.

In all countries, a great part of a woman's education takes place after marriage. But at Athens,

“tate, they always take care to
 “bring up to write perfect good
 “hands, and to have the full
 “knowledge and use of arithme-
 “tic and merchants' accounts,
 “the well understanding and
 “practice whereof, doth strangely
 “infuse into most that are the
 “owners of that quality, of
 “either sex, not only an ability
 “for commerce of all kinds, but
 “a strong aptitude, love and de-
 “light in it; and in regard the
 “women are as knowing therein
 “as the men, it doth encourage
 “their husbands to hold on in
 “their trades to their dying days.
 “Knowing the capacity of their
 “wives to get in their estates
 “and carry on their trades after
 “their deaths; whereas if a

“merchant in England arrive at
 “any considerable estate, he
 “commonly withdraws his estate
 “from trade, before he comes
 “near the confines of old age,
 “reckoning that if God should
 “call him out of the world while
 “the main of his estate is en-
 “gaged abroad in trade, he must
 “lose one third of it, through the
 “inexperience and inaptness of
 “his wife to such affairs, and so
 “it usually falls out.”—Discourse
 of Trade, p. 4.

¹ De Legg. l. ii. t. vii. p. 243. Bekk.—'Εὰν δέ γ' οἱ μείζους καὶ δες, τὸν τὰς κωμῳδίας τραγωδίαν δὲ αἱ τε πεπαιδευμένοι τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τὰ νέα μεράκια καὶ σχεδὸν ἴσως τὸ πλῆθος πάντων.

where they entered so early¹ into the connubial state, marriage itself must be reckoned among the principal causes of their mental developement. They came into the hands of their husbands unformed, but pliable and docile. The little they had been taught seemed rather designed to fit them to receive his instructions than to dispense with them.² Their seclusion from the world preserved their character unfixed and impressionable. They passed from the nursery, as it were, to the bridal chamber, timid, unworldly, unsophisticated, and the husband, if he desired it, might fashion their mind and opinions as he pleased. In the women of Athens we, accordingly, observe the most remarkable contrast to the Spartans. Their influence, in effect greater, perhaps, acted invisibly, warming and impelling the ruder masculine clay, but without humbling their lords or exposing them to the ridicule of living under petticoat government. Yet in Themistocles we have an example of the sway they exercised. Fondling one day his infant son he observed, sportively, but with that ambitious consciousness of power ever present to the mind of a Greek—"This little fellow is "the most influential person I know." His friends inquired his meaning—"Why, replied Themistocles, "he completely governs his mother, while she governs me, and I the whole of Greece."³

The steps by which an Athenian girl might arrive at so envied a position are not unworthy our attention. From the age of fifteen she might look to become the mistress of a family; and it is probable that the maxim of Cleobulos,⁴ that women should approach their nuptials young in years but old in understanding, often governed their conduct. Love no doubt was not the only matchmaker at

¹ The Roman ladies entered still earlier into the married state; at the age of twelve, says Plutarch, or under. Parall. Num. et Lycurg. § 4.

² Xenoph. Œconom. vii. 5. 6. sqq.

³ Plut. Themist. § 18.

⁴ Diog. Laert. i. 6. 4.

Athens.¹ In general the heart, as in modern times, followed in the train of prudential calculation. But this arose, not so much from any impracticability² of obtaining interviews, as from the habitual preference for gold, which, in all ages, has been found to actuate the conduct of the majority. To this day, in every country in Europe, marriage in the upper classes is too frequently a matter of mere bargain and sale, in which the feelings remain altogether unconsulted. And it was the same at Athens, though to suppose with Müller that interest was always the sole motive would be palpably to embrace an error, alike uncountenanced by history and philosophy.

When it is said that virgins in all Ionic states led an extremely secluded life, we are not thence to conclude that no opportunity of beholding, or even conversing with them, was enjoyed by men.³ It has already been seen that from the age of five years various ceremonies of their ancestral religion⁴ led females into the street, that they walked leisurely, arrayed with every resource of art and magnificence, in frequent processions to the temples, and

¹ In Greece, as everywhere else, portionless girls had few admirers. Diog. Laert. v. 4. 1.

² Examples occur in the comic poets, of men choosing for themselves. Thus in Terence a young man declines the lady offered him by his father, and proposes to marry the mistress of his choice, to which both parents agree. Heautontimor. v. 5. sub. fin.

³ Athen. xiii. 29.

⁴ The religious rites in which the women of Athens officiated were numerous and important: 1. The orgiastic ceremonies in honour of Pan were performed with shouts and clamour, it not being permitted to approach that

divinity in silence.—Sch. Aristoph. Lysistr. 2. They celebrated sacred rites in honour of Aphrodite Colias, id. ibid. 3. Another divinity, in whose honour they congregated together, was Ginesyllis a goddess in the train of Aphrodite, who obtained the name ἀπὸ τῆς γενέσεως τῶν παίδων. id. ibid. Cf. Luc. Amor. § 42. 4. The part they took in the orgies of Dionysos is well known. 5. They, too, were the principal actors in the festival of Adonis. Plut. Alcib. § 18. and to mention no more they may strictly be said to have constituted the principal attraction of the Panathenaic procession.

it is known that numerous private occasions, such as funerals, marriages, &c., exposed them to the indiscriminate gaze of the public. Thus, we have in Terence a youth who from beholding a young lady with face uncovered and dishevelled hair lamenting at her mother's funeral, falls desperately in love;¹ and the wife in Lysias, whose frailty led to the murder of Eratosthenes,² was first seen and admired under similar circumstances. Excuses, in fact, were never wanting to be in public, and occasions unknown to us were clearly afforded men for becoming acquainted with the temper and character of their future spouses, since we find Socrates conversing with men well acquainted with their country's manners, jocularly feigning to have chosen Xantippe for her fierce, untameable spirit.³

It has been supposed by many distinguished scholars, that, at Athens,⁴ the theatre—that great bazaar of female beauty in modern states—was closed against the women, at least the comic theatre. One principal ground of this opinion is the coarse and licentious character of the old comedy which, with its broad humour, political satire, and reckless disregard of decency, appears fitted for men only, and those not the most refined. But there are strange contradictions in human nature. The very religion of Greece teemed with indecency. Phallic statues crowded the temples and the public streets. Phallic emblems entered into many of the sacred ceremonies at which women, even in their maiden condition, assisted, and the poems chaunted at sa-

¹ Phorm. 2. 2. 40. sqq.

² Lys. De Cæd. Eratosth. § 2.

³ Diog. Laert. ii. 5. 18.

⁴ To prove the presence of the women at the theatre among the other Greeks, ample testimonies might be collected. Thus, when in Æolis, a certain Alexander exhibited dramatic performances,

the people flocked thither from all the neighbouring towns and villages, upon which he surrounded the theatre with soldiers, made prisoners both men, women, and children, and only released them on payment of a large ransom.—Polyæn. Stratagem. vi. 10.

crifices, where they associated in every rite, were, in many parts, broader than an Utopian legislator would consider permissible. Besides, to prove the nullity of this objection, we need only note the history of our own stage. English women refused not, when they were in fashion, to behold, under the protection of a mask,¹ the comedies of Massinger, Wycherly, Beaumont and Fletcher. They still read, and, on the stage, admire, Shakespeare, and from these the interval is not wide to Aristophanes, the lewdest and most shameless of ancient comic writers.² And, further, it should never be forgotten, that their perverted religion flung its protecting wing over the stage. Plays exhibited during the festivals of Bacchos were, like our old mysteries and moralities, strictly sacred shows, and, consistently, women could no more have been excluded from them than from the other exhibitions connected with public worship.

As on many other points, however, the positive and direct testimonies to be adduced in proof of the position I maintain are scanty, and of modern authorities nearly all are against me. Still, truth is not immediately to be deserted because there happens to be much difficulty in defending it. It will be time enough to run when we have exhausted all our resources. An unknown writer, but still a Greek,³ relates that, during the acting of the *Eumenides*, that awe-inspiring and terrible drama of *Æschylus*, the sight of the furies rushing tumultuously, like dogs of hell, upon the stage, with their frightful masks and blood-dripping hands, shed so

¹ To this Pope alludes:
"And not a mask went unimproved away."

See also Swift, *Tale of a Tub*, § ix.

² On the coarseness of the German theatre, in the eighteenth century, frequented by the empress and the first ladies of the court,

see Lady Montague's *Letters*, ix.

³ *Τινες δὲ φάσιν, ἐν τῇ ἐπιδείξει τῶν Εὐμενίδων σποράδην εἰσάγοντα τὸν χορὸν, τοσοῦτον ἐκπληξαι τὸν δῆμον, ὥστε τὰ μὲν νήπια ἐκψύξαι, τὰ δὲ ἔμβρυα ἐξαμβλωθῆναι.* — Vit. *Æschyl.* p. 6.

deep a terror over the theatre, that children were thrown into fits, and pregnant women seized with premature birth-pangs. This, if admitted, would be evidence decisive as regards the tragic stage. But, because it is impossible to elude its force, modern critics boldly assume the privilege to treat the whole passage contemptuously, opposing scorn when they have no counterproof to oppose. Such a mode of arguing, however, by whomsoever pursued, must clearly bear upon the face of it the mark of sophistry, for in that way there is no position which might not be overthrown or established.

But our anonymous authority has not been left to encounter the attacks of the critics and historians alone. Other ancient authors, though their corroborative testimonies have, hitherto, been generally overlooked, furnish incidental hints and revelations which, duly weighed, will, I make no doubt, be admitted to amount to positive proof. Describing the temple of Demeter at Eleusis, Strabo observes, that so vast were its dimensions, that during the celebration of the mysteries, it would contain the whole multitude usually assembled at the theatre.¹ Now, in the mysteries, we know that the Athenians of both sexes, and of all ages above childhood, were present, so that, if men only had been admitted to the theatre, it need not have been half the size of the Eleusinian temple, and, consequently, would have furnished the geographer with no proper subject of comparison. Again, in the passage quoted above, from Plato, the presence of women at both the tragic and comic theatres is indubitably presumed, since, to judge of both these kinds of exhibitions, it was necessary either to see them, or to read the plays. If they read the plays there could

¹ "Ὀχλον θεάτρου δέξασθαι δύναμενον.—Strab. ix. i. p. 238.—We have in Pollux. ii. 56. and iv. 121., θεάτρια "a spectatress," and συνθεάτρια "a fellow spec-

tatress," a word used by Aristophanes, and, doubtless, applied to women forming part of a theatrical audience.

be no reason for restraining them from the theatre, since, whatever they contained of objectionable matter would thus be equally placed within their reach. It is to be presumed, therefore, even from this passage, that the theatre was free to women.

But the philosopher is elsewhere more explicit. Treating in his Dialogue on Laws expressly of tragic poetry, and speaking always in reference to his imaginary state, he respectfully and with many flattering compliments proscribes this branch of the mimetic arts, not, however, without assigning his reasons. Assuming for the moment the part of leader of the legislative chorus, he informs the tragedians, that “we, also, in our way, are poets, and aim at
“producing a perfect representation of human life.
“You must regard us, therefore, as your rivals, and
“believe that we labour at the composition of a
“drama, which it is within the competence of perfect law only to achieve. You must not, accordingly imagine, that, as jealous rivals, we shall readily admit you into our city to pitch your tents
“in our agora, and, through the voice of loudmouthed, actors to imbue our wives and children
“and countrymen with manners the very opposite
“to ours.”¹ Now, what point, or, indeed, what sense would there be in this, if in the commonwealths actually existing dramatic poets had always been prohibited from addressing themselves to the women? Would it not have been just such another novelty as an ingenious philosopher of our days would hit upon, were he in a state of his own invention, to propose, as a great improvement on existing customs, that women should go to church?

¹ Plat. de Legg. vii. t. viii. p. 59. Bekk. Compare with this the song of the φαλλοφόρος.—Athen. xiv. 16.

Σοὶ, Βάκχε, τάνδε μοῦσαν ἀγλαΐζομεν,
Ἄπλου ῥυθμὸν χέοντες αἰόλῳ μέλει,

Καὶ μὰν, ἀπαρθένευτον.
κ. τ. λ.

His songs and his acting were, no doubt, little suited to the taste of a virgin; but if virgins had never frequented the theatre, and the comic theatre, too, where would have been the necessity for any such remark?

This, therefore, were there no other proof, would, to me, appear convincing; but a still stronger remains. It is well known that the theatre was, among the ancients, parcelled out into several divisions, some more, some less honourable; and of these one whole division, by the decree of Sphyromachos, was appropriated to the female citizens, who would appear previously to have sat indiscriminately among the men and female strangers. To the latter the upper ranges of seats would appear to have been appropriated.¹ On this point, therefore, the opinion received among the generality of writers is erroneous. Women were not debarred the amusement or instruction of the theatre,² which, for good or for evil, influenced their education, and rendered their minds subservient or otherwise to the designs of the legislator and the welfare of the state.

¹ Aristoph. Eccles. 22. et Schol.

Ἐνταῦθα περὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην δεῖ
κερκίδα

Ἵμᾱς καθιζούσας θεωρεῖν ὡς
ξένας.

Alexis, ap. Poll. ix. 44.

² An anecdote related by Plutarch, would of itself, in my opinion, suffice to prove the presence of women at the theatre, as well as that Athenian ladies habitually went abroad attended by a single maid-servant. For on one occasion, when an actor who played the part of a queen would have refused to appear upon the stage unless furnished with a splendid costume and a large suite of attendants, Melanthios, the manager, pushed him on the boards, saying, "Don't you see the wife of Phocion constantly going abroad attended by but one maid? And wouldst thou affect superior pomp and corrupt our wives?" It is evident that the pride of this

actor could not have exercised any evil influence on the women had they not been present to witness his ostentation. We must necessarily infer, therefore, that they were, and that they joined the theatre in the thunders of applause with which it received the observation of Melanthios, who had spoken so loud as to be heard by the whole audience. — Plut. Phoc. § 19. The passage of Alexis had not escaped Casaubon, who, in his notes on Theophrastus' Characters, p. 165, has discussed the point with his usual learning and ability. A passage in the The-smophoriazusæ of Aristophanes, seems however, but only seems, to make against this opinion. There a woman says that when men returned from seeing a play of Euripides, a "Woman-hater," they used to search the house in quest of lovers; but when Euripides' plays were acted they might be supposed to remain at home from pique.

From all which it will be apparent that the sexes enjoyed at Athens abundant occasions of meeting; and in the other Ionian states similar customs and similar manners prevailed. For this we are reduced to rely on no obscure scholiast or grammarian. Thucydides himself, describing the second purification of Delos by the Athenians, and the institution of the Delian games, observes, that from very remote times the people of Ionia and the neighbouring islands had been accustomed to come with their wives and children to the sacred festivals there celebrated in honour of Apollo. On these occasions gymnastic exercises and musical contests took place; and of the chorusses who chaunted the praises of the god some were female. The whole of the ceremonies are described in the Homeric hymns to the tutelar divinity, where the poet very animatedly recapitulates the principal features of the games.

To thee, O Phœbos! most the Delian isle
Gives cordial joy, excites the pleasing smile,
When gay Ionians flock around thy fane,
Men, women, children, — a resplendent train:
Where flowing garments sweep the sacred pile,—
Where youthful concourse gladdens all the isle,—
Where champions fight,—where dancers beat the ground,—
Where cheerful music echoes all around,
Thy feast to honour, and thy praise to sound.¹

The great historian who quotes this hymn, and unhesitatingly attributes it to Homer, brings forward to prove the occurrence of musical contests another passage, in which, as he observes, the poet speaks of himself: —

But now, Apollo, with thy sister fair,
Smile as the lingering bard prefers his prayer;
And ye, O Delian nymphs,² who guard the fane
Of Phœbos, listen to my parting strain;
Should some lone stranger, when my lay no more

¹ Thucyd. iii. 104. The version is Dr. Smith's. Cf. Hom. Hymn. in Apoll. 146. sqq.

² I have, as the reader will perceive, adopted the verse proposed by Barnes: —

Floats on the breezes of the sacred shore,
Demand who best, with soul-entrancing song,
Earned blithe your praise, and bore your hearts along?
Then answer with a warm approving smile—
“The blind old man of Chios’ rocky isle.”¹

And down to the period of the Peloponnesian war similar games and sacred rites were performed at Ephesos, at which the Ionians with their wives and children were usually present.

The Doric historian, to whom all these circumstances must be familiarly known, makes, however, no account of them, but consistently with his theory, if not with facts, remembers no well-authenticated instance in the annals of Attica of a person’s marrying for love. What he would admit to be well authenticated it were difficult to say. He rejects, whenever his particular notions seem to require it, the testimonies both of Herodotus and Thucydides, so that for a narrative resting on the authority of Polyænus, Plutarch, and Valerius Maximus, we can expect no quarter. Nevertheless, as these writers are at least faithful in their delineations of manners, the following romantic incident may be hazarded even on their authority. Thrasymedes, an Athenian youth, entertaining a strong passion for the daughter of the tyrant Peisistratos, had the hardihood one day as she walked in a religious procession to kiss her openly in the street. Her brothers, young men of a fiery temper, regarded the act as an affront almost inexpiable, and were apparently preparing to take vengeance on the offender, when the old prince allayed their anger by observing, — “If we punish men for loving us, how shall we conduct ourselves towards our enemies?”

Δηλιάδες δὲ τε κοῦραι Ἀπόλ-
λωνος θερᾶπαιναί.

Though Ernesti is perhaps right in supposing no addition necessary. See his note on v, 165. Franke, in his recent edition of

the Hymns, has, with Ernesti, rejected the verse.

¹ Of these verses (Hymn. in Apol. v. 165. 172) I give my own translation, the last line excepted, which Byron had somewhere done ready to my hand.

Escaping thus, Thrasymedes still cherished his love. He therefore determined on carrying away the lady by force; and gaining over a number of his associates, he seized the occasion of a sacrifice on the sea-shore in which the maiden was officiating, and rushing, attended by his followers with drawn swords, through the crowd, he succeeded in conveying her to a boat, and set sail for Ægina. Unfortunately, however, for his design, Hippias, eldest son of Peisistratos, happened at this moment to be cruising in the bay on the look-out for pirates, and perceiving a bark putting hastily out to sea, he bore down upon it, took the young men prisoners, and conducted them together with his sister back to Athens. Thrasymedes and his companions being brought before the tyrant, abated not a jot of their courage, but bade him, in determining their punishment, use his own discretion, since from the moment they resolved on the enterprise they had made light, they said, of life. Peisistratos, tyrant though he was, regarded their loftiness of soul with admiration, freely bestowed his daughter on Thrasymedes, and won them to his interest by gentleness and friendship. In this, says Polyænus, acting the part of a good father and a popular citizen rather than of a tyrant.¹

But supposing no instances remained on record, who can doubt that the heart prompted, and the hand followed its promptings, at Athens as elsewhere? Its walls, its columns, every plane-tree in the Academy, the Cerameicos, and other public walks, glowed with the language of the passions, and the names of virgins beloved for their beauty. There was, no doubt, some want of delicacy in this; but the manners of the Athenians, though they presented no insuperable bar to so much of intercourse as might serve to enkindle affection,² opposed, nevertheless, that facility of com-

¹ Polyæn. Strat. v. 14. Meurs. Peisist. vi. p. 46. seq. Plutarch. in Apophthegm. Peisist. § 3.

who calls the young man Thrasybulos. Valer. Max. v. 1.

² Schol. in Aristoph. Acharn.

munication which at Sparta existed, and in our own country is common. However, had the beloved been incapable of reading, to what purpose should her name, coupled with endearing epithets, have illuminated the bark of the smilax, or the marble skreens of the gymnasia? It was traced there in order that her bright eyes might peruse it, and learn who of all the youth of Athens, had singled her forth from the world to be the object of his love. Lucian, in his sarcastic humour, represents a mad lover of the goddess Aphrodite carving every tree and end of wall with her name.¹ From a fragment of Callimachos it would seem too as if men had sometimes written the beloved syllables on the leaves of trees;² which may well have been, since in our own days we have seen the English people inscribing in letters of gold the name of their youthful queen on leaves of laurel. Euripides, who lost no opportunity of venting his aversion for the sex, introduces one of his characters protesting that his opinion of women would not be bettered though every pine in Mount Ida were covered with their names.³

Another mode of declaring love, not quite unknown in modern times, was to clothe the language of the heart in verse. Poets, we are told, often disguised their own feelings by attributing them to the actors in a feigned narrative, which they would compose as an offering to the object of their attachment who, it is very obvious, to appreciate such

144. Vesp. 98. Young men in love would appear to have played at dice, with fortune, to discover whether they should be successful or otherwise. Luc. Amor. § 16. Speaking of Ameipsias' Sphendone, or Jewelled Ring, Hemsterhuis observes: — "Nomen habere potuerit hæc comedia ab annulo mutui amoris signo, atque arrha, cujus in palâ fuerit insculpta, quod haud apud antiquos insolens,

amoris figura, quæque vario ut modo per aliorum manus vagata. ad Poll. ix. 96. t. vi. p. 1123.

¹ Amor. § 16. Τοῖχος ἅπας ἐχαράσσετο, καὶ πᾶς μαλακοῦ δένδρον φλοιὸς Ἀφροδίτην καλὴν ἐκήρυσσεν.

² Callim. Frag. xxv. p. 241. Spanh.—Theoc. Epithal. Hell. 48.

³ Ap. Eustath. Iliad, ζ. 490. Potter, Archæol. ii. 244.

a gift, must have been able to read it.¹ They had likewise another fashion, particularly Greek, of making known their sentiments, which was to suspend garlands of flowers, or perform sacrifice before the door where the person possessing their heart resided.² Sometimes they repaired to the spot and poured forth libations of wine as at the entrance of a temple, a practice alluded to by the Scholiast on Aristophanes, who relates that a number of Thessalian gentlemen being in love with Laïs,³ betrayed their passion by publicly sprinkling her doors with wine. Among the symptoms which disclosed the condition of the feelings, a garland loosely thrown upon the head was one.⁴ Women suffered their secret to escape them by being discovered wreathing garlands for their hair.⁵

But in whatever way the existence of passion was externally manifested, a more interesting question is the modification which the passion⁶ itself underwent in the Greek mind.⁷ Numerous circumstances concur to mislead our judgment on this subject. In the first place, the writers who sprang up like fungi amid the corruption and profligacy which attended the decay of Hellenic society, standing nearer to us, obstruct our view. Among them a coarse unhealthy craving after excitement led to nefarious perversions of sentiment, and to countenance their own excesses they threw back their vile polluting shadows upon

¹ Philostrat. Epist. xx. p. 921. Hermann. Com. in Arist. Poet. p. 87.

² Athen. xv. 9.

³ Cf. Naïs according to Harpocrat. in v. p. 203. Sch. Aristoph. Plat. 179. Cf. Athen. xiii. 51.

⁴ Athen. xv. 9.

⁵ Aristoph. Thesmoph. 400.

⁶ Σὲ δέσποινα τῶν ὑπὲρ σοῦ λόγων, Ἀφροδίτη, σὲ βοηθὸν αἱ ἐμαὶ δεήσεις καλοῦσιν. Luc. Amor. § 19.

⁷ See the whole question treated with peculiar ability by Maximus Tyrius viii. 105. sqq. Homer, in the opinion of this writer, exhibits especial felicity in his description of love, from the cool, timid dawn of passion to its fervid noon, portraying its operations, the age at which it is experienced, its forms, its feelings, chaste or unchaste. See too Lycophron Cassand. 104. with the commentary of Meursius, p. 1184. 1186. sqq.

the loftier and brighter moral station of their forefathers. Even so early as the age of Æschylus this culpable practice began to prevail, for this great poet scrupled not to attribute to Achilles vices, which, in the Homeric period, were evidently unknown.¹

But rightly to comprehend the spirit of an age, we must by no means confide in the interpretation of the succeeding, or even in any one class of contemporary writers. Least of all, in the authors of comedy, who seldom paint men as they are, but run into exaggeration and caricature for the sake of effect. To the imaginative, spiritual, impassioned must we have recourse, if we would learn what the impassioned, spiritual and imaginative felt, and to such only in any age or country, is love, in the poetical sense of the word, familiar or indeed intelligible.

In the apprehension of several modern writers, love among the Greeks, was not merely based upon physical elements, as it must everywhere be, but included little or nothing else.² It had there, they suppose, none of these romantic features, nothing of that

¹ The friendship of Achilles for Patroclus is celebrated by Maximus Tyrius, viii. 106. Cf. Luc. Amor. 20.

² Maximus Tyrius has, on the origin of love, a very beautiful passage. "Its well-spring is the
"beauty of the soul gleaming upward through the body. And
"as flowers seen under water appear still more brilliant and exquisite than they are, so mental
"excellence seems to manifest
"additional splendour when invested with corporeal loveliness." ix. 113. Euripides, whatever he may have written in his old age, was once an enthusiastic panegyrist of love, of which

he has left a brilliant description. Athen. xiii. 11. In the gymnasia the statue of Eros was placed beside those of Hermes and Hercules—eloquence and strength. Love festivals *Ἐρωτῖδια* were celebrated by the Thespians. Athen. xiii. 12. Before entering battle the Cretans and Spartans sacrificed to Eros, Id. xiii. 12. Alexis imitates Plato in describing this passion. Eros had two bows, the one of the graces producing happiness, the other engendering violence and wrong. Id. xiii. 14. On the power of love see § 74. Cleisophos of Selymbria fell in love at Samos with a statue of Parian marble. § 84.

heroic self-devotion or lofty intercommunion of soul with soul, which among northern nations, more particularly in fiction, characterises this powerful and mysterious principle, which binds together in indissoluble union individuals of different sexes, and renders throughout life the contentment and happiness of the one, dependent on the well-being of the other.

But I can discover in the Greeks nothing which, on this point, can distinguish them from other civilised races, except, perhaps, that there was in their love, more of earnestness and reality and less of dreaminess and fantastic affectation, than might be brought home to several modern nations. Their fables, however, and their poetry teem with ideas and examples of the loftiest and purest love, such love, I mean, as is natural to mankind, as harmonises with the structure of their minds, and the object and tendency of their passions, growing like the oak out of earth, but springing upward and rearing its majestic stature and beautiful foliage towards heaven. Thus Odysseus in Homer prefers the sunshine of a wife's affection to immortality¹ and the smiles of a sensual goddess. Hæmon with a tenderness carried to excess, spurns the blandishment of empire, nay, the very laws of duty and nature, that he may cling to the form of Antigone² and join her in the grave. And Alcestis, rising above them all, quits in youth and health and beauty

“ The warm precincts of the cheerful day, ”

¹ Καὶ τὴν Πηνελόπην ἄλλως Ὀδυσσεὺς ὀρᾷ, ἄλλως ὁ Εὐρύμαχος.—Max. Tyr. ix. 115.

² Soph. Antig. 635. sqq.—Καὶ ἐν εὐτυχίαις συνευτύχει καὶ ἀποθανόντι συναποθνήσκει, Max.

Tyr. ix. 116. We discover the same idea in our own marriage ceremony, where husband and wife are said to be joined together, “for better for worse, for richer “for poorer, in sickness and in “health.”

that she may preserve the existence of one beloved still more than life.¹

Nay, to prove the elevated conceptions of love that prevailed in earlier Greece, we find a personification of this passion reckoned among the most ancient gods of its mythology. Altars were erected, festivals instituted, sacrifices offered up to it, as to a power, in its origin and nature divine.² It breathed the breath of life into their poetry, it was supposed to elicit music and verse from the coldest human clay, like the sun's rays from the fabulous Memnon—it allied itself in its energies with freedom—to love, in the imagination of a Greek, was to cease to be a slave,³—it emancipated and rendered noble whomsoever it inspired,—it floated winged through the air, and descended even in dreams⁴ upon the mind of men or women, revealing to sight the forms of persons unknown, annihilating distance, trampling over rank, confounding together gods and men by its irresistible force.⁵ Much of the beauty of their fables is concealed from us by the atmosphere of triteness and familiarity with which our injudicious education invests them. Every puling sonneteer babbles of Eros. And Aphrodite, a creature of the imagination brighter and lovelier than her own star, has been rendered more common in modern verse, than the most celebrated

¹ Even Lucian could discover that there was something holy in love. Κοινὸν οὖν ἀμφοτέρῳ γένει πόθον ἐγκερασμένη, συνεζέξεν ἄλληλοις θεσμόν ἀνάγκης ὄσιον. Amor. § 19.

² See too in Stobæus, the addresses of a bereaved husband to philosophy—ὦ φιλοσοφία, τυραννικά σου τὰ ἐπιτάγματα; λεγεις φίλει· κᾶν ἀποβάλλῃ τις, λέγεις, μὴ λύπου. 99. 34. Cf. Senec. Epist. 99. Scheffer. ad Ælian. 27. p. 471.

³ Max. Tyr. x. 119. This author observes that the love depicted by the tragedians was a piece of ill-regulated passion rarely leading to happiness. Id. 123. 124. Cf. Luc. Amor. § 37.

⁴ Ἐξ ὀνείρων ἐρασσης. Max. Tyr. x. 126.

⁵ See the invocation to Love in Lucian: σὺ γὰρ ἐξ ἀφανοῦς καὶ κεχυμένης ἀμορφίας τὸ πᾶν ἐμόρφωσας. κ. τ. λ. Amor. § 32.

of her priestesses in ancient Corinth. But the poets of Greece possessed the art of clothing their gods in colours warm as life, varied as the rainbow; and as to Love, never was his influence more delicately shadowed forth than by him who introduces Endymion slumbering with unclosed lids on Mount Latmos, that the divinity of sleep might enjoy the brightness of his eyes!¹

¹ This thought occurs in a fragment of Licymnios

*Ὕπνος δὲ χαίρων ὀμμάτων
αὐγαῖς, ἀναπεπταμένοις ὄσσοις,
ἐκοίμιζεν κούρον.*

Athen. xiii. 17.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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THE HISTORY
OF THE
MANNERS AND CUSTOMS
OF
ANCIENT GREECE.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER IV.

MARRIAGE CEREMONIES.

WHEN marriage was determined on, whether love or interest prompted to it, the business part of the transaction, which in all countries is exceedingly unromantic, was delegated, as in China, to a female matchmaker,¹ whose professional duties appear to have been considered important. She carried the lover's proposals to the family of his mistress, or rather, perhaps, broke the ice and paved the way for him. In the earlier ages men, no doubt, performed this delicate office themselves, or entrusted it to their parents; as in Homer we find Achilles declaring, that his father Peleus shall choose a wife for him. Earlier still, if we may credit certain prevalent traditions, men dispensed altogether with such

¹ Προμνηστρία. Aristoph. Nub. 41. et Schol. Poll. iii. 41.
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preliminaries and lived "more pecudum" with the first females who came in their way; a state of barbarism from which it is said they were reclaimed by Cecrops.¹ But, to whomsoever this fable may trace its origin, it is evidently unworthy of the slightest credit. Of times sunk in such an abyss of ignorance no record could remain, or even of many succeeding revolutions of manners touching close upon the orbit of civilisation. If, however, the tradition arose originally out of any real innovation in manners, it may refer to the partial abolition of polygamy, which, whether made by Cecrops or not, was an important step in the progress of the Greeks towards polished life.

But if Cecrops ever lived, and should not be regarded as a mere mythological creation, we must still reject the comparatively modern tradition which fetches him from Egypt. Coming from the East, he would more probably have instituted polygamy than the contrary. In every point of view the tradition is absurd; for it at once represents the people of Attica as savages, and as having made considerable advances in the science of civil government. They have already emerged from the state of patriarchal rule, not by any means the lowest, and have arrived at the monarchical period in the history of society—for Cecrops marries the daughter of king Actæos—yet have not made the first step in refine-

¹ Athen. xiii. 2. Mr. Mitford defers too much to "the traditions received in the polished ages" when, upon the authority of such traditions and of such writers as Justin (ii. 6.), he appears to conclude that, before the time of Cecrops, the people of Attica were in knowledge and civilisation inferior to the wildest savages. Hist. of Greece, i. 58. Upon legends and authors of this description no reliance can be placed. If society existed, every-

thing "indispensable" to society also existed; therefore, if marriage be so, it could not be unknown. Besides, how happens it that this same Cecrops who instituted marriage did not likewise teach them to sow corn, which, if Egypt was, when he left it, a civilised country, must have been as familiar to him as matrimony? This most necessary acquisition, however, they were left to make many ages afterwards, during the reign of Erechtheus. Justin, ii. 6.

ment,¹ have not passed the barrier dividing the rudest savage from even the barbarian,—had not made the discovery that, for the preservation of society, children must be cared for and maintained, which is impossible until they have other fathers than the community. We must, therefore, reject this Cecropian legend, and acknowledge that, from the earliest times of which any record remains, the people of Hellas married and were given in marriage.

Whatever the original practice of the Greeks may have been, traces of polygamy long continued discernible in their manners. Heracles maintained a seraglio worthy of an Ottoman sultan. His wives, indeed, like those of a wandering Brahmin, were scattered at convenient points over the country, that, whithersoever he roamed, he might find lodging and entertainment; but, as rumours of his different establishments travelled about, the jealousy of the ladies was at last excited and proved fatal to him. Ægeus, too, and his brother Pallas, old Priam, Agamemnon, Theseus, and nearly every public man in the heroic times, are represented as possessing a harem. Indeed, to judge by the practice of princes, it would seem

¹ Cf. Goguet, *Origine des Loix*. iv. 394, where the learned author contends most chivalrously for the received theory. Apollodorus, however, represents Cecrops as an Autochthon, *συμφύες ἔχων σῶμα ἀνδρὸς καὶ δράκοντος*. iii. 14. 1.—The reason why he was thus said to partake of two natures—half-man and half-snake—has been very variously and very fantastically explained. Diodorus Siculus, (i. p. 17,) derives his title to be considered half a man and half a beast, from his being, by choice a Greek, by nature a barbarian. Yet he conceives that it was the beast that civilised the man. Others explain *διφυής* somewhat differently

to mean that he was of gigantic stature and understood two languages: *διὰ μῆκος σώματος οὕτω καλούμενος, ὥς φήσιν ὁ Φιλόχορος, ἥ ὅτι Αἰγυπτίων τὰς δύο γλώσσας ἠπίστατο*.—Euseb. No. 460.—Eustathius, familiar with the fables of the mythology, turns the tables upon Cecrops, and conceives that he may have civilised himself, not the Athenians, by settling in Attica. He supposes him *ἀπὸ ὅπως εἰς ἀνθρώπων ἐλθεῖν, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὸν βάρβαρον Αἰγυπτιασμὸν ἀφείκε, χρηστὸς ἀναλάβετο τρόπους πολιτικούς*.—In Dionys. *Perieg.* p. 56.

as if polygamy were the law of every land; so habitual is it with them to transgress, in this point, against public opinion. A report, still current among certain writers, represents Socrates with two wives, the gentle nature of Xantippe encouraging him, perhaps, to venture on a second! But even that diligent retailer of scandal, Athenæus,¹ rejects this story, which, no doubt, originated with some sophist, who owed the philosopher a grudge. If not in the son of Sophroniscos, however, at least in Philip of Macedon, the kings of heroic times found an exact imitator. This Pellæan fox, though he did not, like the Persian monarch, lead about with him an army of concubines in his military expeditions, yet, from policy or other motives, contracted numerous marriages, as many, perhaps, as Heracles. Satyros has bequeathed to us a curious account of his majesty's matrimonial exploits. During his long reign, of from twenty to four-and-twenty years, the dishes of one nuptial feast had scarcely time to cool before a new one was in preparation. It was nothing but truffles and rich soup from June till June. I am unable to furnish a list of all the ladies who claimed, through Philip's diffusive love, to be queens of Macedon; but it may be proper to name a few, to show how the morals of his subjects must have been improved by his example. The first lady whose landed attractions won Philip's heart was *Andatè*, an Illyrian, by whom he had a daughter, called *Cynna*. To her succeeded *Phila*, sister of *Derda* and *Macatè*. His next wives were two Thessalian women, *Pherè* of *Nikesipolis*, mother of *Thessalonia*,

¹ Deipnosoph. xiii. 2. — Compare the account in Diogenes Laertius, ii. 5. 10.—The conduct of Socrates, who married Xantippe to prove the goodness of his temper, was imitated, we are told, by a Christian lady, who "desired of St. Athanasius to procure for her, out of the wi-

"dows fed from the ecclesiastical
"corban, an old woman morose,
"peevish, and impatient, that
"she might by the society of
"so ungentle a person have often
"occasion to exercise her pa-
"tience, her forgiveness, and
"charity."—Jeremy Taylor's *Life of Christ*, i. 384.

and *Philinna* of Larissa, mother of Aridæos. Had he sought merely the women these might have sufficed; but Philip had other views, and, finding marriage a still more expeditious method of extending his dominions even than conquest, he forthwith added to the list *Olympias*, who brought him the kingdom of Molossia in dowry, and, as every one knows, was mother of Alexander. Had the crafty prince stopped here, posterity, overlooking his immorality, might have applauded his prudence. But, elated by success, he proceeded to augment the number of his queens. To *Olympias* succeeded *Meda*, daughter of Cithalas, king of Thrace; and, lastly, *Cleopatra*, sister of Hippostratos, and niece of Attalos. By this time he was somewhat advanced in years, for Alexander, son of *Olympias*, approached manhood. At the feast given in honour of this new marriage, when the wine had circulated, as was customary among Macedonians, Attalos, who had probably drunk deep, observed, "At length we shall have legitimate princes, not bastards!" Alexander, who was present, in resentment of the affront, threw his goblet in the face of Attalos, who saluted him in the same way. Upon this, perceiving how matters were likely to proceed, *Olympias* fled to Molossia, Alexander into Illyria. Philip lived to have by *Cleopatra* one daughter, *Europa*; but, shortly afterwards, at the instigation, it is supposed of *Olympias* and Alexander, was murdered by Pausanias.¹

Ordinary individuals, however, were restrained from the commission of such immoralities by the laws, more particularly at Athens, where marriage was contemplated with all the reverence due to the great palladium of civilisation. As a necessary consequence, celibacy could be no other than disreputable, so that, to a man ambitious of public honour, the possession of a wife and children was

¹ Athen. xiii. 5.

no less indispensable than the means of living.¹ Among the Spartans, bachelors were delivered over to the tender mercies of the women, and subjected to very heavy penalties. During the celebration of certain festivals they were seized by a crowd of petulant viragoes, each able to strangle an ox,² and dragged in derision round the altars of the gods, receiving from the fists of their gentle tormentors such blows as the regular practice of boxing had taught the young ladies to inflict.³

“ And ladies sometimes hit exceeding hard.”

But we shall be the less inclined to judge uncharitably of this somewhat unfeminine custom, if we consider that, in the ancient world, no less than in the modern, unmarried and childless women were held but in slight esteem. And this feeling, which never for a moment slumbers in society, teaches better than the cant of a thousand sentimentalists what the true origin of love is.

Of the impediments to marriage arising, among ancient nations, from relationship or consanguinity, very little is with certainty known. In the heroic ages, all unions excepting those of parents with their children appear to have been lawful; for, in the *Odyssey*, we find the six sons of *Æolos* joined in marriage with their six sisters, the manners of the olden times, abandoned on earth, still lingering among the gods.

Iphidamos has to wife his mother's sister,⁴ and *Alcinoös*, by no means a profligate or immoral prince, is united with his brother's daughter;⁵ *Deiphobos*, after *Paris's* death, takes possession of *Helen*,⁶ and *Helenos*, the seer, is united in wedlock with *Andromache*, the widow of his brother *Hector*.⁷ But without alleging any further examples, we may, from

¹ *Dinarch.* in *Demosth.* §11. Cf. *Poll.* viii. 40. *Comm.* p. 644.

² *Aristoph.* *Lysistrat.* 78, seq.

³ *Athen.* xiii. 2.

⁴ *Hom.* *Il.* λ. 221, seq.

⁵ *Hom.* *Odyss.* η. 55, seq.

⁶ *Keightley, Mythology*, p. 490.

⁷ *Serv.* ad *Virg. Æn.* iii. 297.

the practice imputed to the gods, among whom scarcely any degree of relationship was a bar to marriage, infer that, in very early ages, few scruples were entertained upon the subject. Later mythologists have even imputed to Zeus an illicit amour with his daughter Aphrodite,¹ but libellously, and in contradiction to the best ancient authorities.² Nature, indeed, has so peremptorily prohibited the union of parents with their own children, that positive laws forbidding connexions so nefarious, have in all ages been nearly unnecessary, though the superstition of the Magi³ in ancient, and the profligacy of popes and princes in modern times, have been accused of transgressing these natural boundaries.

Could we credit the sophist of Naucratis, there was likewise one distinguished person⁴ among the Athenians who coveted the reputation of equal guilt.

¹ Virg. Cir. 133.

Sed malus ille puer, quem nec
sua flectere mater,
Iratum potuit, quem nec pater,
atque avus idem
Jupiter.

² For Valckernaer's correction of Eurip. Hippol. 536, where for *ὁ Διὸς παῖς*, he reads *ὁλίγος παῖς*, should, I think, be adopted. *Diatrib.* in Eurip. *Perd. Dram.* xv. p. 159, c. His whole defence of Zeus on this *count* is triumphant. Still the notes of Monk, Beck, Musgrave, and the *Classical Journal*, vi. 80, should be compared.

³ Diog. Laert. *Proem.* § 6. To this practice Euripides probably alludes in the *Andromache*, v. 173, sqq., where Hermione describes, with scorn, the profligate manners of the barbarians. Catullus, inveighing against the impious depravity of a contemporary, observes—

“ Nam Magus ex matre et gnato
gignatur oportet,
Si vera est Persarum *impia religio*.”

Epig. lxxxiii. 3, seq. Pope Alexander VI. and the Emperor Shah Jehan have, in modern times, been accused of similar crimes. Bayle, *Dict. Hist. et Crit.* Art. Alexandre VI. and Bernier, *Voyages*, t. i. On the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, see Sepulveda, *de Ritu Nupt. et Dispens.* i. § 20, where he says, that the Pope could authorize all unions, save those between parents and children. “ Et ideo hodiè non ligant, nisi quatenus ab ecclesia sunt assumptæ ; ac propterea Papa dispensare potest cum omnibus personis, nisi cum matre et patre, ut matrimonium contrahant.” Card. Cajetan. ap. Sepulved. *ub. sup.*

⁴ Alcibiades. *Athen.* xii. 48. xiii. 34. *Lysias*, fr. p. 640.

The marriage of brothers with their own sisters was, in later ages, considered illegal; not so with respect to half sisters by the fathers's side, whom no law forbade men to marry.¹ Still the recorded examples of those who availed themselves of this privilege are few; but among them we find the great Cimon, son of Miltiades, who, from affection, observes Cornelius Nepos, and in perfect conformity with the manners of his country, took to wife his sister Elpinice.² Plutarch, too, speaks of the union as public and legal, but Athenæus³ characteristically insinuates that Elpinice was merely her brother's mistress. The Spartan law took a different view of what constitutes sisterhood. Here the father was everything, and therefore with an uterine sister, as no near relation, marriage might be contracted.⁴ All connexions in the direct line of ascent or descent were prohibited; but the prohibition extended not to the collateral branches,⁵ uncles being permitted to take to wife their nieces, and nephews their aunts.

The precise age at which an Athenian citizen might legally take upon him the burden of a family, is said, without proof, though not altogether without probability, to have been determined by Solon; for such matters were in those ages supposed to come within the legitimate scope of legislation.⁶ They attributed to the season of youth a much greater duration than comports with our notions. It was, in

¹ Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 1353.

² Corn. Nep. Vit. Cim. i. Plut. Cim. § 4, where we find this lady accused of an amour with the painter Polygnotos, who introduced her portrait among the Trojan ladies in the Stoa Pœcile.

³ Deipnosophist. xiii. 56. Murretus, Var. Lect. vii. i. discusses the question, but without throwing much new light upon it.—Andocides cont. Alcibiad. § 9, assigns

Cimon's amour with Elpinice as the cause of his banishment. We find, however, Archeptolis, son of Themistocles, marrying his half-sister Mnesiptolema. Plut. Themistocl. § 32.

⁴ Meurs. Themis Attica. i. 14. Philo. De Leg. Spec. ii. Eurip. Orest. 545. sqq.

⁵ Cf. Herod. v. 39. Pausan. iii. 3, 9.

⁶ Censor. de Die Natal. 14.

fact, thought to extend to the age of thirty-five or thirty-seven, more or less: when entering upon the less flowery domain of manhood, men would need the aid and consolation of a helpmate. But if there ever existed such a law it was often broken,¹ for early marriages, though less common perhaps than in modern times, are constantly alluded to both by historians and poets. Apprehensions of the too great increase of population already led philosophers, even in those early ages, vainly to apply themselves to the discovery of checks, which the irresistible impulses of nature always render nugatory; and viewing in that light the regulation attributed to Solon,² they, with some variation, adopt it in their political works. Plato,³ in accordance with Hesiod's notion, fixes for the male, the marriageable age at thirty; but Aristotle, who chose on most points to differ from his master, allows his citizens seven years more of liberty. For women the proper age, he thought, is about eighteen. His reasons are, that the husband and wife will thus flourish and decay together; and, their offspring inheriting the bloom and highest vigour of their parents, be at once⁴ healthy in body and energetic in mind.

Winter, more particularly the month of January, thence called Gamelion, or the "Nuptial Month," was regarded as the fittest season⁵ of the year for the celebration of marriage; and if the north wind happened to blow, as at that time of the year it often does, the circumstance was supposed to be peculiarly auspicious. For this notion several physiological reasons are assigned; as that, during the

¹ Thus Mantitheos, in Demosthenes, marries at the age of eighteen, in obedience to his father's wishes.—Contr. Bœot. ii. § 1.

² Aristot. Polit. ii. 7. vii. 14. Gœtting.—Cf. Malthus on Population, i. 9, 10.

³ Repub. v. t. vi. p. 237. De

Legg. vi. t. vii. p. 452. Hesiod, Opp. et Dies, 696. Gœtting.

⁴ Polit. vii. 16. Hist. Anim. vii. 5, 6. Cf. Tac. de Mor. Germ. 20. Just. Instit. t. x. Brisson. de Jur. Nupt. p. 99.

⁵ Olympiod. in Meteor. c. 6. Meurs. Grec. Fer. v. 240.

prevalence of that wind, the human frame is peculiarly nervous and full of energy; that the spirits are consequently light, and the temper and disposition sweet, cheerful, and flexible. Lingerings sparks of ancient superstition may also have had their share in establishing this persuasion: towards that quarter of the heavens, as towards an universal *Kebleh*, all the civilised nations of antiquity turned as the home of their gods; in that direction point all the openings of the Egyptian pyramids; thither to the present moment turn the Chinese and Brahmins when they pray, and in the holy tabernacle of the Jews the Table of Shewbread¹ likewise faced the north. Attention, too, was paid to the lunar influences; for, no other circumstance preventing it, it was usual to fix on the full of the moon, when the festival denominated *Theogamia*, or “Nuptials of the Gods” was celebrated, in order that religion itself, by its august and venerable ceremonies, might appear to sanctify the union of mortals effected under its auspices.

To this practice there are several allusions in ancient writers. Agamemnon, in Euripides, when questioned by his wife respecting the time of Iphigenia’s marriage, replies, that it shall take place

“When the blest moon its silvery circle fills.”²

And Themis, adjudging Thetis to Peleus, to terminate the contentions of the gods, selects the same season for the solemnization of the nuptial rites.

“But when next that solemn eve
Duly doth the moon divide,
For the chieftain let her leave
Her lovely virgin zone aside.”³

Most ancient nations, as the Hebrews, Indians,

¹ Exod. xl. 22.

² Iphigen. in Aul. 717.

³ Pindar, Isth. Od. viii. 44, seq.

Dissen.—Rev. H. F. Cary’s translation, admirable for its closeness and spirit, p. 212.

Thracians, Germans, and Gauls, regarded women as a marketable commodity; and, in this respect, the Greeks of early times perfectly agreed with them, buying and selling their females like cattle.¹ But, by degrees, as manners grew more polished, this barbarous custom was discontinued, though, in remembrance of it, presents were still made both to the father and the bride, even in the most civilised periods. We must, nevertheless, beware that we infer not too much from these gifts; for equally primitive and prevalent was the custom imposing upon fathers the necessity of dowrying their daughters.² In the case, too, of the husband's death this matrimonial portion devolved to the children, so that if the widow chose,—as widows sometimes will,³—to embark a second time on the connubial sea, her father was called upon to furnish a fresh outfit. But, if the husband grew tired of his better half, and would insist on a divorce, or if, after his death, the sons were sufficiently unnatural to chase their mother from the paternal roof, the right over the entire dowry reverted to her.⁴

Parties were usually betrothed before marriage by their parents. And young women, whose parents no longer survived, were settled in marriage by their brothers, grandfathers, or guardians. Husbands on their deathbeds sometimes disposed of the hands of their wives, as in the case of Demosthenes' father, who bequeathed Cleobula to Aphobos, whom he likewise appointed guardian of his children. In this instance, the widow had better have chosen for

¹ Aristot. Polit. ii. 6. Tacit. de Mor. Germ. 18. Heracl. Pont. v. Θρακων. Leg. Salic. Art. 46. Hist. Gen. des Voy. vi. 144. Cf. Goguet, Orig. des Loix, i. 53.

² In cases where the fathers were unable to dowry them, we find daughters growing old in the paternal mansion. Demosth. in Steph. i. § 20. Dowries were

frequently considerable, amounting sometimes to a hundred minæ. § 18.

³ On their anxiety to discover the designs of the Fates in this respect, see Schol. Aristoph. Lysist. 597.

⁴ Goguet, Orig. des Loix, iii. 127, sqq.

herself. Aphobos possessed himself of the dowry, and consented to fulfil the office of guardian, that he might plunder the children; but the marriage he declined. Another example occurs in the case of Phormio who, having been slave¹ to an opulent citizen, and conducted himself with zeal and fidelity, received at once his freedom and the widow of his master. In all serious matters the Athenians were a very methodical people, and conducted everything, even to the betrothing or marrying of a wife, with an attention to form worthy the quaintest citizen of our own great city.

Potter observes, with great naïveté, that, before men married, it was customary to provide themselves with a house to live in. The custom was a good one, and the thrifty old poet of Ascra, undertaking to enlighten his countrymen in economics, is explicit on the point—

“First build your house and let the wife succeed:”²

which, no doubt, is better advice than if he had said “first marry a wife and next consider where you shall put her.” And we find that, even among pastoral, young ladies who, in modern poets, make their meat and drink of love, and hang up a rag or two of it to preserve them from the elements, in antiquity posed their lovers with interrogations about comforts. “You are very pressing, my dear Daphnis, and swear you love me; but that is not just now the question. Have you a house and harem to take me to?”³

But prudent as they may be considered, the Athenians were still more pious than thrifty. Before the virgin quitted her childhood’s home, and passed from the state she had tried, and in most cases, perhaps, found happy, to enter into one altogether unknown to her, custom demanded the performance, on

¹ Demosth. pro Phorm. § 8—
10.

² Opera et Dies, 405.

³ Theocrit. Eidyll. xxvii. 36.

the day before the marriage, of several religious ceremonies eminently significant and beautiful. Hitherto, in the poetical recesses of their thalamoi, they had been reckoned as so many nymphs attached to the train of the virgin goddess of the woods. About to become members of a noviciate more conformable to nature than that of the Catholic church, they deemed it incumbent on them to implore their Divinity's permission to transfer their worship from her to Hymen; and, the more readily to obtain it, they approached her, in the simplicity of their hearts, with baskets full of offerings such as it became them to present and her to receive.¹ Nor was Artemis the only deity sought, on this occasion, to be rendered auspicious by sacrifice and prayer. Offerings were likewise made to the Nymphs, those lovely creations with which the fancy of the Greeks peopled the streams and fountains of their native land.² These rites performed, the future bride was conducted in pomp to the citadel, where solemn sacrifice was offered up to Athena, the tutelar goddess of the state, with prayers for happiness, peculiarly the gift of supreme wisdom.³ To Hera, also, and the Fates,⁴ as to the goddesses that watched over the connubial state and rigidly punished those who transgressed its sacred laws, were gifts presented, and vows preferred; and on one or all of their several altars did the maiden deposit a lock of her own hair, in remoter ages, perhaps, the whole of it, to intimate that, having obtained a husband, she must preserve him by other means than beauty, and the arts of the toilette.⁵ At Megara the young women

¹ Theocrit. Eidyll. ii. 66, ibique Schol.

² Schol. Pind. Pyth. iv. ap. Meurs. Græc. Fer. p. 238.

³ Suid. v. προτέλεια. t. ii. p. 629. v. Æschyl. Eumen. 799. Cf. Coel. Rhodig. xxviii. 24.

⁴ Poll. iii. 38. Schol. Pind.

Pyth. x. 31. Aristoph. Thesmoph. 982. Kust.

⁵ Poll. iii. 38. ibique Comm. p. 529, seq. Cf. Spanh. Observ. in Callim. 149, 507. The youth usually cut off their hair on reaching the age of puberty. Athen. xiii. 83.

devoted their severed locks to Iphinoë. Those of Delos to Hecaerga and Ops,¹ while, like the Athenians, the maidens of Argos performed this rite in honour of Athena.²

Having, by the performance of the above rites and others of similar significance, discharged their instant duties to the gods, and impressed on their own minds a deep sense of the sacred engagements they were about to contract, they proceeded to perform the nuptial ceremonies themselves, still intermingling the offices of religion with every portion of the transaction. An auspicious day having been fixed upon, the relations and friends of both parties assembled in magnificent apparel, at the house of the bride's father, where all the ladies of the family were busily engaged in the recitation of prayers and presentation of offerings. These domestic ceremonies concluded, the bride, accompanied by her paranymp or bridesmaid, was led forth into the street by the bridegroom and one of his most intimate friends,³ who placed her between them in an open carriage.⁴ Their dresses, as was fitting, were of the richest and most splendid kind. Those of the bridegroom full, flowing, and of the gayest and brightest colours,⁵ glittered with golden ornaments, and diffused around, as he moved, a cloud of perfume. The bride herself, gifted with that unerring taste which distinguished her nation, appeared in a costume at once simple and magnificent—simple in its contour, its masses, its folds, magnificent from the brilliance of its hues and the superb and costly style of its ornaments. She was not, like some modern court dame, a blaze

¹ Pausan. i. 43. 4. Callim. in Del. 292. Spanh. Observat. t. ii. p. 503, sqq.

² Stat. Theb. ii. 255, with the ancient commentary of Lutatius.

³ Πάροχος. Suid. v. Ζεῦγος ἡμιονικόν. t. i. p. 1123, b. Eurip. Helen. 722, sqq.

⁴ This was the usual practice. When the bride was led home on foot she was called χαμαίπους a term of disrespect not far removed in meaning from our word *tramp*. Poll. iii. 40.

⁵ Aristoph. Plut. 529, et Schol. Suid. v. βατρά. t. i. p. 533, b.

of precious stones tastelessly heaped upon each other; but through the snowy gauze of her veil flashed the jewelled fillet and coronet-like splendone which, with a chaplet of flowers,¹ adorned her dark tresses; and between the folds of her robe of gold-embroidered purple, appeared her gloveless fingers, with many rings glittering with gems. Strings of Red Sea pearls encircled her neck and arms; pendants, variously wrought and dropped with Indian jewels, twinkled in her ears; and her feet, partly concealed by the falling robe, displayed a portion of the golden thonged sandal, crusted with emeralds, rubies, or pearls. But all these ornaments often failed to distract the eye from those which she owed to nature. Her luxuriant hair, which in Eastern women often reaches the ground:

Her hair in hyacinthine flow,
When left to roll its folds below,
As 'midst her maidens in the ball
She stood superior to them all,
Hath swept the marble, where her feet
Gleamed whiter than the mountain sleet,
Ere from the cloud that gave it birth
It fell and caught one stain of earth;

her hair, I say, perfumed with delicate unguents,² such as nard from Tarsos, œranthe from Cypros, essence of roses from Cyrene, of lilies from Ægina or Cilicia, fell loosely in a profusion of ringlets over her shoulders, while in front it was confined by the fillet and grasshoppers of gold.³ More perishable ornaments, in the shape of crowns of myrtle, wild thyme,⁴ poppy, white sesame, with other flowers

¹ Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. 905. This chaplet was placed on the bride's head by her mother. Hopfn. in loc.—In Locrensibus usu erat, ut matronæ ex lectis floribus nectant coronas. Nam

emptagestare sarta, vitio dabatur. Alex. ab Alexand. p. 58. b.

² Aristoph, Plut. 529. id. Pac. 862.

³ Thucyd. i. 60.

⁴ Σισυμβρα. Dioscor. ii. 155.

and plants sacred to Aphrodite, adorned the heads of both bride and bridegroom.¹

The relations and friends followed, forming, in most cases, a long and stately procession, which, in the midst of crowds of spectators, moved slowly towards the temple, thousands strewing flowers or scattering perfume in their path, and in loud exclamations comparing the happy pair to the most impassioned and beautiful of their nymphs and gods.² Meanwhile, a number of the bride's friends, scattered among the multitude, were looking out anxiously for favourable omens, and desirous, in conjunction with every person present, to avert all such as superstition taught them to consider inauspicious. A crow appearing singly was supposed to betoken sorrow or separation, whereas, a couple of crows,³ issuing from the proper quarter of the heavens, presaged perfect union and happiness. A pair of turtle doves, of all omens, was esteemed the best.⁴

On reaching the temple, the bride and bridegroom were received at the door by a priest, who presented them with a small branch of ivy, as an emblem of the close ties by which they were about to be united for ever. They were then conducted to the altar,⁵ where the ceremonies commenced with the sacrifice of a heifer,⁶ after which Artemis, Athena, and other virgin goddesses, were solemnly invoked. Prayers were then addressed to Zeus and his consort, the supreme divinities of Olympos;⁷ nor, on this occasion, would they overlook the ancient gods, Ouranos and Gaia, whose union produces fertility and

¹ Schol. Aristoph. Av. 160. In Boeotia the bride was crowned with a reed of wild asparagus, a prickly but sweet plant. Plut. Conjug. Præcept. 2. Bion. Epitaph. Adon. 88. On Nuptial Crowns vide Paschal. De Coronis, lib. ii. c. 16. p. 126, sqq.

² Charit. Char. et Callir. Amor. iii. 44.

³ Orus Apollo Hieroglyph. viii. p. 6. b.

⁴ Meziriac sur les Epitres d'Ovide, p. 190, sqq. Ælian de Animal. Nat. iii. 9. Alex. ab Alexand. ii. 5, p. 57, b.

⁵ Theod. Prodrom. de Rhodanth. et Dosicl. Amor. ix.

⁶ Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. 1113.

⁷ Poll. iii. 38.

abundance,¹—the Graces, whose smile shed upon life its sweetest charm, and the Fates, who shorten or extend it at their pleasure, were next in order adored; and, lastly, Aphrodite, the mother of Love, and of all the host of Heaven, the most beautiful and beneficent to mortals.² The victim having been opened, the gall was taken out and significantly cast behind the altar.³ Soothsayers skilled in divination then inspected the entrails, and if their appearance was alarming the nuptials were broken off, or deferred. When favourable, the rites proceeded as if hallowed by the smile of the gods. The bride now cut off one of her tresses, which, twisting round a spindle, she placed as an offering on the altar of Athena, while, in imitation of Theseus, the bridegroom made a similar oblation to Apollo, bound, as an emblem of his out-door life, round a handful of grass or herbs.⁴ All the other gods, protectors of marriage, were then, by the parents or friends, invoked in succession, and the rites thus completed, the virgin's father, placing the hand of the bridegroom in that of the bride, said, "I bestow on thee my daughter, that thine eyes may be gladdened by legitimate offspring."⁵ The oath of inviolable fidelity was now taken by both, and the ceremony concluded with fresh sacrifices.

The performance of rites so numerous generally consumed the whole day, so that the shades of evening were falling before the bride could be conducted to her future home. This hour, indeed, according to some, was chosen to conceal the blushes of the youthful wife.⁶ And now commenced the secular portion of the ceremony. Numerous attendants,

¹ Procl. in Tim. t. v. Mezi-riac. p. 155.

² Etym. Mag. 220, 53. sqq. Cf. Plut. Conj. Præcept. procem. t. i. p. 321. Tauchnitz.

³ Plut. Conj. Precept. 27. Cœl. Rhodig. xxviii. 21.

⁴ Meurs. Lect. Att. iii. 6, 106, sqq. Herod. iv. 34.

⁵ Menand. ap. Clem. Alexand. Stromat. ii. p. 421, a. Heins.

⁶ Potter, Arch. Græc. ii. 281.

bearing lighted torches,¹ ran in front of the procession, while bands of merry youths dancing, singing, or playing on musical instruments, surrounded the nuptial car. Similar in this respect was the practice throughout Greece, even so early as the time of Homer, who thus, in his description of the Shield, calls up before our imagination the lively picture of an heroic nuptial procession :

“ Here sacred pomp and genial feasts delight,
And solemn dance and Hymeneal rite.
Along the streets the new-made brides are led,
With torches flaming, to the nuptial bed.
The youthful dancers in a circle bound
To the soft flute and cittern’s silver sound.²
Through the fair streets the matrons, in a row,
Stand in their porches and enjoy the show.”³

The song on this occasion sung received the name of the “ Carriage Melody,” from the carriage in which the married pair rode while it was chaunted.⁴

The house of the bridegroom, diligently prepared for their reception, was decorated profusely with garlands, and brilliantly lighted up. When, among the Bœotians, the lady, accompanied by her husband, had descended from the carriage, its axletree was burnt, to intimate that having found a home she would have no further use for it.⁵ The celebration of nuptial rites generally puts people in good temper, at least

¹ Eurip. *Helen*. 722. Hesiod, *Scut. Heracl.* 275, seq. where the torches are said to be borne by Dmoës.

² In Hesiod a troop of blooming virgins, playing on the phorminx, lead the procession. αἱ δ’ ὑπὸ φόρμιγγων ἀναγον χορὸν ἱμερόεντα. A band of youths follow, playing on the syrinx. See the note of Gœtting on *Scut. Heracl.* 274, p. 117, sqq.

³ *Iliad*. σ. 490, sqq. Pope’s Translation.

⁴ Ἀρμάτειον μέλος. Leisner, in his notes on Bos (*Antiq. Græc. Pars. iv. c. ii. § 4.*), observes, that in Suidas, Hesychius, and Eustathius (ad *Il. χ. p. 1380. 5*), these words have a different meaning from that which, with Bos and Potter (*Antiq. Græc. ii. 282*), I have adopted. But in the passage quoted by Henri de Valois (ad *Harpocrat. p. 222*), they would seem to bear the signification above given them.

⁵ *Plut. Quæst. Roman. xx. 19.* Valckenaer ad *Herodot. iv. 114.*

for the first day; and new-married women at Athens stood in full need of all they could muster to assist them through the crowd of ceremonies which beset the entrances to the houses of their husbands. Symbols of domestic labours, pestles, sieves,¹ and so on, met the young wife's eye on all sides. She herself, in all her pomp of dress, bore in her hands an earthen barley-parcher.² But, to comfort her, very nice cakes of sesamum,³ with wine and fruit and other dainties innumerable, accompanied by gleeful and welcoming faces, appeared in the background beyond the sieves and pestles. The hymeneal lay,⁴ with sundry other songs, all redolent of "joy and youth," resounded through halls now her own. Mirth and delight ushered her into the banqueting-room, where appeared a boy covered with thorn branches, and oaken boughs laden with acorns, who, when the epithalamium chaunters had ceased, recited an ancient hymn beginning with the words, "~~I have escaped the worse and~~ found the better."⁵ This hymn, constituting a portion of the divine service performed by the Athenians during a festival instituted in commemoration of the discovery of corn, by which men were delivered from acorn-eating, they introduced among the nuptial ceremonies to intimate, that wedlock is as much superior to celibacy as wheat is to mast. At the close of the recitation, there entered a troop of dancing girls crowned with myrtle-wreaths, and habited in light tunics reaching very little below the knee, just as we still behold them on antique gems and vases, who, by their varied, free, and somewhat wanton, movements, vividly represented all the warmth and energy of passion.

The feast which now ensued was, at Athens, to prevent useless extravagance, made liable to the in-

¹ Poll. iii. 37.

² Poll. i. 246.

³ Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 834.

⁴ Athen. xiv. 10. Anac. Od. xviii. Schol. Hom. Il. σ. 493.

Pind. Pyth. iii. 17. Dissen. Schol. ad v. 27.

⁵ Suid. v. ἔφυγον κακὸν. t. i. p. 1113, d.

spection of certain magistrates. Both sexes partook of it; but, in conformity with the general spirit of their manners and institutions, the ladies, as in Egypt, sat at separate tables.¹ At these entertainments we may infer that, among other good things, great quantities of sweetmeats were consumed, since the woman employed in kneading and preparing them, and in officiating at the nuptial sacrifices, was deemed of sufficient importance to possess a distinct appellation, (*δημιουργός*),² while the bride-cake, which doubtless was the crowning achievement of her art, received the name of Gamelios. The general arrangement of the banquet, however, they entrusted to the care of a sort of major-domo, who received the appellation of Trapezopoios.³

Among the princes and grandees of Macedonia the nuptial banquet differed very widely, as might be expected, from the frugal entertainments of the Athenians; but as it may assist us in comprehending the changes introduced into Hellenic manners by the conquests of Alexander and his successors, I shall crave the reader's permission to lay before him a description, bequeathed to us by antiquity, of the magnificent banquet⁴ given at the marriage of Caranos.

The guests, twenty in number, immediately on entering the mansion of the bridegroom, were crowned by his order with golden stlengides,⁵ each valued at five pieces of gold. They were then introduced into the banqueting-hall, where the first article set before them on taking their places at the board was, no doubt, exceedingly agreeable, consisting of a silver

¹ Luc. Conviv. § 8. In the sepulchral grottoes of Eilithyia, in the Thebaid, we find a rough fresco representing a marriage-feast, at which the men and women sit as described in the text.

² Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 421. Poll. iii. 41. The water of the bath used on this occasion by the bride was, according to ancient

custom, brought from the fountain of Enneakrounos. Etym. Mag. 568, 57, seq.

³ Poll. iv. 41.

⁴ Athen. iv. 2, seq.

⁵ Cf. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 578.

Ἔστι τι στλεγγίς, δέρμα κεχρυσωμένον, ὃ περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν φοροῦσι — Poll. vii. 179.

beaker presented to each as a gift, which, when they had drained off, they delivered to their attendant slaves, who, according to the custom of the country, stood behind their seats with large baskets intended to contain the presents to be bestowed on them by the master of the feast.¹ There was then placed before every member of the company a bronze salver, of Corinthian workmanship, completely covered by a cake, on which were piled roast fowls and ducks and woodcocks, and a goose, together with other dainties in great abundance. These, likewise, followed the beakers into the corbels of the slaves, and were succeeded by numerous dishes, of which the guests were expected to partake on the spot. Next was brought in a capacious silver tray, also covered by a cake, whereon were heaped up geese, hares, kids, other cakes curiously wrought, pigeons, turtle-doves, partridges, with a variety of similar game, which, likewise, after they had been tasted, I presume, were handed to the servants.²

When the rage of hunger had been appeased, as it must soon have been, they washed their hands, after which crowns, wreathed from every kind of flower, were brought in, and along with them other golden stlengides, equal in weight to the former, were placed, for form's sake, on the heads of the company, before they found their way to the baskets in the rear.

While they were still in a sort of delirium of joy, occasioned by the munificence of the bridegroom, there entered to them a troop of female flute players,

¹ When the host happened to be less rich or generous, people sometimes, in the corruption of later ages, endeavoured to steal what they could not obtain as a gift. Thus the sophist Dionysodoros is detected in Lucian with a cup stuffed into the breast of his mantle. — *Conviv. seu Lapith.* § 46.

² This singular kind of liberality continued in fashion down to a very late period: — *καὶ ἅμα εἰς ἐκικόμιστο ἡμῖν τὸ ἐντελὲς ὀνομαζόμενον δεῖπνον, μία ὄρνις ἐκάστω, καὶ κρέας ὕδρ, καὶ λαγῶα, καὶ ἰχθὺς ἐν ταγήνου, καὶ σησαμοῦντες, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τραγεῖν, καὶ ἐζῆν ἀποφέρεσθαι ταῦτα.* *Luc. Conviv.* § 38.

singers, and Rhodian performers on the Sambukè,¹ naked in the opinion of some, though others reported them to have worn a slight tunic. When these performers had given them a sufficient taste of their art, they retired to make way for other female slaves, bearing each a pair of perfume vases, containing the measure of a cotyla, the one of gold, the other of silver, and bound together by a golden thong. Of these every guest received a pair. In fact, the princely bridegroom, in order, as we suppose, that his friends might share with him the joy of his nuptials, bestowed upon every one of them a fortune instead of a supper; for immediately upon the heels of the gift above described came a number of silver dishes, each of sufficient dimensions to contain a large roast pig, laid upon its back, with its paunch thrown open, and stuffed with all sorts of delicacies which had been roasted with it, such as thrushes, metraë, and becaficoes, with the yolk of eggs poured around them, and oysters and cockles. Of these dishes every person present received one, with its contents, and, immediately afterwards, such another dish containing a kid hissing hot. Upon this, Caranos observing that their corbils were crammed, caused to be presented to them wicker panniers, and elegant bread-baskets, plaited with slips of ivory.² Delighted by his generosity, the company loudly applauded the bridegroom, testifying their approbation by clapping their hands. Then followed other gifts, and perfume vases of gold and silver, presented

¹ The Sambukè was a stringed instrument of triangular form, invented by the poet Ibycos. It was sometimes called Iambukè, because used by chaunters of Iambic verse.—Suid. in v. t. ii. p. 709, c. d. Poll. iv. 59.

² Casaubon is particular in his explanation of this passage, lest any one should fall into the singular mistake of supposing these

nuptial bread-baskets to have been made with plaited thongs of elephant's hide: "*Lora elephantina* fortasse aliquis capiat de corio elephantis: sed *ιμαῖρας* arbitror appellare Hippolochum *virgas subtiles ex ebore*, quibus ceu vimine utebantur in contextendis panariis istis."—Animadv. in Athen. t. vii. p. 392.

to the company in pairs as before. The bustle having subsided, there suddenly rushed in a troop of performers worthy to have figured in the feast of the Chytræ,¹ at Athens, and along with them ithyphalli, jugglers, and naked female wonder-workers, who danced upon their heads in circles of swords, and spouted fire from their mouths. These performances ended, they set themselves more earnestly and hotly to drink, from capacious golden goblets, their wines, now less mixed than before, being the Thasian, the Mendian, and the Lesbian. A glass dish, three feet in diameter, was next brought in upon a silver stand, on which were piled all kinds of fried fish. This was accompanied by silver bread-baskets, filled with Cappadocian rolls, some of which they ate, and delivered the rest to their slaves. They then washed their hands, and were crowned with golden crowns, double the weight of the former, and presented with a third pair of gold and silver vases filled with perfume. They by this time had become quite delirious with wine, and began a truly Macedonian contest, in which the winner was he who swallowed most; Proteas, grandson of him who was boon companion to Alexander the Great, drinking upwards of a gallon at a draught, and exclaiming—

“ Most joy is in his soul
Who drains the largest bowl.”

The immense goblet was then given him by Caranos, who declared, that every man should reckon as his own property the bowl whose contents he could despatch. Upon this, nine valiant bacchanals started up at once, and sought each to empty the goblet before the others, while one unhappy wight among the company, envying them their good fortune, sat down and burst into tears because he should go cupless away. The master of the house,

¹ Vid. Animadv. in Athen. t. vii. p. 393. Meurs. Græcia Feriata. i. p. 30, seq.

however, unwilling that any should be dissatisfied, presented him with an empty bowl.¹

A chorus of a hundred men now entered to chaunt the epithalamium; and after them dancing girls, dressed in the character of nymphs and nereids.

The drinking still proceeding, and the darkness of evening coming on, the circle of the hall appeared suddenly to dilate, a succession of white curtains, which had extended all round, and disguised its dimensions, being drawn up, while from numerous recesses in the wall, thrown open by concealed machinery, a blaze of torches flashed upon the guests, seeming to be borne by a troop of gods and goddesses, Hermes, Pan, Artemis, and the Loves, with numerous other divinities, each holding a flambeau and administering light to the assembled mortals.

While every person was expressing his admiration of this contrivance, wild boars of true Erymanthean dimensions, transfixed with silver javelins, were brought in on square trays with golden rims, one of which was presented to each of the company. To the *bon vivants* themselves nothing appeared so worthy of commendation, as that, when anything wonderful was exhibited, they should all have been able to get upon their legs, and preserve the perpendicular, notwithstanding they were so top-heavy with wine.

“Our slaves,” says one of the guests, “piled all the gifts we had received in our baskets; and the trumpet, according to the custom of the Macedonians, at length announced the termination of the repast.” Caranos next began that part of the potations in which small cups alone figured, and commanded the slaves to circulate the wine briskly; what they drank in this second bout being regarded as an antidote against that which they had swallowed before.

¹ In like manner, Alexander, son of Philip, when he entertained nine thousand persons at a marriage feast at Susa, presented each of them with a

golden goblet, and paid all their debts, amounting to nearly ten thousand talents. — Plut. Alexand. § 70.

They were now, as might be supposed, in the right trim to be amused, and there entered to them the buffoon Mandrogenes, a descendant, it was said, of Strato the Athenian. This professional gentleman for a long time shook their sides with laughter, and terminated his performances by dancing with his wife, an old woman, upwards of eighty.¹ This fit of merriment would appear to have restored the edge of their appetites, and made them ready for those supplementary dainties which closed the achievements of the day. These consisted of a variety of sweetmeats, rendered more tempting by the little ivory-plaited corbels in which they nestled, delicate cakes from Crete, and Samos, and Attica, in the boxes in which they were imported.

Hippolochos, to whose enthusiasm for descriptions of good cheer, the reader is indebted for the above picturesque details, concludes his important narrative by observing, that, when they rose to depart, their anxiety respecting the wealth they had acquired sobered them completely. He then adds, addressing himself to his correspondent Lynceus, "Meanwhile "you, my friend, remaining all alone at Athens, enjoy "the lectures of Theophrastus with your thyme, "rocket and delicate twists, mingling in the revels "of the Linnean and Chytrean festivals. For our "own part we are looking out, some for houses, others "for estates, others for slaves, to be purchased by "the riches which dropped into our baskets at the "supper of Caranos."

The marriage feast having been thus concluded,

¹ If octogenarian dancers were held in admiration in England, it would, according to Lord Bacon, be easy to form an army of them; since "there is, he says, scarce a village with us, if it be any whit populous, but it affords some man or woman of fourscore years of age; nay, a few years

since there was, in the county of Hereford, a May-game, or morrice-dance, consisting of eight men, whose age computed together, made up eight hundred years, inasmuch as what some of them wanted of an hundred, others exceeded as much." *History of Life and Death*, p. 20.

the bride was conducted to the harem by the light of flambeaux, round one of which, pre-eminently denominated the "Hymeneal Torch," her mother, who was principal among the torch-bearers, twisted her hair-lace,¹ unbound at the moment from her head. On retiring to the nuptial chamber the bride, in obedience to the laws, ate a quince, together with the bridegroom, to signify, we are told, that their first conversation should be full of sweetness and harmony.² The guests continued their revels with music, dancing, and song, until far in the night.³

At daybreak on the following morning their friends re-assembled and saluted them with a new epithalamium, exhorting them to descend from their bower to enjoy the beauties of the dawn,⁴ which in that warm and genial climate are even in January equal to those of a May morning with us. On appearing in the presence of their congratulators, the wife, as a mark of affection, presented her husband with a rich woollen cloak,⁵ in part, at least, the production of her own fair hands. On the same occasion the father of the bride sent a number of costly gifts to the house of his son-in-law, consisting of cups, goblets, or vases of alabaster or gold, beds, couches, candelabra, or boxes for perfumes or cosmetics, combs, jewel-cases, costly sandals, or other articles of use or luxury. And, that so striking an instance of his wealth and generosity might not escape public observation, the whole was conveyed to the bridegroom's house in great pomp by female slaves, before whom marched a boy clothed in white, and bearing a torch in his hand, accompanied by a youthful basket-bearer

¹ Senec. Thebais, Act. iv. 2, 505.

² Plut. Conjug. Præcept. i. t. i. p. 321. Meurs. Them. Att. i. 14, p. 39. Petit. Legg. Att. vi. i. p. 449.

³ See Douglas, Essay on certain

points of resemblance between the ancient and modern Greeks, p. 114, and Chandler, Travels, ii. 152.

⁴ Theocrit, Eidyll. xviii. 9.

⁵ Ἀπαυλιστήρια Poll. iii. 40.

habited like a canephora in the sacred processions.¹ Customs in spirit exactly similar still survive among the primitive mountaineers of Wales, where the newly-married couple, in the middle and lower ranks of life, have their houses completely furnished by the free-will offerings, not only of their parents but of their friends. It is, however, incumbent on the recipients to make proof in their turn of equal generosity when any member of the donor's family ventures on the hazards of housekeeping.

¹ Etymol. Mag. 354. l. sqq. Suid. v. *ἐπανλία*, t. i. p. 964, e. sqq.

CHAPTER V.

CONDITION OF MARRIED WOMEN.

FROM the spirit pervading the foregoing ceremonies it will be seen, that married women enjoyed at Athens numerous external tokens of respect. We must now enter the harem, and observe how they lived there. Most, perhaps, of the misapprehensions which prevail on this subject arise out of one very obvious omission,—a neglect to distinguish between the exaggeration and satire of the comic poets, much of which, in all countries, has been levelled at women, and the sober truth of history, less startling, and therefore, less palatable. To comprehend the Athenians, however, we must be content to view them as they were, with many virtues and many vices, often sinning against their women, but never as a general rule treating them harshly. Indeed, according to no despicable testimony, their errors when they erred would appear to have lain in the contrary direction.¹

Certainly the mistress of a family at Athens was not placed above the necessity of extending her solicitude to the government of her household, though too many even there neglected it, degenerating into the resemblance of those mawkish, insipid, useless things, without heart or head, who often in our times fill fashionable drawing-rooms, and have their reputations translated to Doctors' Commons. Of female education I have already spoken, together with the several acts and ceremonies, which conducted an

¹ For example, public opinion kill a woman than a man.—
regarded it as more atrocious to Arist. Prob. xxix. 11.

Athenian woman to the highest and most honourable station her sex can fill on earth. In this new relation she shares with her husband that domestic patriarchal sovereignty, pictures of which abound in the Scriptures. How great soever might be the establishment, she was queen of every thing within doors. All the slaves, male and female, came under her control.¹ To every one she distributed his task, and issued her commands; and when there were no children who required her care, she might often be seen sitting in the recesses of the harem, at the loom, encircled, like an Homeric princess, by her maids,² laughing, chatting, or, along with them, exercising her sweet voice in songs,³ those natural bursts of melody which came spontaneously to the lips of a people whose every-day speech resembled the music of the nightingale.

Xenophon, in that interesting work, the *Œconomics*, introduces an Athenian gentleman laying open to Socrates the internal regulations of his family. In this picture, the wife occupies an important position in the foreground. She is, indeed, the principal figure around which the various circumstances of the composition are grouped with infinite delicacy and effect. Young and beautiful she comes forth hesitating and blushing at being detected in some slight economical blunders. The husband takes her by the hand; they

¹ She wakes them in the morning.—Aristoph. *Lysist.* 18. This comic poet gives a concise sketch of an Athenian woman's morning work, which rendered their going out difficult at such an hour:—

Χαλεπή τε γυναικῶν ἔξοδος· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἡμῶν περὶ τὸν ἀνδρ' ἐκύπτασεν· ἡ δ' οἰκέτην ἡγείρεν· ἡ δὲ παιδίον κατέκλινεν· ἡ δ' ἔλουσεν· ἡ δ' ἐψώμισεν.—*Lysist.* 16, sqq.

presented in the interior of Jason's palace at Pheræ, where we find the tyrant's mother at work in the midst of her handmaidens.—Polyæn. *Stratag.* vi. i. 5.

³ Plat. de Legg. t. viii. p. 36. —Among the Thracians, and many other people, women were employed in agriculture, as they are in England and France, as herdswomen and shepherds, and every other laborious employment, like men.—Id. ib.

² Precisely the same picture is

converse in our presence, and while the interior arrangements of a Greek house are unreservedly laid open, we discover the exact footing on which husband and wife lived at Athens, and a state of more complete confidence, of greater mutual affection, of more considerate tenderness on the one side, or feminine reliance and love on the other, it would be difficult to conceive.

Ischomachos, I admit, is to be regarded as a favourable specimen; he unites in his character the qualities of an enterprising and enlightened country gentleman, with those of a politician and orator of no mean order, and his probity as a citizen infuses an air of mingled grandeur and sweetness into his domestic manners. Describing a conversation which, soon after their marriage, took place between him and his youthful wife, he observes:—"When we had together taken a view of our possessions I remarked to her that, without her constant care and superintendence, nothing of all she had seen would greatly profit us. And taking my illustration from the science of politics, I showed that, in well-regulated states, it is not deemed sufficient that good laws are enacted, but that proper persons are chosen to be guardians of those laws, who not only reward with praise such as yield them due obedience, but visit also their infraction with punishment. Now, my love," said I, "you must consider yourself the guardian of our domestic commonwealth, and dispose of all its resources as the commander of a garrison disposes of the soldiers under his orders. With you it entirely rests to determine respecting the conduct of every individual in the household, and, like a queen, to bestow praise and reward on the dutiful and obedient, while you keep in check the refractory by punishment and reproof. Nor should this high charge appear burdensome to you; for though the duties of your station may seem to involve deeper solicitude and necessity for greater exertion

“than we require even from a domestic, these greater
 “cares are rewarded by greater enjoyments; since,
 “whatever ability they may display in the improving
 “or protecting of their master’s property, the mea-
 “sure of their advantages still depends upon his
 “will, while you, as its joint owner, enjoy the right
 “of applying it to whatever use you please. It fol-
 “lows, therefore, that as the person most interested
 “in its preservation you should cheerfully encounter
 “superior difficulties.”

Having listened attentively to the somewhat quaint discourse of the Economist, Socrates felt anxious, as well he might, to learn the result; for the lady, expected thus wisely “to queen it,” was as yet but fifteen. His faith, however, in womanhood was great; and Xenophon, who but reflects from a less brilliant mirror the Socratic wisdom, delivers, under the mask of Ischomachos, the mingled convictions both of the master and the pupil. The moral beauty of the dialogue, and its truth to nature, would have been lost had the lady at all shrunk from the duties of her high office. But her ambition was at once awakened. The obscurity to which, in the time of Pericles, women were, by the manners of the country, condemned, now no longer seemed desirable, and the love of fame was urged upon her as a motive to extraordinary exertions.¹ Her reply is highly characteristic. Running, with the unerring tact of her sex, even in advance of her husband, she desired him to believe that he would have formed an extremely erroneous opinion of her character, had he for a moment supposed that the care of their common property could ever have proved burdensome to her: on the contrary, the really grievous thing would have been to require her to be neglectful of it!

Men always conceive they are complimenting a

¹ That this passion led women to interfere too frequently with politics may be inferred from the remark of Theophrastus, that to be

versed in the science of domestic economy was more honourable to them.—Stob. 85. 7. Gaisf.

woman when they attribute to her a masculine understanding, and they thus, in fact, do place her on the highest intellectual level known to them. Socrates adopted this style of compliment in speaking of the wife of Ischomachos. And I may here remark, that we need no other proof of how differently the Athenians felt on the subject of women from the Orientals with whom they have been compared, than the mere circumstance of their conversing openly with strangers respecting their wives. In the East, a greater affront could scarcely be offered a man than to inquire about his female establishment. The most an old friend does is to say, "Is your house well?" — whereas at Athens, women formed a never-failing theme in all companies; which proves them to have been there contemplated in a different light. In fact, the sentiments of Ischomachos, every way worthy the most chivalrous people of antiquity, could only have sprung up in a society where just and exalted notions of female virtue prevailed; for, under the word "high-mindedness," we find him grouping every refined and estimable quality which a gentlewoman can possess.

But, perhaps, the reader will not be displeased if we introduce dramatically upon the scene an Athenian married pair discussing in his presence a question closely connected with domestic happiness. There is little risk of exaggeration. The picture is by Xenophon, a writer whose subdued and sober colouring is calculated rather to diminish than otherwise the poetical features of his subject.

By Heaven! exclaimed Socrates, according to this account, your wife's understanding must be of a highly masculine character.

Nay, but suffer me, answered the husband, to place before you a convincing proof of her high-mindedness, by showing how, on a single representation, she yielded to me on a subject extremely important.

Proceed, cried the philosopher, (who had not found Xantippe thus manageable,) proceed; for, believe me, friend, I experience much greater delight in con-

templating the active virtues of a living woman, than the most exquisite female form by the pencil of Zeuxis would afford me.

Observing, said Ischomachos, that my wife sought by cosmetics¹ and other arts of the toilette to render herself fairer and ruddier than she had issued from the hands of Nature, and that she wore high-heeled shoes in order to add to her stature,—Tell me, wife,² I began, would you now esteem me to be a worthy participator of your fortunes if, concealing the true state of my affairs, I aimed at appearing richer than I am, by exhibiting to you heaps of false money, necklaces of gilded wood for gold, and wardrobes of spurious for genuine purple?

Nay, exclaimed my wife, interrupting me, put not the injurious supposition: it is what you could not be guilty of. For, were such your character I could never love you from my soul.

Well, by entering together into the bonds of marriage are we not mutually invested with a property in each other's persons?

People say so.

They say truly: and since this is the case shall I not more sincerely evince my esteem for you by watching sedulously over my own health and well-

¹ Xen. *Œcon.* x. ii. 60. Among the Orientals we find there existed a peculiar collyrium for the white of the eye. Bochart, *Hieroz*, Pt. ii. p. 120.

² *Γύραι*, a term of greatest endearment among the Greeks, as with the French "*ma femme*." On this point our language is more sophisticated. The practice reprehended by Ischomachos, in the text, was generally prevalent in Greece, where certain classes of the community, who could afford nothing better, used, when they had painted the rest of their skin white, to dye the cheeks

with mulberry-juice, and paint the eyelids black at the edge. In hot weather, therefore, dusky streamlets sometimes flowed from the corners of their eyes; and the roses melted from their cheeks, and dropped into their bosoms. They imitated old age, too, by covering their hair with white powder. (*Athen.* xiii. 6.) It was likewise, at one time, the fashion to bring forward their curls so as to conceal the forehead, as was the practice in France and England during a part of the eighteenth century.—Lucian, *Dial. Meret.* i. t. iv. p. 123.

being, and displaying to your gaze the natural hues of a manly complexion, than if, neglecting these, I presented myself with rouged cheeks, eyes encircled by paint, and my whole exterior false and hollow?

Indeed, she replied, I prefer the native colour of your cheeks to any artificial bloom, and could never gaze with so much delight into any eyes as into yours—bright and sparkling with health.

Then believe no less of me, said I; but be well persuaded that, in my judgment, there are no tints so beautiful as those with which nature has adorned your cheeks. The same rule indeed holds universally. For, even in the inferior creation, every living thing delights most in individuals of its own species. And so it is with man whom nothing so truly pleases as to behold the image of his own nature mirrored in another and a fairer form of humanity. Besides, false beauties, though they may deceive the incurious glance of strangers,¹ must inevitably be detected by persons living always together. Women necessarily appear undisguised when first rising in the morning, before they have undergone the renovation of the toilette; and perspiration, or tears, or the waters of the bath, will even at other times float away their artificial complexions.

And what, in the name of all the gods, did she say to that? inquired Socrates.

What? replied the husband. Why, that for the future she would abjure all meretricious ornaments, and consent to appear decked with that simple grace and beauty which she owed to nature.

At Sparta married persons, as in France, occupied separate beds; but among the Athenians and in other parts of Greece a different custom prevailed. The same remark may be applied to the Heroic Ages. Odysseus and Penelope, Alcinoös and Arete, Paris and Helen, occupy the same chamber and the same couch. The women in the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes appealed to this circumstance in justifica-

¹ Cf. Lucian, *Amor.* § 42. Aristoph. *Nub.* 49.

tion of their late appearance at the female assembly held before day, and Euphiletos in the oration of Lysias on Eratosthenes' murder, who admits us freely into the recesses of the harem, confirms this fact, except, that when the mother suckled her own child she usually slept with it in a separate bed. At Byzantium also the same practice prevailed, as we learn from a very amusing anecdote. Python an orator of that city who, like Falstaff, seems to have been somewhere about two yards in the waist, once quelled an insurrection by a jocular allusion to this part of domestic economy. "My dear fellow-citizens," cried he to the enraged multitude, "you see how fat I am. Well! my wife is still fatter than I, yet when we agree one small bed will contain us both; but, if we once begin to quarrel, the whole house is too little to hold us."¹

We have seen above how absolute was the authority of women over their household, and this authority likewise extended to their children. The father no doubt could exercise, when he chose, considerable influence; but as most of his time was spent abroad, in business or politics, the chief charge of their early education, the first training of their intellect, the first rooting of their morals and shaping of their principles devolved upon the mother.² There have been writers, indeed, to whom this has seemed a circumstance to be lamented. But their judgment probably was warped by theory. In the original discipline of the mind, great attainments and experience of the world are less needed than tact to discern, and patience to apply, those minute incentives to action which women discover with a truer sagacity than we do. In this task, ever pleas-

¹ Athen. xii. 74.

² Xenoph. Œcon. vii. 12. 24.
Cf. A. Cramer. de Educ. Puer. ap.
Athen. 9. This writer acutely
remarks, (p. 13,) that the words
καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πατήρ in Plat. Protag.
p. 325. d. show that it was seldom

the father meddled with the matter. The mother, therefore, from early habit, was held in greater love and reverence than the father. Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. p. 187.

ing to a true mother, the aid of nurses, however, was usually obtained; nor are we, as Cramer observes, on this account to blame the Athenian ladies, so long as they did not, as in after times was too much the fashion, consider their whole duty performed when they had delivered their children to the nurse.

It will be evident from what has been said, that an Athenian lady who conscientiously discharged her duties was very little exposed to ennui. She arose in the morning with the lark, roused her slaves, distributed to all their tasks,¹ superintended the operations of the nursery, and, on days frequently recurring, went abroad in the performance of rites specially allotted to her sex. But, one effect of democracy is to confer undue influence upon women.² And this influence, where by education or otherwise they happen to be luxurious or vain, must infallibly prove pernicious to the state. At Athens, the number of this class of women, extremely limited in the beginning, augmented rapidly during the decline of the republic, and the comic poets substituting a part for the whole, invest their countrywomen generally with the qualities belonging exclusively to these.—But, the success of such writers depending generally on ingenious extravagance and exaggeration, we must be on our guard against their insinuations. Their faith in the existence of virtue, male or female, has, in all ages, if we are to judge by their works, been very lanksided. In their view, if there has been one good woman since the world began, it is as much as there has. Accordingly when these lively caricaturists describe the female *demos* as addicted extravagantly to wine³ and pawning their

¹ Aristoph. *Lysist.* 18. Plato, who admired the practice, requires his airy female citizens to go and do likewise. Καὶ δὴ καὶ δέσποιναν ἐν οἰκίᾳ ὑπὸ θεραπαινίδων ἐγείρεσθαι τινων καὶ μὴ πρῶτην αὐτὴν ἐγείρειν τὰς ἄλλας, αἰσχρὸν λέ-

γειν χρὴ πρὸς αὐτοὺς δοῦλόν τε καὶ δούλην καὶ παῖδα, καὶ εἴ πως ἦν οἶόν τε, ὅλην καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκίαν. De Legg. vii. t. viii. p. 40. Bekk.

² Cf. Plat. de Rep. t. vi. p. 102.

³ Arist. *Lysist.* 113, seq. 205.

wardrobe to purchase it—as compelling the men by their intemperance to keep their cellars under lock and key, and still defeating them by manufacturing false ones—as forming illicit connexions, and having recourse to the boldest stratagems in furtherance of their intrigues, we must necessarily suppose them to have amused themselves at the expense of truth; though that, among the Athenians, there were examples enough of women of whom all this might be said, it would be absurd to deny.

We know that where the minds of married dames are fixed chiefly upon dress and show their anxiety has often very little reference to their husbands. And if it be their object to excite admiration out of doors, it is simply as a means to an end, which end, in too many cases, is intrigue. Proofs exist that among the Athenian ladies there were numbers whose idle lives and luxurious habits produced their natural results—loose principles and dissolute manners. The beauty of Alcibiades drew them after him in crowds,¹ though we do not read that, like another very handsome personage in a modern republic, the son of Cleinias found it necessary to carry about a club to defend himself from their importunities. They went abroad elaborately habited and adorned merely to attract the gaze of men,² and having thus sown the first seeds of intrigue, they took care to cultivate and bring them to maturity. The felicitous invention of Falstaff's friends, which

¹ Xenoph. Memor. i. 2. 24. Ἀλκιβιάδης δ' αὖτ' διὰ μὲν κάλλος ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ σεμνῶν γυναικῶν θηρώμενος. κ. τ. λ.

² Aristoph. Nub. 60. Married ladies occasionally rode out in carriages with their husbands. Demosth. cont. Mid. § 44. Even at Sparta we find young ladies possessed of their carriages called Canathra, resembling in form griffins, or goat-stags, in which they rode abroad during religious

processions. Plut. Ages. § 19.

Cf. Xenoph. Ages. p. 73. Hutchinson. cum not. et add. p. 89.

Athen. iv. 16, cum annot. p. 449.

Scheffer. de Re Vehic. i. 7. p. 68.

The same custom prevailed in Thessaly and elsewhere. Athen.

xii. 37. Luxurious ladies at Athens used to perfume even the soles of their feet. Their lapdogs lived in great state, and slept on carpets of Miletos. Athen. xii. 78.

got him safe out of Ford's house in a buck-basket, was not so new as Shakspeare, perhaps, imagined. His predecessors on the Athenian stage had already discovered stratagems equally happy among their countrywomen, whose lovers we find made their way into the harem wrapped up in straw, like carp—or crept through holes made purposely by fair hands in the eaves—or scaled the envious walls by the help of those vulgar contrivances called ladders.¹

The laws of Athens, however, were more modest than its women. For, from the very interference of the laws, it is evident, that the example of the Spartan ladies, who enjoyed the privilege of exposing themselves indecently, found numerous imitators among the female democracy. To repress this unbecoming taste, it was enacted, that any woman detected in the streets in indecorous *deshabille*² should be fined a thousand drachmæ, and, to add disgrace to pecuniary considerations, the name of the offender, with the amount of the fine, was inscribed on a tablet and suspended on a certain platane tree in the Cerameicos. However, what constituted *indecorous deshabille* in the opinion of Philippides, who procured the enactment of the law, it might be difficult to determine. Possibly it may have consisted in the too great exposure of the bosom, for the covering of which ladies in remoter ages appear to have depended very much on their veils. Thus in the interview of Helen with Aphrodite she saw, says the

¹ Xenarch. ap. Athen. xiii. 24.

² Ἀκοσμοῦσαι. Harpocrat. v. ὅτι χίλιας. κ. τ. λ. Potter, Arch. Græc. ii. 309, understands his law to have meant, women who literally appeared *laconically* in the streets. “Undressed,” is his word. But will ἀκοσμοῦσαι, which Meursius, Lect. Att. ii. 5, 62, renders by “inornatius,” bear such a signification? Κόσμος γυναικῶν does not, as Kühn

observes, signify *ornamentum mulierum*, nor ἀκοσμοῦσαι *inornatius prodeuntes feminae*; but κόσμος is εὐταξία and ἀκοσμοῦσαι means ἀτακτοῦσαι, that is, women who acted in any way whatever contrary to decorum and good manners, which persons appearing indecently dressed in public unquestionably do.—Ad. Poll. viii. 112. p. 763. On the manners of the Tyrrhenian women, Cf. Athen. xii. 14. sqq.

poet, her beautiful neck, desire-inflaming bosom, and eyes bright with liquid splendour. Her garments concealed the rest.¹ Now, as it was customary for ladies to appear veiled in public, the object of the law of Philippides may simply have been to enforce the observance of this ancient practice. The magistrates who presided over this very delicate part of Athenian police were denominated "Regulators of the women,"² an office which Sultan Mahmood in our day took upon himself. They were chosen by the twenty from among the wealthiest and most virtuous of the citizens, and in their office resembled the Roman Censors and similar magistrates in several other states.³

The evil influence of women of this description,⁴ who, as Milton expresses it, would fain at any rate ride in their coach and six, was perceived and lamented by the philosophers. To their vain and frivolous notions might be traced, in part at least, the love of power, of trifling distinctions, of unmanly pleasures, which infected the Athenians towards the decline of their republic. By them the springs of education were poisoned, and the seeds sown of those inordinate artificial desires which convulse and over-

¹ Il. γ. 396. sqq. Cf. 141.

² Γυναικόσμοι. Poll. viii. 112.

³ Cf. Arist. Pol. iv. 15. 120.

⁴ On the luxurious manners of the Syracusan women see Athen. xii. 20. In such disorders may be discovered the first germs of the decay of states; on which account prudent statesmen even in oligarchies have sought to restrain the licentious manners of women. Thus Fra Paolo: "Let the women be kept chaste, and in order to that, let them live retired from the world; it being certain that all open lewdness has had its first rise from a salutation, from a smile."—i. § 20. To this

let us add the opinion of the female Pythagorean Phintys: ἴδια δὲ γυναικὸς, τὸ οἰκουρὲν, καὶ ἔνδον μένειν καὶ ἐκδέχεσθαι καὶ θεραπεύειν τὸν ἄνδρα. Stob. Florileg., 74. 61. Both the philosophical lady, however, and the Venetian monk have their views corroborated by the authority of Pericles: τῆς τε γὰρ ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως μὴ χείροσι γενέσθαι, ὑμῖν μεγάλη ἡ δόξα, καὶ οἷς ἂν ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀρετῆς ἢ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἄρσεσι κλέος ᾖ. Thucyd. ii. 45. Besides leading a retired life, ladies were likewise expected to cultivate the virtue of silence. Soph. Ajax, 298. Hom. Il. ζ. 410.

throw states. In vain did philosophers inculcate temperance and moderation, while the youth were imbued with different opinions by their mothers. The lessons of the Academy were overgrown and checked in the harem. Such dames no doubt would grieve to find their husbands content with little¹ (as was the case with Xantippe) and not numbered with the rulers, since their consequence among their own sex was thus lessened. They would have had them keen worshipers of Mammon, eagerly squabbling and wrangling in the law-courts or the ecclesiæ, not cultivators of domestic habits or philosophical tranquillity and content: and in conversing with their sons would be careful to recommend maxims the reverse of the father's, with all the cant familiar to women of their character.²

Our review of female society at Athens would be incomplete were we to overlook the Hetairæ who exerted so powerful an influence over the morals and destinies of the state. They occupied much the same position which the same class of females still do in modern communities, cultivated in mind, polished and elegant in manners, but scarcely deserving as a body to be viewed in the light in which a very distinguished historian has placed them.³ Their position, however, was anomalous, resembling rather that of kings' mistresses in modern times, whose vices are tolerated on account of their rank, than that of plebeian sinners whose deficiencies in birth and fortune exclude them from good society. There is much difficulty in rightly apprehending the notions of the ancients on the subject of these women. At first sight we are shocked

¹ Which, according to Plato, well-educated men generally are. De Repub. t. vi. p. 173.

² Plat. De Repub. viii. 5. t. ii. p. 182. Stallb.

³ Mitford, Hist. of Greece, iii. 4. sqq. It appears not to have

been common for these women to rear the children they bore, more particularly when they were girls. They flew to the practice of infanticide that they might remain at liberty. Lucian, Hetair. Diall. ii. 5. iv. 124.

to find that, during one festival, they were permitted to enter the temples in company with modest ladies. But in what Christian country are they excluded from church?¹ Again, behold in our theatres the matron and the courtesan in the same box, while at Athens even foreign women were not suffered to approach the space set apart for the female citizens. Nevertheless, though on this point so rigid, they were in their own houses permitted occasionally to visit them² and receive instructions from their lips, as in Turkish harems ladies do from the *Almè*.

It is not permitted here to lift the curtain from the manners of these ladies. But their position, pregnant with evil to the state through its contaminating influences on the minds of youth, must be comprehensively explained before a correct idea can be formed of the internal structure of the Athenian commonwealth, of the germs of dissolution which it concealed within its own bosom, or the premature blight which an unspiritual system of morals was mainly instrumental in producing. No doubt the question whether the existence of such a class of persons should be tolerated at all, is environed by difficulties almost insurmountable. They have always existed and therefore, perhaps, it is allowable to infer that they always will exist; but this does not seem to justify Solon for sanctioning, by legislative enactments, a modification of moral turpitude debasing to the individual, and consequently detrimental to the state. To do evil that good may come, is as much a solecism in politics as in ethics. On this point I miss the habitual wisdom of the Athenian legislator. Lycurgus himself could have enacted nothing more at variance with just principles, or more subversive of heroic sentiments.

¹ Besides, from a passage in Lucian it appears that the ladies and the hetairæ frequented together

the public baths.—Diall. Hetair. xii. 4.

² Cf. Antiphon. Nec. Venef. § 5.

The Hetairæ,¹ recognised by law and scarcely proscribed by public opinion, may be said to have constituted a sort of monarchical leaven in the very heart of the republic; they shared with the sophists, whom I have already depicted, the affections of the lax ambitious youths, panting at once for pleasure and distinction, fostered expensive tastes and luxurious habits, increased consequently their aptitude to indulge in speculation, shared with the unprincipled the spoils of the state, and vigorously paved the way for the battle of Chæronea. But if their existence was hurtful to the community, so was it often full of bitterness to themselves. In youth, no doubt, when beauty breathed its spell around them, they were puffed up and intoxicated with the incense of flattery²—their conversation at once sprightly and learned seemed full of charms—their houses spacious as palaces and splendidly adorned were the resort of the gay, the witty, the powerful, nay, even of the wise—for Socrates did not disdain to converse with Theodota or to imbibe the maxims of eloquence from Aspasia. But when old age came on, what were they? It then appeared, that the lively repartees and grotesque extravagancies which had pleased when proceeding from beautiful lips, seemed vapid and poor from an old woman. The wrinkles which deformed their features were equally fatal to their wisdom that flitted from their dwellings, and became domiciliated with the last beauti-

¹ Vice is generally superstitious; and these ladies accordingly when they lost a lover, instead of attributing it to the superior beauty or accomplishments of their rivals, or the common love of novelty of mankind, always supposed that enchantments had been employed.—Luc. Diall. Hetair. i. t. iv. 124.

² Statues, for example, were

sometimes erected in their honour—Winkelm. iv. 3. 7. They were generally well educated, and there were none probably who could not read.—Drosè, in Lucian, complaining of the philosopher who kept away her lover, observes that his slave came in the evening bearing a note from his young master.—Diall. Hetair. x. 2. 3.

ful importation from Ionia. Thus deserted, the most celebrated Hetairæ became a butt for the satire even of the most clownish. The wit went to set the table in a roar scarcely served to defend them against the jests of the agora.

"How do you sell your beef?" said Laïs to a young butcher in the flesh-market.

"Three obels the *Hag*," answered the coxcomb.

"And how dare you, said the faded beauty, here in Athens pretend to make use of barbarian weights?"

The word in the original signifying an old woman and a Carian weight, it suited her purpose to understand him in the latter sense.¹

Worshipped and slighted alternately they adopted narrow and interested principles in self-defence. Besides, generally barbarians by birth, they brought along with them from their original homes the creed best suited to their calling—"Let us eat and drink for to-morrow we die." They were often the lumber of Asia and hence known under the appellation of "strange women," though it is very certain, that many female citizens were from time to time enrolled among their ranks, some through the pressure of adversity, others from a preference for that kind of life. Their education it must be conceded, however, was far more masculine than that of other women. They cultivated all the sciences but that of morals, and concealed their lack of modesty by the dazzling splendour of their wit. Hence among a people with whom intellect was almost everything

¹ Athen. xiii. 48. where the word is *κύβδα*.—The Turkish practice of drowning female delinquents in sacks, is merely an imitation of what was performed by a tyrant of old, who disposed of wicked old women in this manner. — Idem. x. 60. In France likewise formerly it was customary to avoid the scandal of a public trial, for noblemen and

gentlemen to be examined privately by the king who, when he could satisfy his conscience that they were guilty, ordered them to be "without any fashion of judgment put in a sack and in the night season, by the Marshall's servants, hurled into a river and so drowned." Fortescue, Laud, Legg. Angl. chap. 85. p. 82. b.

their company was much sought after and highly valued, not habitually perhaps by statesmen, but by wits, poets, sophists, and young men of fashion.

Many of the *bons mots* uttered by those ladies have been preserved. One day at table Stilpo the philosopher accused Glycera of corrupting the manners of youth.

"My friend," said she, "we are both to blame; for you, in your turn, corrupt their minds by innumerable forms of sophistry and error. And if men be rendered unhappy, what signifies it whether a philosopher or a courtesan be the cause?"

It is to her that a joke, somewhat hackneyed but seldom attributed to its real author, was originally due. A gentleman presenting her with a very small jar of wine sought to enhance its value by pretending it was sixteen years old. "Then," replied she, "it is extremely little for its age." Gnathena too, another member of the sisterhood, sprinkled her conversation with sparkling wit, but too redolent of the profession to be retailed. Some of her sayings, however, will bear transplantation, though they must suffer by it. To stop the mouth of a babbler who observed that he had just arrived from the Hellespont—"And yet," she remarked, "it is clear to me that you know nothing of one of its principal cities!" "Which city is that?"—"Sigeion,"¹ (in which there appears to be a reference to the word Silence) answered Gnathena. Several noisy gallants, who being in her debt sought to terrify her by menaces, once saying they would pull her house down, and had pickaxes and mattocks ready, "I disbelieve it," she replied, "for if you had, you would have pledged them to pay what you owe me." A comic poet remarking to one of these ladies that the water of her cistern was delightfully cold—"It has always been so," she replied, "since we have got into the habit of throwing your plays into it." The repartee of Melitta

¹ Athen. xiii. 47.

to a conceited person who was said to have fled ignominiously from the field of battle is exceedingly keen. Happening to be eating of a hare which she seemed much to enjoy, our soldier, desirous of directing attention to her, inquired if she knew what was the fleetest animal in the world. "The runaway," replied Melitta.

The same taste which induces many persons of rank in our own day to marry opera dancers and actresses, in antiquity favoured the ambition of the *Hetairæ*, many of whom rose from their state of humiliation to be the wives of satraps and princes. This was the case with Glycera, whom after the death of Pythionica, Harpalos sent for from Athens, and domiciliated within his royal palace at Tarsos. He required her to be saluted and considered as his queen, and refused to be crowned unless in conjunction with her. Nay, he had even the hardihood to erect in the city of Rossos, a brazen statue to her, beside his own.¹ Herpyllis, one of the same sisterhood, won the heart of Aristotle, and was the mother of Nicomachos. She survived the philosopher, and was carefully provided for by his will.² Even Plato, whose genius and virtue are still the admiration of mankind, succumbed to the charms of Archæanassa, an *Hetaira* of Colophon, whose beauty, which long survived her youth, he celebrated in an epigram still extant.³

Of all these ladies, however, not even excepting Phryne, or the Sicilian Laïs,⁴ Aspasia⁵ has obtained

¹ Athen. xiii. 50.

² Athen. xiii. 56.—Diog. Laert. v. 12.

³ Diog. Laert. iii. 31.

⁴ She was a native of Hyccara, but taken prisoner in childhood, and carried to Corinth, whence that city has generally the honor of being regarded as her birth-place. — Athen. xiii. 54. — Cf.

Thucyd. vi. 62. Sch. Aristoph. Lysist. 179.

⁵ Of the younger Aspasia, who had the reputation of being the loveliest woman of her time, we have the following sketch in *Ælian*: — "Her hair was auburn, "and fell in slightly waving ringlets. She had large full eyes, a "nose inclined to aquiline, (*ἐπι-γυμνος*) and small delicate ears.

the most widely extended fame. This illustrious woman, endowed by nature with a mind still more beautiful than her beautiful form, exercised over the fortunes of Athens an influence beyond the reach of the greatest queen. Her genius, unobserved for some time, by degrees drew around her all those whom the love of letters or ambition induced to cultivate their minds. Her house became a sort of club-room, where eloquence, politics, philosophy, mixed with badinage, were daily discussed, and whither even ladies of the highest rank resorted to acquire from Aspasia those accomplishments which were already beginning to be in fashion. From her Socrates professed to have in part acquired his knowledge of rhetoric, and it is extremely probable that he could trace to the habit of conversing with one so gifted by nature, so polished by rare society, something of that exquisite facility and lightness of manner which characterize his familiar dialectics. No doubt, we may attribute something of the reputation she acquired to the desire to disparage Pericles. It was thought that by appropriating many of his harangues to her they could bring him down nearer their own level. She was, in influence and celebri-

“Nothing could be softer than her
 “skin, and her complexion was
 “fresh as the rose; on which ac-
 “count the Phœceans called her
 “Miltos, or ‘the Blooming’. Her
 “ruddy lips, opening, disclosed
 “teeth whiter than snow. She,
 “moreover, possessed the charm
 “on which Homer so often dwells
 “in his descriptions of beautiful
 “women, of small, well-formed
 “ankles. Her voice was so full of
 “music and sweetness, that those
 “to whom she spoke imagined
 “they heard the songs of the
 “Sirens. To crown all she was
 “like Horace’s Pyrrha, simplex
 “munditiis, abhorring superfluous

“pomp of ornament.”—Hist. Var.
 xii. 1. Some persons, however,
 would not have admired the nose
 of Miltos:—thus, the youth in Ter-
 rence (Heauton, v. 5. 17. seq.)
 “What? must I marry?”

“Rufamne illam virginem
 Cæsiam, sparso ore, adunco na-
 so? Non possum, pater.”

Aristotle (Rhet. i. 2) does not un-
 dervalue the slightly aquiline nose;
 and Plato appears rather to have
 admired it in men.—Repub. v. §
 19. t. i. p. 392.—Stallb. where
 the philosopher calls it the Royal
 Nose.

ty, the Madame Roland of Athens, though living in times somewhat less troubled.

The name of Phryne, though not so celebrated, is still familiar to every one, partly, perhaps, through the accusation brought against her in the court of Heliaea,¹ by Euthios. She was a native of Thespiæ, but established at Athens, and beloved by the orator Hyperides, who undertook her defence. His pleading, it may therefore be presumed, was eloquent. Perceiving, however, he could make but little impression on the judges, he had her called into court, and, as if by accident, bared her bosom,² the fairness and beauty of which heaving with anguish and terror—for it was a matter of life and death—so wrought upon the august judges that her acquittal immediately followed. The Heliasts, renowned for their upright decisions, were suspected on this occasion of undue commiseration, though the charge was probably grounded on some frivolous pretence of impiety; and, to prevent the recurrence of similar partiality in future, a decree was passed, rendering it illegal thus to extort the pity of the court, or, on any account, to introduce the accused, whether man or woman, into the presence of the judges. It was on her figure that Apelles chiefly relied in painting his Aphrodite rising from the sea, as Phryne herself rose before all Greece on the beach at Eleusis; and Praxiteles also wrought from the same model his Cnidean Aphrodite.³ This sculptor, who was the rival of Hyperides, and, indeed, of all Athens, in the affections of Phryne, permitted her one day to make choice for herself from two statues of his own workmanship—the Eros and the Satyr. Discovering, by a stratagem,

¹ Poseidip. ap. Athen. xiii. 60.

² Honest old Burton, whom few anecdotes of this description escaped, imagines this artifice to

have been the only defence he made.—Anatomy of Melancholy. ii. 222.

³ Athen. xiii. 59. seq.

that he himself preferred the former, she was guided by his judgment, and dedicated the winged god in a temple of her native city. In admiration of her beauty, a number of gentlemen erected, by subscription, in her honour, a golden statue at Delphi. It was the work of Praxiteles, and stood on a pillar of white marble of Pentelicos, between the statues of Archidamos, king of Sparta, and Philip, son of Amyntas. The inscription ran simply thus:—

“ Phryne, of Thespiæ, daughter of Epicles.”

On seeing this statue, Crates, the cynic, exclaimed, “ Behold a trophy of Hellenic wantonness ! ”

It is not, of course, among women of this class, that we should expect to discover proofs of female truth or enduring attachment. But the human heart sometimes triumphs over adverse circumstances.¹ History has preserved the memory of more than one act of heroism performed by an Hetaira, to show that woman doth not always put off her other virtues, though habitually trampling on the one which constitutes for her the boundary between honour and infamy.

Ptolemy, son of Philadelphos, while commanding the garrison of Ephesos, had along with him the courtesan, Irene, who, when his Thracian mercenaries rose in revolt, fled along with him to the temple of Artemis, where they fell together, sprinkling the altar with their blood.² Alcibiades, too, of all his friends, found none adhere to him in his adversity but an Hetaira, who cheerfully exposed her life for his sake; and, when the assassins of Pharnabazos had achieved their task, performed, like another Antigone, the last duties over the ashes

¹ Athen. xiii. 59.—In the apprehension of Lucian, too, they were anything but mercenary; and stripped themselves cheerfully of all their personal orna-

ments to bestow them, like so many sisters, on the person they loved.—Diall. Hetair. vii. 1.

² Athen. xiii. 64.

of the man she loved.¹ Other anecdotes might be added equally honourable to their feelings and fidelity, but these will sufficiently illustrate their character and the estimation in which they were generally held.

¹ Plut. Alcib. § 39.

CHAPTER V.

TOILETTE, DRESS, AND ORNAMENTS.

HAVING now described the condition and influence of women, it will be necessary to institute some inquiry into one of the principal means by which they achieved and maintained their empire. At first sight, perhaps, the disquisition may appear scarcely to deserve all the pains I have bestowed upon it; but, as the dress of the ancients is connected on the one hand with the progress of the useful arts, as spinning, weaving, dyeing, &c., and on the other with the forms and developement of sculpture, it can scarcely, when well considered, be reckoned among matters of trifling moment. Besides, the costume and ornaments of a people often afford important aid towards comprehending the national character, constituting, in fact, a sort of practical commentary on the mental habits, and tone and principles of morals, prevailing at any given period among them.

The raiment of the Grecian women, of which the public generally obtain some idea from the remaining monuments of ancient art, may be said to have been regulated by the same laws of taste which presided over the developement of the national genius in sculpture and painting. Every article of their habiliment appeared to harmonise exactly with the rest. Nothing of that grotesque extravagance which in some of the fleeting vagaries of fashion transforms our modern ladies, with their inflated balloon sleeves and painfully deformed waists, into so many whalebone and muslin hobgoblins, was ever allowed to disfigure the rich contour of a

Greek woman. As she proceeded lovely from the hands of nature, her pride was to preserve that loveliness. Her garments, accordingly, were not fashioned with a view to disguise or conceal her form, but by graceful folds, flowing curves, ornaments rich and tastefully disposed, to afford as many indications of its matchless symmetry and perfection as might be compatible with her sex's delicacy and the severity of public morals. Consequently the art of dress, like every other conversant with taste and beauty, reached in Greece its highest perfection. A woman draped according to the prevalent fashion in the best ages of the Athenian commonwealth, was an object not to be equalled for elegance or grace. From the snow white veil which probably shaded her countenance and ringlets of auburn or hyacinth, to the sandals of white satin and gold that ornamented her small ankle, the eye could detect nothing gaudy, affected, or out of keeping. There was magnificence without ostentation, brilliance of colours, but a brilliance that harmonised with whatever was brought in contact with it; the splendour of numerous jewels and trinkets of gold, but no appearance of display, or of a wish to dazzle. Everything appeared to stand where it did, because it was its proper place.

But in Sparta where there existed little tendency towards art or refinement,¹ a costume the antipodes of all this prevailed. That of the virgins differed in some respects from that of the matrons, and the difference arose out of a peculiar feature of manners, in which, if in nothing else, they resembled the English. In several Ionic countries, as at present on the continent, girls were previously to marriage guarded with much strictness. At Sparta, on the contrary, and among the Dorians generally,² they were permitted, as in England, to

¹ Cf. Montaigne, *Essais*, t. iv. p. 214, seq.

² See above, chapter ii.

walk abroad in company with young men, and, of course, to form attachments at their own discretion. In this, too, as in their dress, they only preserved the customs of antiquity; for in Homer we find the Trojan ladies making anxious inquiries of Hector respecting their relations and friends in the field, and going forth from their houses attended only by their maids. The married women led more retired lives, and when they went abroad fashion required that they should be veiled, as we learn from the following apophthegm of Charillos, who being asked why the maidens went abroad uncovered while the matrons concealed their faces, replied: "Because it is incumbent on the former to find themselves husbands, on the latter only to keep those they have."¹

The principal, or, rather, the sole garment of the Dorian maidens was the chiton, or himation,² made of woollen stuff, and without sleeves, but fastened on either shoulder by a large clasp, and gathered on the breast by a kind of brooch. This sleeveless robe, which seldom reached more than half way to the knee, was moreover left open up to a certain point on both sides,³ so that the skirts or wings, flying open as they walked, entirely exposed their limbs, closely resembling the shift of the Bedouin women,⁴ slit up to the arm-pit, but gathered tight by a girdle about the waist. When the girdle was removed it reached to the calves of the legs,⁵ and would then, but for the side-slits, have been quite as becoming as the blue chemise of the modern Egyptian women, which is open in front from the

¹ Plut. Apophtheg. Lacon. Charill. 2. t. i. p. 161.

² Herod. v. 87. Duris. ap. Schol. Eurip. Hecub. 922. Æl. Dionys. ap. Eustath. ad Il. p. 963. 17. ed. Basil. Æl. Var. Hist. i. 18. Cf. Spanh. Observ. in Hymn. in Apoll. 32. t. ii.

p. 63. Schol. Pind. Nem. i. 74.

³ Poll. vii. 54. seq. Mus. Chiamont. pl. 35. Antich. di Ercol. t. iv. tav. 24.

⁴ Castellan, Mœurs des Ottomans, vi. 47.

⁵ Schol. Eurip. Hecub. 922.

neck to the waist.¹ When dressed in this single robe, their whole form breathing health, and modesty in their countenance, there was no doubt a simple elegance in their appearance, little less attractive, perhaps, than the exquisite and elaborate *mise* of an Ionian or an Attic girl. In this costume Melissa, daughter of Procles, of Epidaurus, was habited when, as she poured out wine to her father's labourers, Periander, the Corinthian,² beheld and loved her. The married women, however, did not make their appearance in public *en chemise*, but when going abroad donned a second garment which seems to have resembled pretty closely their husbands' himatia.³

Of the simple wardrobe of a Doric lady, which in ancient times was that of all women of Hellenic race, exceedingly little can be said. It is altogether different with respect to that of the gentlewomen of Attica, where, though inferior in personal beauty to none, the women exhibited so much fertility in the matter of dress, that they appeared to depend on that alone for the establishment of their empire. For this reason it would be vain to pretend to describe all their vestments and ornaments, or the arts of the toilette by which they were adapted to

¹ Suidas, however, supposes these garments to have been less becoming when the girdle was removed, and adds ἐν Σπαρτῇ δὲ καὶ τὰς κόρας γυμνὰς φαίνεσθαι.—v. δωριάζειν. t. i. p. 772. Montaigne observes, that the ancient Gauls made little use of clothing; and that the same thing might be said of the Irish of his time, t. iv. p. 214.—The French ladies, also, of his own day, affected a costume in no respect less indelicate than that of the Spartan girls: “nos dames, ainsi molles et delicates qu’elles sont,

elles s’en vont tantôt entre ouvertes jusques au nombril.”—Essais, II. xii. t. iv. p. 213.

² Athen. xiii. 56.

³ Cf. Il. ε. 425.—In the life of Pyrrhus, the difference between the dress of married women and that of the virgins is distinctly pointed out:—ἀρχομένοις δὲ ταῦτα πρόττειν, ἦκον αὐτοῖς τῶν παρθενῶν καὶ γυναικῶν, αἱ μὲν ἐν ἱματίοις, καταζωσάμεναι τοὺς χιτωνίσκους, αἱ δὲ μονοχίτωνες, συναργασόμεναι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. Plut. Pyrrh. § 27.

their purposes. To do so properly would, in fact, require a volume. But all that can be crowded into one short chapter shall be given, since I am not deterred by any such scruples as formerly arrested the pen of a very learned writer, who apprehended that, if he proceeded, he might be supposed to have been rummaging the boudoir notes of an Athenian lady!¹

The primary garment,² answering to the *chemise* of the moderns, was a white tunic reaching to the ground,³ in some instances sleeveless, and fastened on the shoulders with buttons, in others furnished with loose hanging sleeves descending to the wrist, and brought together at intervals upon the arm by silver or golden agraffes.⁴ It was gathered into close folds under the bosom by a girdle,⁵ or riband, sometimes fastened in front by a knot, sometimes by a clasp.⁶ This inner robe, made in the earlier ages of fine linen,⁷ manufactured in Attica, or imported from Tyre, Egypt, or Sidon, came, in after times, to be of muslin from Tarentum, or woven at home from Egyptian cotton. The use of linen, however, for this purpose was not wholly superseded. A very beautiful kind, from the island of Amorgos,⁸ one of the Cyclades, was often substituted down to a very late period in place of the byssos, or fine muslin of Egypt; and this insular fabric,⁹ whether snow-white or purple, would have rivalled the finest cambric, being of the most delicate texture and semi-transparent,¹⁰ like the Tarentine and Coan vests of the Roman ladies, the sandyx-coloured Lydian

¹ Taylor ad Demosth.

² Athen. xii. 5. 29. Boeckh. i. 141. Aristoph. Lysist. 43. sqq.

³ Ἐκ δὲ λίνου, λινούς χιτῶν, δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔφορον ποδήρη.—Poll. vii. 71.

⁴ Ælian. V. H. i. 8.

⁵ On the ζώνη, Cf. Il. ξ. 181. Odys. τ. 231. Damm. 988. On the Cestus Il. ξ. 214. Aris-

troph. Lysist. 72. βαθυζώνοι Æschyl. Pers. 155. et Schol. — Bættig. Les Furies, p. 34.

⁶ Achilles Tatius. ii. cap. xi. p. 33, seq. Jacobs

⁷ Thucyd. i. 6.

⁸ Aristoph. Lysist. 150. 735, et Schol. ⁹ Poll. vii. 75.

¹⁰ Aristoph. Lysist. 48. Poll. vii. 57. 74.

robe, or the silken chemises of the Turkish sultanas, described by Lady Montague.¹ It is in a tunic of this linen that Lysistrata, in Aristophanes, advises the Athenian ladies to appear before their husbands in order to give full effect to the splendour of their charms.²

Because the Amorginean linen was often, perhaps commonly, dyed purple, it has been inferred, that none purely white was produced; but this, as Bochart³ observes, is, probably, a mistake. At all events, it was of extraordinary fineness, superior, in the opinion of Suidas,⁴ even to the byssos and carbasos, or lawn of Cyprus, and appears to have been of a thin, gauze-like texture, like the drapery of "woven air" which Petronius⁵ throws around his female characters.

Over the chiton was worn a shorter robe not reaching below the knee, and confined above the loins by a broad riband. This also was, in some instances, furnished with sleeves, and of a rich purple or saffron colour, generally ornamented, like the chiton, with a broad border of variegated embroidery. To these, in order to complete the walking-dress, was added a magnificent mantle, generally purple, embroidered with gold, which, being thrown negligently over the shoulders,⁶ floated airily about the person, discovering the under garments exquisitely disposed for the purpose of displaying all the contours of the form, particularly of the waist and bosom. The Athenian ladies being, like our own, peculiarly jealous of possessing the reputation of a fine figure, and nature sometimes failing them, had

¹ Works, ii. 191.

² Aristoph. Lysist. 48.

³ Chanaan. I. 14. p. 449.

⁴ Corrected by Bochart, who reads ἔστι δὲ σφόδρα λεπτὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν βύσσον ἢ τὴν κάρπασον. Cf. Suid. v. Ἀμοργ. t. i. p. 204. c. Etym. Mag. 85. 15.

⁵ Satyricon. cap. 55. p. 273. Burmann.

⁶ We find, from ancient monuments, that persons likewise wore over their shoulders an article of dress exactly resembling the modern cape or tippet.—Mus. Cortonens. tab. 58.

recourse to art, and wore what, among milliners, I believe, are called *bustles*.¹ I am sorry to be obliged to add, that there were, also, mothers at Athens who anticipated us in the absurdity of tight lacing, and invented corsets for the purpose of compressing the abdomen and otherwise reducing the figures of their daughters to some artificial standard which they had already begun to set up in defiance of nature.² Some women, too, when apprehensive of growing fat, would collect on fine wool a quantity of summer dew, which they afterwards squeezed out and drank, this liquid having been supposed to be possessed of deleterious qualities, more particularly the ascending dew.³

Like the eastern ladies of the present day, they seldom went abroad without their veil, which was a light fabric of transparent texture, white or purple, from Cos, or Laconia. It was thrown tastefully over the head, raised in front on the point of the sphen-done,⁴ as in modern Italy by the comb, and hung waving on the shoulders and down the back in glittering folds. But this was not the only covering they made use of for their head. Those modern writers who have so thought are mistaken, since it is clear, both from contemporary testimony and numerous works of art still remaining, that very frequently they wore caps or bonnets. Several examples occur in Mr. Hope's work, on the Costumes of the Ancients;⁵ and Mnesilochos, in Aristophanes, when putting on the disguise of a woman for the purpose of being present at the Festival of Demeter, like Clodius at that of the Bona Dea, desires to borrow from Agathon a net or mitre for the

¹ Athen. xiii. 23. Alex. Frag. v. 13, seq.

² Victor. Var. Lect. ii. 6. 32.

³ Plut. Quæst. Nat. § 6. t. v. p. 321.—Coray sur Hippocrate, t. II. p. 82, seq.

⁴ See an exact representation

of it in the Mus. Chiaramont. pl. 8, where we likewise find an example of the sleeves closed with agraffes.—Cf. pl. 16.

⁵ Plates. Nos. 98. 108. 131. 162. 172.

head. "Will you have my night-cap?" inquires the poet. "Exactly," replies Euripides, "that is just what we want."¹

But we have hitherto scarcely entered upon the list of their wardrobe, in enumerating some of the articles of which, I must crave the reader's permission to employ the original terms, our language, in most cases, furnishing us with no equivalent. And, first, following the order of Pollux, who observes no principle of classification, we have the *Epomis*, a robe with sleeves, opposed to the *Exomis*, which had none. The *Diploidion*, an ample cloak, or mantle, capacious enough to be worn double. The *Hemidiploidion*, a more scanty mantle; the *Katastiktos*, adorned with flowers or figures of animals, or richly marked with spots, the *Katagogis*, the *Epiblema*, or cloak, and the *Peplos*,² a word of very equivocal character, used to signify a veil or mantle, a sofa-carpet, or a covering for a chariot. Generally, it seems to have designated a garment of double the necessary size, that, at pleasure, it might be put on, or cast, like a cloak, over the whole body, as appears from the *Peplos* of Athena.³ That the word sometimes was used to signify a tunic appears from Xenophon, who says "the peplos being rent above, the bosom appeared."⁴ He, how-

¹ Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 256.

² Poll. vii. 49, seq.—The *peploma* of Pindar (*Pyth.* ix. 219) is now *paploma*. Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, p. 32. Cf. *Iliad.* ε. 315.—The peplos was sometimes embroidered with figures.—Il. ζ. 289—295.

³ Sch. Aristoph. *Eq.* 564. Poll. vii. 50.

⁴ Poll. vii. 50. Cf. *Cyrop.* iii. 1. 13.—3. 67. In Homer, *Iliad*, γ. 385, &c. the word, *ἐανός*, signifying a richly-wrought vest or robe, is synonymous, as Pollux re-

marks, with *πέπλος* vii. 51. This is, likewise, the opinion of Buttmann, who, however, supposes it to mean a "flexibly soft garment."—*Lexil. Art.* 41. Others draw a distinction between *ἐανός* and *πέπλος*, the former, they say, being employed to signify a veil unwrought and purely white, the latter, one which was variegated with colours and embroidery. Passow considers it to be a mere adjective signifying "clear, light," and says, that *εἶμα* or *ἱμάτιον* is always understood with it.

ever, considers it to have formed part of the male costume.

Another article of female dress was the *Zoma*, a short vest fitting close to the shape, and adorned at the bottom with fringe, as appears from a fragment of Æschylus in the Onomasticon. A character of Menander, too, exclaims,—“Don’t you perceive the nurse habited in her *Zoma*?”—for, adds Pollux, it was generally worn by old women. An elegant woollen dress, called *Parapechu*, white, but with purple sleeves, was imported from Corinth, and would appear to have been much worn by the Hetairæ.¹ Other garments seem to have been affected by the middle class of citizens, who, being unable to dress in purple,² the distinguishing colour of the wealthy and the noble, brought into fashion the *Paraphes* and *Paralourges*, robes adorned on either side with a purple stripe. As much dignity is supposed to belong to ample drapery, our citizen ladies took care not to be sparing of stuff, their dresses trailing to the ground, and displaying numerous folds, produced purposely at the extremity by a band passing round the edge. These garments were generally of linen; but when a lady, in Homer, is said to be wrapped in her shining mantle, the poet³ is supposed to intend a fine, light, woollen cloak, like the white burnouses of the Tunisian and Egyptian ladies.⁴

Several sorts of dresses obtained their appellation from their colours; as the *Crocotos*, a saffron robe of ceremony, the *Crocotion*, a diminutive of the same; the *Omphakinon*, of the colour of unripe grapes, which, though prescriptively appropriated to women, was much affected by Alexander the Great. Modern ladies have delighted in flea-coloured dresses, and, in

¹ Poll. vii. 53. Jam παρά-
πηχυν λήδιον vel ἰμδριον, collatis
Hesychii et Pollucis interpre-
tationibus, intelligi videtur dic-
tam fuisse vestem albam cui ma-
nicæ adpositæ essent purpureæ.

— Schweig. ad Athen. xiii. 45.
t. xii. p. 146.

² Athen. xiii. 45. Poll. *ubi*
supra.

³ Iliad, γ. 141.

⁴ Poll. vii. 54.

like manner, the ancients had theirs of asinine hue, called *Killios*, from a Doric name for the ass, and afterwards *Onagrinos*,¹ which, if they really resembled the wild ass in hue, must have been exceedingly beautiful. There was a scarlet robe, with the appellation of *Coccobaphes*, the *Sisys*, a thick heavy cloak, likewise called *Hyphandron Himation*, resembling the *Amphimallus*, which had a double warp, and was hairy on both sides.²

Not to extend this list of dresses beyond the patience of a milliner, we will now pass on to the principal ornaments for the head,³ in which the Greek ladies evinced extraordinary taste and invention.⁴ Among these one of the most elegant was the *Ampyx*, a fillet by which they confined their hair in front. It sometimes consisted of a piece of gold embroidery, the place of which was often supplied by a thin plate of pure gold, studded with jewels. Another Homeric ornament, the *Kekruphalos*,⁵ can only be alluded to as a critical puzzle which has baffled all the commentators, in which predicament the *Plekte anadesme*⁶ also stands; all that we know being, that it found its place

¹ Among the Dorians the ass (*ὄνος*) was called *κίλλος*, and an ass-driver (*ὄνηλάτης*) *κιλλακτήρ*. Poll. vii. 56.

² Poll. vii. 56, seq.

³ Cf. Winkelmann, iv. 2. 76. Alex. Pædag. ii. 12.

⁴ Theoc. Eidyll. i. 33. Æmil. Port. Lex. Dor. in voce.

⁵ Iliad. χ. 469. Heyne in loc. Pollux. v. 95, enumerates the *ἄμπυξ* among female ornaments, but without giving any description of it. Cf. Pind. Olymp. vii. 118. Dissen. Comm. ad v. 64. Boettiger. Pictur. Vascul. i. 87. — The *κεκρύφαλος*, or *κροκύφαντος*, which occurs once in the Iliad, was a female ornament for the head, unknown to the later Greeks. The scholiast describes it as *κόσ-*

μος τις περὶ κεφαλὴν; and Damm observes that, it was “redimiculum vel reticulam quo mulieres crines coërcent.”—1158. Heyne is equally unsatisfactory. The commentators on Pollux. v. 95, avoid the subject altogether. Cf. Foës. Œcon. Hippoc. p. 202.

⁶ Iliad, χ. 469. Πλεκτὴ ἀναδέσμη οἱ μὲν διάδημα, says Apollonios, οἱ δὲ μίτραν. Πλὴν κοσμου εἶδος περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν. This is the basis of Hesychius' article. The Leyden scholia say:—ἀναδέσμη λέγεται, σείρα, ἣν περὶ τοὺς κροτάφους ἀναδοῦνται· καλεῖται δ' ὑπ' ἐνίων καλανδάκη. (In which Heyne imagines we may detect *calantica*, “a hood, hurlet, or coif.”) Κρήδεμνον δὲ πάλιν τὸ μαφόριον.

in the female head-dress, though whether as a mitre or a diadem Apollonios is unable to determine. It may possibly have been, under another appellation, that graceful wreath or garland, consisting of fragrant flowers interwoven or bound together by their stems, described among female ornaments by Pollux.¹

Another article of the same ambiguous character was the *Pylæon*, supposed to have derived its name from φύλον, *a leaf*. Athenæus,² on a subject of this kind, perhaps, one of the best authorities, describes it as the crown which, during certain festivals, the Spartans placed upon the head of Hera. Doubtless, however, the most tasteful and elegant of this class of female ornaments was the *Kalyx*, a golden syrinx or reed, passed like a ring over each several tress to keep it separate.³ Eustathius describes it as a ring resembling a full-blown, but not expanded, rose; and this explanation will not be inconsistent with that of Hesychius, if we suppose the golden tubes to have terminated in the form of that flower. The *Strophion* was a band or fillet⁴ with which women confined their hair, as we discover from many ancient statues. Parrhasios the artist, who used to bind his luxuriant locks with a white strophion, was therefore accused of effeminacy.⁵ The name, however, appears to have been applied to any kind of band, even to the broad belt worn to support the bosom: "My strophion being untied the walnuts fell out," says the girl in Aristophanes.⁶ There was also an ornament of the same name worn by priests.⁷

¹ Poll. v. 96. Iliad. σ. 595. In Homer the epithet, however, is not πλεκτή but καλή Hemsterhuis ad Poll. t. iv. p. 998.

² Deipnosoph. xv. 22. Cf. Poll. v. 96.

³ Cœl. Rhodig. xxvii. 27, imagines it to mean a female head-dress, or a parasol. Jungermann.

ad Poll, v. 96. Eustath. ad Iliad. ε. 401.

⁴ On a mask, engraved among the Gemm. Antich. of Agostini, we find an exact representation of the modern feronet, pl. 24.

⁵ Athen. xii. 62. Pollux. v. 96.

⁶ Poll. vii. 67. 95.

⁷ Plut. Arat. § 58.

The *Opisthosphendone*,¹ one of the female ornaments enumerated in a fragment of Aristophanes, was worn only on the stage. Its proper name *sphendone* it derived from its resemblance to a sling, being broad and elevated in front,² and terminating in narrow points at the back of the head where it was tied. On the comic stage it was sometimes worn for sport with the fore part behind.³ The *Anadesma*⁴ was a gilded fillet or diadem of gold, used like the *strophion* for encircling the forehead. What was the precise use or form of the *Xanion*, another golden ornament fashionable in remote antiquity, could not be ascertained in the age of Pollux, who says that many writers supposed it to have been a comb. Of this number are Hesychius, Suidas,⁵ and Phavorinus. But a learned modern conjectures with more probability, that it was some talismanic idol worn as a spell against the evil eye.⁶ In fact it is expressly observed in the *Etymologicon Magnum*,⁷ that the Hellenic women reckoned it among their phylacteries.

Of the ear-rings worn by Grecian women the variety was very great. The most ancient kind were called *Hermata*, of which mention occurs both in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.⁸ They were usually

¹ Clem. Alexand. *Pædag.* ii. 12. Winkelman, *Histoire de l'Art.* iv. 2. 75. note 6, and i. 2. 18. See also Cabinet Pio Clement, t. i. pl. 2, with the observations of Visconti.

² Cf. Mus. Chiaramont, pl. 20.

³ Poll. v. 96. vii. 95. Eustath. ad Dion. Perieg, v. 7. Comment. ad Poll. iv. 999. On the *καλαμος*, named but not described by Pollux, v. 96, see Eustath. ad Il. τ. p. 1248. Phavor. et Hesych. in voce *καλαμος*. What the *ἐντροπον* was, Jungermann confesses he does not know; nor do I, though it appears probable that

it may have been the golden or gilt ornament with which the hair when gathered on the top of the head was bound together.

⁴ Damm. 444. Aristoph. Plut. 589. Poll. v. 96.

⁵ This lexicographer speaks of it as follows:—*κτένιον. ὁ φοροῦσιν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν τοῖς ἀναδέμασιν, οἷς κόσμος χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς.* t. ii. p. 252. b.

⁶ 612, 23, seq.

⁷ Hemsterhuis. ad Poll. t. iv. p. 1000.

⁸ Il. ξ. 182. *Odyss.* σ. 296. *Ælian.* Var. Hist. i. 18.

adorned with three emerald drops,¹ for which reason they were by the Athenians denominated *Triopia* or *Triopides*,² and by the other Greeks *Triopthalma* or "the triple eye." By this word, as an ancient grammarian informs us, some understood an animal like the beetle, supposed to have three eyes, whence a necklace with three hyaline or crystal eyes, depending from it in front, was likewise called by the same name. Pollux³ supposed the earrings of Hera to have been adorned with three diminutive figures in precious stones, or gold, probably of goddesses. The *Diopos* seems to have been an earring with two drops. The *Helix* appears in Homer⁴ rather to mean an earring than an armlet, and to have received its name from its circular shape or curvature; but the spiral gold rings round the walking-stick of Parrhasios are also called *Helices* by Athenæus.⁵ Another name for this sort of earring was *Heliktes*.⁶ In the Æolic dialect earrings were called *Siglai*, in the Doric *Artiala*. A particular kind denominated *Enclastridia* and *Strobelia*, by the comic poets, had gold drops in the form of a pine cone.⁷ Two very curious kinds of earrings were the *Caryatides*, and the *Hippocampia*, the former representing in miniature the architectural figures, so called, the latter little horses with tails ending in a fish. There were earrings, likewise, with drops in the forms of centaurs and other fantastic creations.⁸

The names and figures of necklaces were scarcely less numerous.⁹ A jewelled collar fitting tight to the throat formed, under the name of *Peritrachelion*,

¹ Fabri. Thes. v. auris.

² Damm. 2195, reads *τριόρτια*, and *τριορτίδες*, in the passage of Eustathius, which forms the basis of my text; but Kuhn and Jungermann ad Poll. t. iv. p. 1003, correct as above.

³ Onomast. v. 97.

⁴ Il. σ. 401. Cf. Eustath. ad Odyss. ω. 49.

⁵ Deipnosoph. xii. 62.

⁶ Poll. v. 97.

⁷ Jungermann ad Poll. t. iv. 1001.

⁸ Poll. v. 95.

⁹ Odyss. σ. 290. Hymn, in Ven. ii. 11, seq. Necklaces of gilded wood. Xen. Œcon. x. 3. 61.

the principal of these ornaments, of which another was the *Perideraion*.¹ The *Hypoderaion* was as its name imports a necklace that hung low on the bosom, and the same was the case with the *Hormos*.² On the *Tantheuristos Hormos* little information can be obtained, for which reason the commentators would alter the text; but the most probable conjecture is, that it obtained its appellation from the flashing and glancing of the jewels depending from it upon the breast.³ The *Triopis* was a species of necklace distinguished for having three stars or eye-like gems depending from it as drops. This being the most fashionable necklace was known under a variety of names, as the *Kathema*, and *Katheter*, and *Mannos* or *Monnos*, among the Dorians.⁴

Of armlets and bracelets there was likewise a great variety. Some worn above the elbow were denominated *Brachionia*, others called *Pericarpia*, or *Echinoi* encircled the wrists and were often in the form of twisted snakes of gold, which the woman-hater in Lucian would have converted into real serpents.⁵ The *Psellia* or chain bracelets were much worn; the *Clidones* adorned the rich and luxurious only. As stockings were not in common use, and shoes and sandals frequently dispensed with when within doors, fashion required that the feet and ankles should not remain unadorned. Ancient writers, accordingly, enumerate several kinds of anklets, or bangles, all of gold, and varying only in form, the distinction between which I have been unable to discover. The *Ægle* the *Pede* and the *Periscelides* were so many ornaments for the instep or ankle.⁶

¹ Plut. Mar. § 17. Bulenger, De Spoliis Bellicis, c. 12.

² Sch. Aristoph. Vesp. 677.

³ Comment. ad Poll. v. 98 p. 1008.

⁴ Theocrit. xi. 41. Casaub. Lect. Theocrit. c. 13.

⁵ Amor. § 41.

⁶ Poll. v. 100. Golden periscelides are enumerated by Longus l. i. among the possessions of the young Lesbian girl; and Horace, Epist. i. xvii. 56, speaks of the periscelis being snatched away

Among the ornaments for the bosom we find the *Ægis*, evidently like the ægis of Athena, a sort of rich covering with two hemispherical caps to receive the breasts, such as we find worn by the Bayadères of the Dekkan. Extending from this on either side, or passing over its lower edge was the *Maschalister*, a broad belt which covered the armpits, though in Herodotus the word merely signifies a sword-belt.¹

Like all other delicate and luxurious women, the Grecian ladies displayed upon their fingers a profusion of rings, of which some were set with signets, others with jewels remarkable for their colour and brilliance. To each of these their copious language supplied a distinct name.² Other female ornaments are spoken of by the comic poets; but in their descriptions it is difficult to distinguish satire from information. Among these were the *Leroi*, golden drops attached to the tunic; the *Ochthoiboi*, which seem to have been a sort of rich tassels; the *Helleboroi*, ornaments shaped perhaps like the leaves or flowers of that plant; and the *Pompholuges*, which, though left unexplained by the commentators, probably signified a large clear kind of bead, as the word originally meant a "water-bubble," which a transparent bead resembles.³

The Athenian ladies, likewise, displayed their taste for luxury and splendour in their shoes and sandals.⁴

from a courtesan. Here Dr. Bentley understands the word to mean *tibialia*, and observes, — "delicatulæ fasciolis involvibant sibi crura et femora." But Gesner ad Horat. p. 503, seq. rather supposes "compedes mulierum," to be intended, and he is probably right. Cf. Petron. Sat. c. 67.

¹ Cf. Mus. Chiaram. pl. 14. pl. 18.

² Poll. v. 101. Rhodig. vi. 12.

³ Poll. v. 101. Cf. Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 249. Bergler ad loc.

renders it by *bullæ*, which, among the Romans, signified "a golden ornament worn about the neck, or at the breast of children, fashioned like a heart, and hollow within, which they wore until they were fourteen years old, and then hung up to the household gods."—Porphyr. in Horat. vid. et Fab. Thes. in v.

⁴ Diog. Laert. ii. 37. c. Sch. Aristoph. Lysist. 417. Wooden shoes were worn in Thessaly. With these the women killed Lais in the temple of Aphrodite —

Like our own fashionable dames, they seldom contented themselves with articles of home manufacture, but imported whatever was considered most elegant or tasteful from the neighbouring countries. Sometimes, perhaps, the fashion only and the name were imported, as in the case of the Persian half-boot, fitting tight to the ankle.¹ The same thing may probably be said of the Sicyonian slipper. But there was an elegant sandal, ornamented with gold, which, down to a very late period, continued to be imported from Patara, in Lycia.² Snow-white slippers of fine linen, flowered with needlework, were occasionally worn; and from many ancient statues it would seem, that something very like stockings had been already introduced. Short women, desirous of adding, if not a cubit, at least a few inches to their stature, adopted the use of *baukides* with high cork heels, and soles of great thickness.³

An Athenian beauty usually spent the whole morning in the important business of the toilette.⁴ The crowd of maids who attended on these occasions appears to have exceeded in number the assistants at similar rites in a modern dressing-room, the principle of the division of labour having been pushed to its greatest extent. Like Hera, who was said by mythologists to renew her virgin charms as often as she bathed in the fountain of Canathos,⁵ the Attic lady appeared to undergo diurnal rejuvenescence under the hands of her maids.⁶ Her lovely face grew tenfold more lovely by their arts. Clustering in interesting

Athen. xiii. 55. There was a species of shoes peculiar to female slaves called *peribarides*.—Poll. vii. 87. Aristoph. Lysist. 47.

¹ Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 152. See in Antich. di Ercol. t. vi. p. 11, a representation of half-boots open in front.

² Lucian, Diall. Meret. xiv. 3. ἐκ Παράρων σανδάλια ἐπίχρυσα.

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³ Athen. xiii. 23. Poll. vii. 94.

⁴ Their perfumes and essences were kept in alabaster boxes from Phœnicia, some of which cost no more than two drachmæ.—Lucian, Diall. Meret. xiv. 2.

⁵ Paus. ii. 37, 38.

⁶ Aristoph. Concion. 732, et Schol.

groups around her, some held the silver basin and ewer, others the boxes of tooth-powder, or black paint for the eyebrows, the rouge pots or the blanching varnish, the essence-bottles or the powder for the head, the jewel-cases or the mirrors.¹ But on nothing was so much care bestowed as on the hair.² Auburn, the colour of Aphrodite's tresses³ in Homer, being considered most beautiful,⁴ drugs were invented in which the hair being dipped, and exposed to the noon-day sun, it acquired the coveted hue, and fell in golden curls over their shoulders.⁵ Others, contented with their own black hair, exhausted their ingenuity in augmenting its rich gloss, steeping it in oils and essences, till all the fragrance of Arabia seemed to breathe around them. Those waving ringlets which we admire in their sculpture were often the creation of art, being produced by curling-irons heated in ashes;⁶ after which, by the aid of jewelled fillets and golden pins, they were brought forward over the smooth white forehead,⁷ which they sometimes shaded to the eyebrows, leaving a small ivory space in the centre, while behind they floated in shining profusion down the back. When decked in

¹ Pignor. de Serv. p. 195.

² Cf. Suid. v. κομῆ. t. i. p. 1489. b.

³ See Pashley, i. 247. Pignor. de Serv. 193.

⁴ "The beautiful colour we call auburn, and which the ancients expressed by the term golden, is the most common among the Greeks; and they have gilt wire and various other ornaments (among which might yet perhaps be recognised the Athenian grasshopper) in ringlets, which they allow to float over their shoulders, or bind their hair in long tresses that hang upon the back." — Douglas, Essay, &c. p. 147, seq.

⁵ This is beautifully described by Lucian:—Γυναικὶ δὲ αἰεὶ πάσῃ ἢ τοῦ δαψιλεῖς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν βοστρύχων τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔλικες, ὑακίνθοις τὸ καλὸν ἀνθοῦσιν ὁμοία πορφύροντες· οἱ μὲν, ἐπινώτιοι κέχυνται μεταφρένων κόσμος, οἱ δὲ παρ' ὧτα καὶ κροτάφους, πολὺ τῶν ἐν λειμῶνι οὐλότερον σελίνων· τὸ δ' ἄλλο σῶμα, μὴδ' ἀκαρῇ τριχὸς αὐταῖς ὑποφρυομένης ἡλέκτρον, φάσιν, ἥ Σιδωνίας ὑέλου διαφεγγέστιρον ἀπαστράπτει. — Amor. § 26.

⁶ Pignor. de Serv. 194, seq.

⁷ The young lady, in Lucian, describes thin hair drawn back so as to expose the forehead as a great deformity.—Diall. Meret. i.

this manner, and dressed for the harem¹ in their light flowered sandals and semi-transparent robes already described, they were scarcely farther removed from the state of nature than the Spartan maids themselves.

Contrary to the fashion prevalent in modern times the bosom, however, was always closely covered, because being extremely full shaped it began very early to lose its firmness and beauty.² Earrings, set with Red-Sea pearls of great price, depended from their ears, and an orbicular crown studded with Indian jewels surmounted and contrasted strikingly with their dark locks. Add to these the jewelled throat bands, and costly and glittering necklaces. Their cheeks though sometimes pale by nature, blushed with rouge,³

¹ A taste not greatly dissimilar presides over the in-door dress of the modern Greek women. "In the gynecæum," says Chandler, "the girl, like Thetis, treading on a soft carpet, has her white and delicate feet naked; the nails tinged with red. Her trowsers, which in winter are of red cloth, and in summer of fine calico or thin gauze, descend from the hip to the ankle, hanging loosely about her limbs, the lower portion embroidered with flowers, and appearing beneath the shift, which has the sleeves wide and open, and the seams and edges curiously adorned with needle-work. Her vest is of silk, exactly fitted to the form of the bosom and the shape of the body, which it rather covers than conceals, and is shorter than the shift. The sleeves button occasionally to the hand, and are lined with red or yellow satin. A rich zone encompasses her waist, and is fastened before by clasps of silver

"gilded, or of gold, set with precious stones. Over the vest is a robe, in summer lined with ermine, and in cold weather with fur. The head-dress is a skull-cap, red or green, with pearls; a stay under the chin, and a yellow fore-head cloth. She has bracelets of gold on her wrists; and, like Aurora, is rosy-fingered, the tips being stained. Her necklace is a string of zechins, a species of gold coin, or of the pieces called Byzantines. At her cheeks is a lock of hair made to curl toward the face; and down her back falls a profusion of tresses, spreading over her shoulders." —ii. 140.

² Lucian. Amor. § 41. Homer in numerous passages celebrates the deep bosoms of his country women, and Anacreon, also, touches more than once on the same topic.

³ Anchusa. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vii. 8. 3. Dion. Chrysost.

and they even possessed the art to superinduce over this artificial complexion that peach-like purple bloom which belongs to the very earliest, dewiest dawn of beauty. To the tint of the rose they could likewise add that of the lily. White paint was in common use,¹ not merely among unmarried women, and ladies of equivocal reputation, but with matrons the chastest and most prudent in Athens, for we find that pattern of an Attic gentlewoman, the wife of Ischomachos, practising after marriage every delusive art of the toilette.²

It by no means follows that all this attention³ to dress had any other object than to please their husbands; for the Turkish Sultanas who pass their lives in the most rigid seclusion are no less sumptuous in their apparel; but we know that at Athens, as in London, much of this care was designed to excite admiration out of doors. For it is highly erroneous to transfer to Athens the ideas of female seclusion acquired from travellers in the East, where no such rigid seclusion was ever known. Husbands, indeed, who had cause, or supposed they had, to be jealous, might be put on the rack by beholding the crowds of admirers who flocked around their wives the moment they issued into the streets. But there was no remedy. The laws and customs of the country often forced the women abroad to assist at processions and perform their devotions at the shrines of various goddesses.⁴

i. 262. Poll. vii. 95. Aristoph. Lysist. 46. et Schol. Muret. Not. in Xen. Cyrop. p. 743, seq. Xen. Cyrop. i. 3. 2.

¹ Poll. v. 101, vii. 95.

² Xenoph. Œconom. x. 2, 60.

³ Cf. Xen. de Vect. iv. 8.

⁴ Luc. Amor. § 41, seq. Cf. Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. p. 339. Aristoph. Plut. 1015, et schol. Plut. Vit. x. Orat. Lycurg. In the country, too, women went

often abroad, and evidently led a very comfortable life; their habits, in fact, greatly resembled those of English country ladies; the wives of men whose estates lay contiguous freely visiting and gossiping with each other. Thus in the action on the damage caused by the torrent, we find the wife of Tisias and the mother of Callicles discussing the spoiling of the barley and the

The dress of men included many of the garments worn by women; for example, the chiton of which there were several kinds, some with and some without sleeves. Among the latter was the *Exomis*,¹ a short tunic worn by aged men and slaves, but the name was sometimes applied to a garment thrown loosely round the body, and to the chiton with one sleeve.² Over this in Homeric times was worn as a defence against the cold, the *Chlaina*³ a cloak strongly resembling a highlander's tartan, or the burnoose of the Bedouin Arab. It was, in fact, a square piece of cloth, occasionally with the corners rounded off, which, passing over the left shoulder, and under the right arm, was again thrown over the left shoulder, leaving the spear arm free.⁴ This is what the poet means where he terms the *Chlaina* double. It was wrapped twice round the breast, and fastened over the left shoulder by a brooch.⁵ Even this, however, was not deemed sufficient in very cold weather, and a cloak of skins sown together with thongs was wrapped about the body as a defence against the rain or snow. Some persons appear to have worn skin-cloaks all the year round, for we find Anaxagoras, in the midst of summer at Olympia, putting on his when he foresaw there would be rain.⁶ Rustics also appear to have considered a tunic and skin-cloak necessary to complete their costume.⁷

barley meal, and meeting, evidently, as often as they thought proper. In fact, before the quarrel, the footpath across the field was clearly well worn. — Demosth. in Call. § 7.

¹ Aristoph. Lysist. 662.

² Poll. vii. 49.

³ If the appearance of a ghost can be regarded as good testimony, it may be concluded that the Thessalians wore the chlamys, since Achilles when called up by

Apollonios of Tyana, presented himself in that garment. — Philost. Vit. Apoll. iv. 16.

⁴ Müll. Dor. ii. 283. Diog. Laert. ii. 47. Clothes were suspended in the house on pegs. — Odyss. α. 440.

⁵ Il. ω. 230. Poll. vii. 49.

⁶ Diog. Laert. ii. iii. 5. Cum not. Menag. t. ii. p. 49.

⁷ Dion, Chrysost. i. 231. Reiske. On the dress of the Arcadians, Polyæn. Stratagem. iv. 14.

The Dorian style of dress formed the point of transition from the simple elegance of the Homeric period to the elaborate splendour of the historic age at Athens. In this mode of clothing, a modern author remarks, a peculiar taste was displayed, an antique simplicity "equally removed from the splendour of Asiatics, and the uncleanness of barbarians."¹ They preserved the use of the Homeric chiton, or woollen shirt, and over this wore also the *Chlaina* or *Himation*, in the manner described above. To these was added the *Chlamys*, which, as the Spartan laws prohibited dyeing, was universally white, and denominated *Hololeukos*.²

It was of Thessalian or Macedonian origin, of an oblong form, the points meeting on the right shoulder, where they were fastened with a clasp. This garment was not in use in the heroic ages, and the earliest mention of it occurs in Sappho;³ but when once introduced, it quickly grew fashionable, at first among the young men, afterwards as a military cloak. At Athens it was regarded as a mark of effeminacy, and was fastened with a gold or jewelled brooch on the breast.⁴

The men of Sparta, though less thinly clad than the women, still went abroad very scantily covered. Their *Tribon*, a variety of the himation,⁵ like the cloak of the poor Spanish gentleman, was clipped so close that it would barely enclose their persons, like a case, but was thick and heavy, and calculated to last. Accordingly, the youth were allowed only one of these per annum, so that, in warm weather, it is probable that, with an eye to saving it for winter, they exchanged it for that more lasting coat with

¹ Müller. Hist. Dor. ii. 277. See the picturesque description which Hesiod gives of the rustic winter costume of Bœotia. Opp. et Dies, 534, sqq. Goettl.

² Poll. vii. 46.

³ Σαπφὼ πρώτη γὰρ μέμνηται τῆς χλαμύδος.—Ammonius, p. 147. Valcken.

⁴ Heliodor. i. and ii.

⁵ Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 415. Cf. Vesp. 116, 475.

which nature had furnished them.¹ In the towns, however, and as often as they thought proper to put on the appearance of extreme modesty, the young Spartans drew close their cloaks around them so as to conceal their hands,² the exhibiting of which has always been regarded as a mark of vulgarity. Hence the use of gloves, and the affectation of soft white hands in modern times. The same notions prevail even among the Turks, who, like Laertes in Homer, wear long sleeves to their pelisses for the purpose of defending the hand, to have which white and well-shaped is among them a mark of noble blood.

The Spartans had the good taste to suffer their beards and hair to grow long, and were at much pains to render them glossy and shining. Even in the field, contrary to the practice at Athens, they preserved this natural ornament of their heads, and we find them busy in combing and putting it in order on the very eve of battle.³ It was usually parted at the top, and was, in fact, the most becoming covering imaginable. But they set little value on cleanliness, and bathed and perfumed themselves seldom, being evidently of opinion,⁴ that a brave man ought not to be too spruce. However, having no object to gain by aping the exterior of mendicants, they eschewed the wearing of ragged cloaks, which, indeed, was forbidden by law.

But the Athenians ran into the opposite extreme, Wealthy, and fond of show, they delighted in a style of dress in the highest degree curious and magnificent, appearing abroad in flowing robes of the finest linen, dyed with purple and other bril-

¹ Plut. Lyc. § 16. Inst. Lac. § 5.

² Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. iii. 4. Of Phocion, an imitator of Spartan manners, the same thing is related.—Plut Phoc. § 4.

³ Herod. vii. 208, with the notes of Valckenaar and Wesseling.

⁴ Plut. Instit. Lacon. § 5.

liant colours.¹ Beneath these they wore tunics of various kinds, which, though the fashion afterwards changed, were at first sleeveless, since we find the women, in Aristophanes, suffering the hair to grow under their arm-pits to avoid being discovered when, disguised as their husbands, they should hold up their hands to vote in the assembly.²

Like the women, they affected much variety and splendour in their rings, which were sometimes set with a stone with the portrait engraved thereon of some friend or benefactor, as Athenion wore on one of his the portrait of Mithridates.³

In his girdle and shoes,⁴ too, the Athenian betrayed his love of splendour. The hair worn long like that of the ladies,⁵ was curled or braided and built up in glossy masses on the crown of the head, or arranged artfully along the forehead by golden grasshoppers.⁶ But as all this pile of ringlets could not be thrust into the helmet, it was customary in time of war to cut the hair short, which the fashionable young men reckoned among its most serious hardships. Hats⁷ were not habitually worn, though

¹ Thucyd. i. 6. Plat. de Rep. t. vi. p. 167. Tim. Lex. 188. Aristoph. Eccles. 332. Sch. Aristoph. Eq. 879. Lucian. Amor. § 3.

² Aristoph. Concion. 60, et Schol.

³ Athen. v. 49.—Even slaves were in the habit of wearing rings set with precious stones, sometimes of three colours, of which several specimens are found in the British Museum. Thus, in Lucian, we find Parmenon, the servant of Polemon, with a ring of this kind on his little finger.—Diall. Meret. ix. 2. Cf. Hemster. ad Poll. ix. 96. t. vi. p. 1193.

⁴ Poll. vii. 92, seq.

⁵ Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. p. 329.

⁶ Athen. xii. 5. Sch. Aristoph. Eq. 1328. Nub. 971.

⁷ It is very clear from a passage in Demosthenes (De Fals. Leg. § 72), that hats or caps were sometimes worn in the city. There are those indeed who suppose the word to mean a wig; but Brodæus disposes of this by inquiring whether sick persons would be likely to go to bed with their wigs on as men did with their *πικλῖδια*. Miscell. i. 13. However, I must confess their wearing hats in bed is still less likely. The Bœotians appeared in winter with caps which covered the ears. Hesiod. Opp. et Dies, 545. On the form of which, see Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 9. 6, with the note of Schneid. t. iii. p. 191.

on journeys or promenades undertaken during hot weather they formed a necessary part of the costume. Above all things the Athenian citizen affected extreme cleanliness and neatness in his person, and the same taste descended even to the slaves who in the streets could scarcely be distinguished by dress, hair, or ornaments, from their masters.¹

Even the philosophers, after holding out a long time, yielded to the influence of fashion, and, lest their profession should suffer, became exquisites in its defence. Your truly wise man, says an unexceptionable witness in a matter of this kind, has his hair closely shaved, (this was an eastern innovation,) but suffers his magnificent beard to fall in wavy curls over his breast. His shoes, fitting tight as wax, are supported by a net-work of thongs, disposed at equal distances up the small of the leg. A chlamys puffed out effeminately at the breast conceals his figure, and like a foreigner he leans contemplatively upon his staff.²

But the art of dress appears to have received its greatest improvements in Ionia, where, according to Democritos, the Ephesian, both the garments, at one time in fashion, and the stuffs of which they consisted, were varied with a skill and fertility of invention worthy of a polished people. Some persons, he says, appeared in robes of a violet, others of a purple, others of a saffron colour, sprinkled with dusky lozenges. As at Athens, much attention was bestowed on the hair, which they adorned with small ornamental figures. Their vests were yellow, like a ripe quince, or purple, or crimson, or pure white. Even their tunics, imported from Corinth, were of the finest texture, and of the richest dyes, hyacinthine or violet, flame-coloured or deep sea-green. Others adopted the Persian *calasiris*,³ of all tunics

¹ Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. i. 10.

² Athen. xi. 120. On the gorgeous dress of the painter Parrhasios. xii. 62.

³ We find mention made of Persian dresses variegated with the figures of animals. Philost. Icon. ii. 32.

the most superb, and there were those among the opulent who even affected the Persian *actæa*, a shawl-mantle of the costliest and most gorgeous appearance. It was formed of a close-woven, but light stuff, bedropped with golden beads in the form of millet-seed, which were connected with the tissue by slender eyes passing through the stuff and fastened by a purple thread.¹

Duris, on the authority of the poet Asios, draws a scarcely less extravagant picture of the luxury and magnificence of the Samians, who, on certain festivals, appeared in public adorned, like women, with glittering bracelets, their hair floating on their shoulders, skilfully braided into tresses. The words of Asios preserved in the *Deipnosophist* are as follow: "Thus proceed they to the fane of Hera, "clothed in magnificent robes, with snowy pelisses, "trailing behind them on the ground. Glistening "ornaments of gold, like grasshoppers, surmount the "crown of their heads, while their luxuriant tresses "float behind in the wind, intermingled with golden "chains. Bracelets of variegated workmanship adorn "their arms, as the warrior is adorned by his shield "thongs."² This excess of effeminate luxury, attended as everywhere else by enervating vices, terminated in the ruin of Samos. Similar manners in the Colophonians drew upon them a similar fate, and so in every other Grecian community; for men never learn wisdom by the example of others, but hurry on in the career of indulgence as if in the hope that Providence might overlook them, or set aside, in their favour, its eternal laws.

¹ Athen. xii. 29.

² Athen. xii. 30.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

PRIVATE DWELLINGS.

THE opinion appears to prevail among certain writers, that the private dwellings of the Hellenes, or at least of the Athenians, were always mean and insignificant.¹ This imaginary fact they account for by supposing, that nobles and opulent citizens were deterred from indulging in the luxuries of architecture by the form of government and the envious jealousy of the common people. But such a view of the matter is inconsistent with the testimony of history. At Athens, as everywhere else, things followed their natural course. In the early ages of the commonwealth, when manners were simple, the houses of the greatest men in the state differed very little from those of their neighbours. As wealth, however, and luxury increased, together with the developement of the democratic principle, individuals erected themselves mansions vying in extent and splendour with the public edifices of the state;² and as the polity

¹ But even from a fragment of Bacchylides we may infer the magnificence of Grecian houses; for the poor man who drinks wine, he says, sees his house blazing with gold and ivory:

χρυσῷ δ' ἐλέφαντί τε
μαρμαίρουσιν οἶκοι.

Athen. ii. 10.

Men had by this time advanced considerably from the state in which they are supposed to have built their huts in imitation of the swallow's nest. Vitruv. ii. 1.

² Plat. Repub. iv. t. vi. p. 165.
Dion Chrysost. i. 262. ii. 459.
Dem. cont. Mid. § 44.—Lucian.
Amor. § 34.

degenerated more and more into ochlocracy, the dwellings of the rich¹ increased in size and grandeur, until they at length outstripped the very temples of the gods. A similar process took place at Sparta, where shortly after the Peloponnesian war, the more distinguished citizens possessed suburban villas, which seem to have been of spacious dimensions and filled with costly furniture.²

Upon these points, however, I dwell, not from any belief that they are honourable to the Greek character, but because they are true. It would have been more satisfactory to find them preserving, in every period of their history, the stern and lofty simplicity of republican manners, far outshining in the eyes of the philosopher the palaces of Oriental kings glittering with gold and ivory and jewels, in-somuch that the cottage of Socrates, erected in the humblest style of Athenian domestic architecture, would be an object, were it still in existence, of far deeper interest to the genuine lover of antiquity than the mansions of Meidias or Callias, or even than the imperial abodes of Semiramis, Darius, and Artaxerxes.

Nevertheless, wherever there exists opulence, it will exhibit itself in the erection of stately dwellings; and accordingly we find that, prior even to the Trojan war,³ commerce and increasing luxury had already inspired the Greeks with a taste for splendour and magnificence, which displayed itself especially in the architecture and ornaments of their palaces and houses of the great.⁴

Homer, minute and graphic in his descriptions, delineates a very flattering picture of Greek domestic architecture in his time, when the chiefs and nobles had already begun to enshrine themselves in spacious edifices, elaborately ornamented

¹ Dem. Olynth. iii. § 9. De Rep. Ord. § 10.

² Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 5. 27.

³ Cf. Athen. i. 28.

⁴ Cf. Müll. Dor. ii. 272.

with, and surrounded by, all the circumstances of pomp known to their age.¹

In those days the greatest men did not disdain to apply themselves to agriculture, to have their dwellings surrounded by the signs and implements of the pursuit in which they were engaged.² And as in southern Italy the ancient nobles erected shops in front of their palaces or villas, in which the produce of their land was disposed of, so in the Homeric houses the same space was occupied by the farm-yard enclosed by strong and lofty walls, surrounded by battlements, within which were their heaps of manure, harrows, ploughs, carts, and wag-gons, and stacks of hay and corn;³ and hither, too, in the evening were driven in their numerous flocks and herds, to protect them from the nightly marauders. The great entrance gates were in the heroic ages guarded by ban dogs,⁴ which afterwards made way for porters,⁵ and in still later times were succeeded by eunuchs.⁶

Occasionally for the canine doorkeepers were substituted in commercial states gold and silver representations, more likely to attract than repel thieves; for example, at the entrance to Alcinoös's palace were groups of this description, attributed to the wonder-working Hephæstos.⁷ A coarse imitation of this practice prevailed among the Romans, for we find

¹ Il. ε. 657, sqq.

² A similar taste prevailed among the Merovingian princes of France: "The mansion of
" the long-haired kings was sur-
" rounded with convenient yards
" and stables for the cattle and
" the poultry; the garden was
" planted with useful vegetables;
" the various trades, the labours
" of agriculture, and even the
" arts of hunting and fishing were
" exercised by servile hands for
" the emolument of the sovereign;
" his magazines were filled with

" corn and wine, either for sale
" or consumption, and the whole
" administration was conducted
" by the strictest maxims of pri-
" vate economy."—Gibbon, De-
cline and Fall of the Roman Em-
pire, ii. 356.

³ Hesych. v. ἀνλῆς.

⁴ Feith. Antiq. Hom. iii. 10.
p. 242.

⁵ Casaub. ad Theoph. Char.
p. 145.

⁶ Plat. Protag. t. i. p. 159. Cf.
Aristid. t. i. p. 518. Jebb.

⁷ Odyss. η. 93.

in Petronius that Trimalchio had his court guarded by a painted mastiff, over which in good square characters were the words "Beware of the dog."¹

Along the walls of this enclosure the cattle-sheds would in remoter ages appear to have been ranged, where afterwards stood suites of chambers for the domestics, or piazzas, or colonades, to serve as covered walks in extremely hot or bad weather. Within, on either side the gateway,² chiefly among the Dorians, rose a pillar of conical shape, sometimes an obelisk, in honour of Apollo or of Dionysos, or, according to others, of both, while in the centre was an altar of Zeus Herceios, on which family sacrifices were offered up.³ At its inner extremity you beheld a spacious portico, adjoining the entrance to the house, where in warm weather the young men often slept. From the descriptions of the poet, however, it would appear to have been something more than a common portico, resembling rather the porches of our old English houses, roofed over and extending like a recess into the body of the house itself. In the dwellings of the great, this part of the building, adorned with numerous statues, was probably of marble finely polished if not sculptured, and being merely a chamber open in front could not in those fine climates be by any means an unpleasant bedroom, particularly as it usually faced the south and caught the early rays of the sun. Here Odysseus⁴ slept during his stay with Alcinoös, as did likewise Priam and the Trojan Herald while guests of Achilles in his military hut.⁵

In this porch were seats of handsome polished

¹ Satyr. c. 29. p. 74. Hellenop.

² Sch. Aristoph. Vesp. 875. Here the Romans sacrificed to Janus, the Greeks to Apollo. Macrob. Saturn. l. i. c. 9. Poll. iv. 123. Comm. p. 790.

³ Eustath ad Od. χ. 376. p.

790. Cf. Poll. i. 22, seq. Muret. in Plat. de Rep. p. 635. Soph. Œdip. Tyr. 16.

⁴ Odyss. η. 345. Cf. Il. ζ. 243. Hesych. v. πρόδομος.

⁵ Il. ω. 673, sqq. Cf. Feith. Antiq. Hom. iii. 10. p. 244.

stone, as in the palace of Nestor at Pylos, which, to render them more shining, would appear to have been rubbed with oil.¹ Similar seats are found to this day before the houses of the wealthy at Cairo and other cities of the East, where in the cool of the evening old men habitually take their station, and are joined for the purpose of gossip by their neighbours. In the larger towns of Nubia an open space planted with dates, palms, or the Egyptian fig-tree, more shady and spreading than the oak, and furnished with wooden seats, collects together the elders, who there enjoy what the Englishman seeks in his club, and the Greek found in his *lesche*—the pleasure of comparing his opinions with those of his neighbours.

When, in after times, this plain porch had been succeeded by a magnificent peristyle or colonnade, the primitive custom of sleeping in the open air was abandoned; but here the master of the house with his guests took their early walk to enjoy the morning sun. It was customary among all ranks at Athens to rise betimes, as it generally is still in the warm countries of the South. Socrates and his young friend, the sophist-hunter,² coming to the house of Callias, soon after day-break, find its owner taking the air with several of his guests in the colonnade, the young men moving in the train of their elders, and making way for them as they turn round to retrace their steps. There was usually at Athens a similar peristyle on both sides of the house—one for summer the other for winter, and a door generally opened from the women's apartment into that communicating with the garden, where the ladies enjoyed the cool air in the midst of laurel copses, fountains, and patches of green sward,³ interspersed with rose-trees, violet-beds, and other sweet shrubs and flowers.

¹ *Odyss.* γ. 406, sqq. Cf. π. 843, seq.

² *Plat. Protag.* t. i. p. 160.

³ *Plat. Epist.* t. viii. p. 403. *Athen.* v. 25. *Poll.* ix. 466.

The town-houses of Homeric times had generally no aulè, but the porch opened directly into the street, since it is here that, in the description of the shield, we find the women standing to behold the dancers and enjoy the music of the nuptial procession.¹ Afterwards, as the taste for magnificence advanced, the whole façade of the corps de logis² was richly ornamented, while the outer gates were purposely left open, that the passers-by might witness the splendour of the owner. Occasionally, likewise, the great door, leading from the portico into the house, was concealed by costly purple hangings,³ which, being passed, you entered a broad passage, having on either side, doors⁴ leading into the apartments on the ground floor, and conducting to an inner court, surrounded by a peristyle, where the gynæconitis,⁵ or harem, commenced.

The apartments of palaces displayed, even in very early times, the taste of the Greeks for splendour and magnificence. The walls were covered with wainscoting inlaid with gold and ivory, as we still find in the East whole chambers lined with mother-of-pearl.⁶ At first, the gold was laid on in thin plates, which, in process of time, led to the idea of gilding.⁷ Even Phocion, who affected great simplicity and plainness, had the walls of his house adorned with laminæ of copper,⁸ probably in the same style as that subterraneous chamber discovered, during the last

¹ Il. σ. 496. Cf. Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 93.

² Hesych. v. ἐνώπια. Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. p. 330. Compare the whole character of the "Vain Man," pp. 57—59. Etym. Mag. 346. 10.

³ Athen. v. 25. Hesych. v. αὐλεία. Suid. in v. t. i. p. 491. d.

⁴ "The doors (at Tanjeers) are richly carved, and placed in arches shaped like an ace of spades, a form so completely oriental, that there is no mis-

"taking its origin; these, when they opened on the verandah, were further ornamented with curtains of rich crimson silk." —Napier, Excursions along the Shores of the Mediterranean, i. p. 264.

⁵ Hesych. v. γυναικωνίτις.

⁶ Lady Montague's Works, ii. 234.

⁷ Plin. xxxiii. 18. Cf. Dion. Chrysost. t. i. p. 262. t. ii. p. 259. Pignor. de Serv. p. 214.

⁸ Plut. Phoc. § 18.

century, in the excavations made at Rome. It appears, too, that, occasionally, the walls of the apartments at Athens, as at Herculaneum and Pompeii were decorated with paintings in bright colours,¹ probably in the same style, though as much superior in beauty and delicacy of execution, as art, in the age of Pericles, was superior to art in the days of Nero. Still the paintings discovered in the excavated Italian cities,—sometimes² grotesque and extravagant, as where we behold the pigmies making war upon the cranes, winged geniuses at work in a carpenter's or shoemaker's shop, or an ass laden with hampers of wine, rushing forward to engage a crocodile, whilst his master pulls him back by the tail—sometimes rural and elegant, consisting of a series of wild landscapes, mountains dotted with cottages, sea-shores, harbours, and baths, Nymphs and Cupids angling on the borders of lakes, beneath trees of the softest and most exquisite foliage,—may enable us to form some conception of the landscapes with which Agelarcos³ adorned the house of Alcibiades.

The halls and saloons on the ground-floor were paved with marble or mosaic work,⁴ which often, if we may judge from the specimens left us by their imitators, represented pictures of the greatest elegance, containing, among other things, likenesses of the loveliest divinities of Olympus.⁵ These mosaics were wrought with minute shards of precious marbles of various colours, interspersed with pieces of amber,⁶ and, probably, also, of glass, as was the fashion in Italy, where whole hyaline floors have been found consisting either of one piece or of squares so finely joined together, that the sutures

¹ *As, minium*, Dioscor. v. 109.

² *Antich. di Ercol.* t. i. tav. 34. p. 181. tav. 35. p. 187. tav. 36. p. 191. tav. 48. pp. 253, 257. t. ii. tav. 39. p. 273. Cf. Poll. x. 34.

³ *Andocid. cont. Alcib.* § 7.

⁴ Plin. xxxvi. 60. Poll. vii. 121. Cf. Sir W. Hamilton, *Acc. of Discov. at Pomp.* p. 7, seq. pl. 5.

⁵ Galen. in *Protrept.* § 8. t. i. p. 19.

⁶ Hom. *Eires.* 10. p. 199. Franke.

were invisible to the naked eye. No mention, I believe, is made in Greek authors of lining the walls of apartments with glass, or even of glass windows,¹ which, however, were common in the cities of Magna Græcia in the age immediately succeeding that of our Saviour. It is extremely probable, however, that as the Greeks were as well acquainted as the Romans with the properties of the lapis specularis;² they likewise made use of thin plates of this stone, or talc, or gypsum, as they still do in Egypt for window-panes. So much, indeed, seems inferable from a passage of Plutarch,³ as, also, that transparent squares of horn were employed for the same purpose, as oyster-shells and oiled paper still are in China. Previously, however, the windows⁴ (sometimes square and situated high in the wall, sometimes reaching from the ceiling to the floor) were closed with lattice-work⁵ in iron, bronze, or wood, over which, in bad weather, blinds of hair-cloth or prepared leather were usually drawn.

The ceilings at first consisted merely of the beams, rafters, and planks, forming the roof, and supporting the layers of earth or straw that covered it; but, by degrees, the wood-work was carefully painted, and

¹ See the authorities collected by Nixon, *Phil. Trans.* t. i. p. 126, sqq. Seneca speaks of glass windows as a new invention, *Epist.* 90. Sir William Hamilton, however, in his *Account of Discoveries made at Pompeii*, observes: — “Below stairs is a room with a large bow-window; fragments of large panes of glass were found here, shewing that the ancients knew well the use of glass for windows.” — p. 13. Cf. Caylus, *Rec. d'Ant.* t. 2. p. 293. Mazois, *Pal. de Scaur.* p. 97. Castell. *Villas of the Ancients*, p. 4. Vitruv. vii. 3.

² In lieu of the lapis specularis, they make use in Persia of thin slabs of Tabreez marble for the windows of baths, and other buildings requiring a soft subdued light. — See Fowler, *Three Years in Persia*, where the growth of this stone is curiously described.—i. 228, sqq.

³ De Plac. *Phil.* iii. 5, ed. Corsin. *Flor.* 1750, p. 81. Cf. *Plin. Hist. Nat.* xi. 37.

⁴ Sir W. Hamilt. *Acc. of Discov. at Pomp.* p. 7, seq. *Antich. di Ercolano.* t. i. tav. i. p. 1. tav. 3. p. 11. Cf. *Schol. Aristoph. Eq.* 996.

⁵ Mazois, *Pal. de Scaur.* p. 98.

arranged so as to form a succession of coffers and deep sunken panels. Sometimes the whole ceiling consisted of chamfered, or fretted cedar work,¹ or of cypress wood, or was covered with paintings in blue and gold, and supported on columns² lofty and deeply fluted for the purpose, as has been ingeniously conjectured,³ of receiving spears into the semi-cylindrical cavities thus formed. If this idea be well founded, we have a very satisfactory reason of the origin of fluting columns, and it appears to be perfectly consistent with Homer's account of Odysseus's chamber, where a number of lances are spoken of standing round a pillar.⁴

The principal apartments, according to the fashion still prevailing in the East, were furnished with divans,⁵ or broad immovable seats, running along the walls, which are now stuffed soft atop with cotton, and covered with scarlet or purple, bordered by gold fringe a foot deep. In the Homeric age they would appear to have been of carved wood, inlaid with ivory and gold, and studded with silver nails.⁶ For these divans they had a variety of coverings, sometimes skins, at others purple carpets, in addition to which they, as now, piled up, as a rest for the back or elbow, heaps of cushions, purple above, and of white linen beneath.⁷ By degrees, these seats became movable and were converted into couches or sofas, manufactured of bronze, or silver, or precious woods, veneered with tortoiseshell.⁸ In the palaces of oriental sultans they are sometimes made of alabaster, encrusted with jewels. Somewhere in the

¹ Athen. ix. 67. Plat. de Rep. t. vi. p. 353. Cf. Gog. Origine des Loix, t. v. p. 448. Poll. Onom. x. 84. Comm. p. 1552. Maz. Pal. de Scau. p. 102. Tibull. iii. 3. 16. Luc. de Dea Syr. § 30. Cynic, § 9. Eurip. Orest. 1361.

² Odys. δ. 45, seq. Luc. Somn. seu Gall. § 29.

³ By Payne Knight, Prolegg. ad Hom. § 47. Cf. Feith. Antiq. Homer, iii. 11. 6.

⁴ Odys. α. 127, seq.

⁵ Id. η. 95, seq.

⁶ Id. θ. 65. π. 32.

⁷ Id. κ. 352, seq.

⁸ Lucian, Luc. siv. Asin. § 53.

more retired parts of the *Domos* were the picture-gallery and library, of neither of which have we any exact description. The former, however, faced the north, and the latter the west. If the libraries of the Greeks at all resembled in form and dimensions those found at Pompeii, they were by no means spacious; neither, in fact, was a great deal of room necessary, as the manuscripts of the ancients stowed away much closer than our modern books,¹ and were sometimes kept in circular boxes, of elegant form, with covers of turned wood. The volumes consisted of rolls of parchment, sometimes purple at the back,² or papyrus, about twelve or fourteen inches in breadth, and as many feet long as the subject required. The pages formed a number of transverse compartments, commencing at the left, and proceeding in order to the other extremity, and the reader, holding in either hand one end of the manuscript, unrolled and rolled it up³ as he read. Occasionally these books were placed on shelves, in piles, with the ends outwards, adorned with golden bosses,⁴ the titles of the various treatises being written on pendant labels.

If we proceed now to the court⁵ dividing the *Domos* from the *Thalamos* we shall perceive, on both sides of the door leading out of the *Andron*, flights of steps ascending to the upper chambers where, in the heroic ages, the young men and strangers of distinction usually slept. Thus, in the palace of Ithaca, Telemachos had a bed-chamber on the second story, whence the poet is careful to observe he enjoyed a good prospect.⁶ In later times, however,

¹ Antich. di Ercol. t. ii. tav. 2. p. 13.—Books were preserved from the moth by cedar-oil.—Geopon. v. 9.

² Luc. de Merced. Conduct. § 41.

³ Luc. Imag. § 9.

⁴ Luc. de Merced. Conduct. 41.

⁵ Similar courts in the houses of Magna Græcia are described as having had in the middle a square tank where the rain-water was collected, and ran into a reservoir beneath.—Sir W. Hamilt. Acc. of Discov. at Pomp. p. 13.

⁶ Odyss. a. 425. seq.

there were, on the ground floor, suites of apartments, denominated Xenon, appropriated to the use of guests, who there lived freely and at ease as in their own houses.

At the further extremity of the interior court a steep flight of steps led to an elevated basement and doorway, which formed the entrance into the thalamos.¹ This part of the house would appear to have been laid out in a peculiar manner, consisting, first, of a lofty and spacious apartment,² where all the females of the family usually sat while engaged in embroidery or other needlework.³ It likewise formed the nursery, and, at its inner extremity, in a deep recess, the bed of the mistress of the family appears to have stood, on either side of which were doors leading to flights of steps into the garden, set apart for the use of the women.

It has by many been supposed, that the Thalamos was a chamber particularly appropriated to the use of young unmarried ladies; but, since we find Helen and Penelope inhabiting the Thalamos, it may be presumed that it was common to all the females of the house. Hector, in his visit to Paris, finds him in the Thalamos, turning about and polishing his arms, as if he meant to use them, while, close at hand, are Helen and her maids engaged in weaving or embroidery. The word was often used in the same signification as Gynæconitis,⁴ or “the harem;” and,

¹ Eustath. ad Odyss. χ. p. 776. — These female apartments were sometimes hired out and inhabited by men. — Antiph. Nec. Venef. § 3. — Mr. Fosbroke’s account is curious: — “The thalamos was an apartment where “the *mothers of families* worked “in embroidery, in tapestry, and “other works, *with their wives*, “or their friends.” — Encyclop. of Ant. i. 50.

² Sometimes, at least, roofed

with cypress-wood, as we learn from Mnesimachos, in his Horse-breeder: βαίν’ ἐκ θαλάμων κυπαρισσορόφων ἔξω, Μάνη. — Athen. ix. 67.

³ We find ladies, however, sometimes dining with their children in the Aulè. — Demosth. in Ev. et Mnes. § 16.

⁴ Hesych, v. γυναῖκ. p. 866. Cyrill. Lex. Ms. Bren. Bret. ad Hesych. l. c.

therefore, when Theocritus¹ speaks of a "maiden from the Thalamos," and Phocylides, with the suspicious caution of a more vicious age, advises that young women be kept in "well-locked Thalamoi," it is clear that the female apartments generally are meant. These were, in Sparta, called *oă* (which, as is well known, in the common language of Greece, signifies eggs), whence, according to Clearchos,² the fable which describes Helen proceeding from an egg, because born and educated in the chambers so called. Throughout the Iliad and the Odyssey we find the poet speaking of this part of the house as inhabited by women. Here lived Penelope,³ far from the brawls of the suitors who crowded the halls of the Domos; and here Ares pressed his suit with success to Astyoche and Polymela, who both became the mothers of valiant sons.⁴ From which, among many other circumstances, it is manifest that, in those ages, the sexes met easily, even the entrance to the harem not being impracticable to a lover.

The bedchambers of the young unmarried women appear to have flanked the great central hall of the Thalamos, and here the female slaves likewise slept, apparently in recesses, near the chamber-doors of their mistresses, as we find particularly remarked in the case of Nausicaa and her maids. At Athens, the door of communication between the Andron⁵ and the Gynæconitis was kept carefully barred and locked to prevent all intercourse between the male and female slaves, the keys being entrusted solely to the mistress of the house.

As these apartments were less exposed than any other portion of the building, and far more carefully guarded, it became customary, as in the East it still is, to lay up in the Thalamos, more especially in the dark basement story, much valuable

¹ Eidyll. ii. 136. Phocyl. v. 198.

² Athen. ii. 50. Cf. Sch. Aris-
toph. Vesp. 68.

³ Odyss. o. 516.

⁴ Il. ε. 514. π. 184.

⁵ Cf. Poll. vi. 7. Cœl. Rhodig.
xvii. 24.

property, such as arms, gold, silver, the wardrobe of both sexes, and even oil and wine. Among the Romans, or, indeed, among the Greeks, of a later age,¹ this step would scarcely have been taken, lest the ladies should have grown too assiduous in their attention to the skins. But in remoter ages these sordid fears had no existence. Accordingly, we find the prudent Odysseus, who apprehended, perhaps, the tricks of his domestics, stowing away his casks of choice old wine in the Thalamos, doubtless, considering it safer there, under the keeping of Euryclea, than it would have been anywhere else in the palace.²

In later and more civilized ages, the Thalamos was still used for the same purposes; for, in the establishment of Ischomachos, a pattern of Attic economy, we find that the more valuable portion of the family wardrobe, with the plate and other costly utensils, was there deposited. Corn, according to the suggestions of common sense, they laid up in the driest rooms, wine in the coolest. The apartments into which most sunshine found its way were appropriated to such employments and to the display of such furniture as required much light.³ Their dining-rooms, where, also, the men usually sat when at home, they carefully contrived so as to be cool in summer and warm in winter, though, in severe weather, a good fire was often found necessary.⁴ The same judicious principle commonly regulated the erection of their habitations, which were divided

¹ Plut. Paral. Vit. § 3.

² Odys. 6. 337, 345. χ. 442. Schol. 459. 466. Poll. vii. 397.

³ Xen. Memorab. iii. 8, 9.

⁴ Anaxand. ap. Athen. ii. 29. —So also thought Socrates, who observes, that in winter every one will have a fire who can get wood. And, though he himself wore the same garments all the year round, he considered it, ap-

parently, a judicious practice in others to put on warm clothing. —Xen. Œcon. xvii. 3. Sch. Aristoph. Acharn. 716. When the dining-room was not furnished with a chimney, braziers were kindled outside the door, and carried in when the worst fumes of the charcoal had evaporated.—Plut. Symp. vi. 7.

into two sets of apartments, suited to the two great divisions of the year. As we have already remarked, the principal front looked towards the south, that it might catch the rays of the wintry sun, whose more vertical summer beams were excluded by broad verandahs, or colonnades.

In what part of the edifice stood the bathing-room (*Γαλανεῖον*, so called from its having, in remoter ages, been heated with acorns, *Γάλανοι*)¹ I have been unable to discover, though it appears certain that, even so far back as the heroic ages, a chamber was always set apart for the bath. At first, doubtless, they were content with cold water; but that this was soon succeeded by warm water² may be conjectured from the tradition ascribing the first use of it to Heracles, whence warm baths were ever afterwards called the Baths of Heracles.

The form of the *Puelos*,³ or vessel in which they bathed, appears occasionally to have resembled an Egyptian sarcophagus, and to have been sometimes round, and constructed of white or green marble, or glass, or bronze, or common stone, or wood,⁴ in which case it would seem to have been portable. In the baths of Pompeii the marble basins, whether parallelogramatic or circular, were of spacious dimensions, and raised two or three feet above the pavement. A step for the convenience of the bathers extends round it on the inside, and at the bottom are marble cushions upon which they rested. In the *labra* of the Grecian female baths rose a smooth cippus in the form of a truncated cone, denominated *omphalos*, on which the ladies sat while chatting with their female companions.⁵

When once the warm bath came into use, people

¹ Etym. Mag. 186, 8. Athen. i. 18. Phot. Bib. 60. b. Hesiod. Frag. 53. Baths, at Sparta, were common to both sexes.—Goguet, v. 428. Cf. Pashley, Travels. i. 183.

² Baccius, de Thermis, p. 365. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 1034.

³ Cf. Etymol. Mag. 151, 52, seq. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 1055.

⁴ Baccius, de Therm. p. 399.

⁵ Athen. xi. 104.

employed it to excess, bathing as frequently as five or six times a day, and in water so hot as to half scald themselves.¹ Immediately afterwards, to prevent the skin from chapping, they anointed their bodies with oils and perfumed unguents.² Occasionally, instead of plunging into the water, they sat upright, as is still the custom in the hammāms of the East, while the water was poured with a sort of ladle on their head and shoulders.

The public baths, of which no full description referring to very ancient times remains, were numerous in all Hellenic cities, more particularly at Athens, where they were surmounted with domes,³ and received their light from above. These establishments were frequented by all classes of women who could afford to pay for such luxury, rich, poor, honourable, and dishonourable.

The attendants, in later and more corrupt times at least, were men, whose sole clothing consisted of a leathern apron about the loins, while the ladies, who undressed in the Apodyterion, went through the various processes of the bath in the same primitive clothing. It was, however, customary for them to enter the water together in crowds,⁴ so that they kept each other in countenance. Here the matrons who had sons to marry studied the form and character of the young ladies who frequented the baths; and as all the defects both of person and features were necessarily revealed, it was next to impossible for any lady, not sufficiently opulent to keep up a bathing establishment in her own house, to retain for any length of time an undeserved celebrity for beauty. In the baths of the East, the bodies of the bathers are cleansed by small bags of camel-hair, woven rough,

¹ Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 1034.

² Plut. Alexand. § 40.

³ Athen. xi. 104.

⁴ Victor. ad Aristot. Ethic. p. 214. There was a set of vicious fellows, called *τρίβαλλοι*, who

passed their lives disorderly in the baths.—Etym. Mag. 765. 55. Aristophanes bestows the name on certain barbarian divinities.—Aves. 1528.

and passed over the hand of the attendant; or with a handful of the fine fibres of the Mekka palm-tree combed soft, and filled with fragrant and saponaceous earths, which are rubbed on the skin till the whole body is covered with froth. Similar means were employed in the baths of Greece, and the whole was afterwards cleansed off the skin by gold or silver *stlengides*, or blunt scrapers somewhat curved towards the point.¹

The architectural arrangements of these baths,² if we may draw any analogy from similar establishments in a later age, were nearly as follows:—Entering the building by a lofty and spacious portico, you found yourself in a large hall, paved with marble and adorned with columns, from which, through a side-door, you passed into the *Apodyterion*, or undressing-room; next, into a chamber where was the cold water in basins of porphyry or green jasper; immediately contiguous lay the *Tepidarium*, to which succeeded the *Sudarium*, a vaulted apartment furnished with basins of warm water, and where the heat was excessive; from this, moving forward, you successively traversed saloons of various degrees of temperature and dimensions, until you found yourself in the dressing-room, whither your garments had been carried by your domestic, or the attendants on the baths.³ These establishments were likewise provided with water-closets,⁴ placed in a retired part of the building, and furnished with wooden seats, basin and water-pipe, as in modern times.

To diminish the chances of being robbed, stealing from a bath was at Athens made a capital offence;⁵ so that the persons who frequented them

¹ Xenoph. *Anab.* i. 2. 10. See one of these *stlengides* in Zoëga, *Bassi Rilievi*, tav. 29.

² Cf. *Etymol. Mag.* 384. 10. *Poll.* vii. 166, and *Plut. Alexand.* § 20, where he describes the luxurious baths of Darius.

³ *Lucian. Hippias.* § 5, sqq.

⁴ Sir W. Hamilton's *Acc. of Discov. at Pompeii*, p. 41. Cf. *Casaub. ad Theoph. Char.* p. 269.

⁵ *Aristot. Problem.* xix. 14. *Casaub. ad Theoph. Char.* p. 215.

ran very little risk. The price was usually moderate, though in some cities, as for example at Phaselis, they were in the habit of doubling their charges to foreigners, which drew from a witty sophist a very cutting remark; for his slave disputing with the keeper of the bath, and contending that his master ought not to be charged more than other persons, the sophist, who overheard the dispute, exclaimed, "Wretch, would you make me a Phaselitan for a farthing?"¹

The roofs of the more ancient Greek houses were generally flat,² not sloping upwards to a point, as was afterwards the fashion.³ In Egypt and Syria, and almost throughout the East, the same taste still obtains; and as palm trees, loftier than the buildings, often grow beside the walls, and extend their beautiful pendulous branches over a great part of the roof, nothing can be more delightful on a mild serene evening than to sit aloft on those breezy eminences sipping coffee, gazing over the green rice fields, or watching the stars as they put forth their golden lamps through the violet skirts of day. But there a parapet usually preserves him who enjoys the scene from falling. It was otherwise of old in Greece. The roof consisted simply of a number of beams laid close together and covered with cement, so that, as was proved by the fate of Elpenor,⁴ the practice of sleeping there in warm weather, quite common throughout the country, was not wholly without danger.

On the construction of the kitchen,⁵ which in Greek houses was sometimes a separate little building erected in the court-yard, our information is extremely imperfect. It is certain, however, con-

¹ Athen. viii. 45.

² Æsch. Agam. 3, sqq. We find, however, an allusion to the pointed roof in Iliad. ψ. 712, seq.

³ Antich. di Erc. tav. 3, p. 11.

⁴ Odys. κ. 559. Eustath. ad loc. p. 1669, l. 15. Feith. Ant. Hom. iii. 10, p. 249.

⁵ Cf. Athen. ix. 22. iii. 60.

trary to the common opinion, that it was furnished with a chimney,¹ and that the smoke was not permitted to find its way through an aperture in the roof. Thus much might be inferred from a passage in the Wasps, when the old dicast, in love with the courts of law, is endeavouring to escape from the restraint imposed on him by his son, by climbing out through the chimney. It is clear that he has got into some aperture, where he is hidden from sight, for hearing a noise in the wall, his son Bdelycleon, cries out, "What is that?" upon which the old man replies, "I am only the smoke." It is plain, that he would not, like a Hindù Yoghi, be balancing himself in the air, otherwise the young man must have beheld him sailing up towards the roof. But the matter is set entirely at rest by the Scholiast, who observes, that the *καπνοδόχη* was a narrow channel like a pipe through which the smoke ascended from the kitchen. This explanation has been confirmed by the discoveries of Colonel Leake,² who on the rocky slopes of the hill of the Museion and Pnyx, found the remains of a house partly excavated in the rock, in which the chimney still remained.

The same convenience, also, existed in the Roman kitchens,³ though they would appear to have been unskilfully constructed in both countries, since the cooks complain of the smoke being borne hither and thither by the wind, and interfering with their operations. However, this may have arisen from the numerous small furnaces which, as in France, were ranged along the wall for the purpose of cooking several dishes at once. The chimneys having been perpendicular, as in our old farm-houses, were

¹ Cf. Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 91. Vesp. 139, 147.

² Topog. of Athens, p. 361.

³ Cf. Perrault, sur Vitruv. vi.

9. Mazois, Pal. de Saur. p. 178. On the interior of a Roman house, see Pet. Bellori, Frag. Vet. Rom, p. 31.

furnished with stoppers to keep out the rain in bad weather.¹

That the kitchens were sometimes not sufficiently airy and comfortable may be inferred from the practice of a philosophical cook in Damoxenos, who used to take his station immediately outside the door, and from thence give his orders to the inferior operatives. Great care was nevertheless taken that it should be well lighted, and that the door should be so situated as to be as little exposed as possible to whirling gusts of wind.² From a passage in the Scholiast on the Wasps, and the existence of drains in the excavations on the hill of the Museion, it is clear that the Athenian houses were furnished with sinks,³ though in the Italian kitchens there seem merely to have been little channels running along the walls to carry off the water. The floor, too, was constructed in both countries with a view at once to dryness and elegance,⁴ being formed of several layers of various materials all porous though binding, so that it allowed whatever water was spilt to sink through instantaneously. The upper layer, about six inches thick, consisted of a cement composed of lime, sand, and pounded charcoal or ashes, the surface of which, being polished with pumice-stone, presented to the eye the appearance of a fine black marble. The roof in early times was no doubt of wood,⁵ though afterwards it came to be vaulted or run up in the form of a cupola. The walls were sometimes decorated with rude paintings.⁶

The street-door of a Grecian house, usually, when single, opened outwards, but when there were fold-

¹ Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 148.

² Athen. iii. 60 ix. 22.

³ Leake, Topog. of Ath. p. 361. Yet we find them sometimes throwing the water out of the window, crying, Stand out of the way. Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 592.

⁴ Vitruv. viii. 4.

⁵ Mazois, Palais de Scaurus, p. 177.

⁶ Representing, for example, a sacrifice to Fornax. Mazois, p. 177.

ing doors they opened inwards as with us.¹ In the former case it was customary when any one happened to be going forth, to knock, or call, or ring a bell, in order to warn passengers to make way.² These doors were constructed of various materials,³ according to the taste and circumstances of the owner, sometimes of oak, or fir, or maple, or elm; and afterwards as luxury advanced they were made of cedar, cyprus, or even of citron wood, inlaid as in the East, with plates of brass or gold.⁴ Mention is likewise made of doors entirely composed of the precious metals; of iron also, and bronze and ivory.

The jambs were generally of wood;⁵ but likewise sometimes of brass or marble. The doors were fastened at first by long bars passing into the wall on both sides;⁶ and by degrees smaller bolts, hasps, latches, and locks and keys succeeded. For example the outer door of the *Thalamos* in Homer was secured by a silver hasp, and a leathern thong passed round the handle and tied, perhaps, in a curious knot.⁷ Doors were not usually suspended on hinges, but turned, as they still do in the East, upon pivots inserted above into the lintel and below into the threshold.⁸ In many houses there were in addition small half-doors of open wood-work,⁹ which alone were commonly closed by day, in order to

¹ Cf. *Antich. di Ercol. t. i. tav. 34. pp. 175. 181. Sagittar. de Januis Veterum. p. 23.*

² *Plut. Poplic. § 20.*

³ *Sagitt. de Jan. Vet. p. 152, seq. Plin. xvi. 40. Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 4. 2. iii. 14. 1. Martial. xiv. 89, ii. 43. Lucian. l. ix. Tertull. de Pall. c. 5. Plin. xiii. 15. Ovid. Metamorph. iv. 487.*

⁴ *Aristoph. Acharn. 1072.*

⁵ *Sagitt. de Jan. Vet. p. 29, sqq.*

⁶ *Sagitt. de Jan. p. 67.*

⁷ *Odyss. a. 441. Schol. et Eustath. ad loc.—δ. 862. ρ. 186. Cf. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 155.*

⁸ *Sagitt. de Jan. Vet. p. 41.*

⁹ *Antich. di Ercol. t. i. tav. 3. p. 11. It should perhaps be remarked, that when houses were built on a solid basement the door was sometimes approached by a movable pair of steps. Id. ibid. tav. 8. p. 39. tav. 43. p. 228.*

keep the children from running out, or dogs or pigs from entering. The doors usually consisted of a frame-work, with four or six sunken panels, as with us; but at Sparta, so long as the laws of Lycurgus prevailed, they were made of simple planks fashioned with the hatchet.¹ In the great Dorian capital the custom was for persons desirous of entering a house to shout aloud at the door,² which, at Athens,³ was always furnished with an elegant knocker.⁴ Door-handles, too, of costly materials and curious workmanship,⁵ bespoke even in that trifling matter the taste of the Greeks.

The materials commonly used in the erection of a house were stones and bricks. In the manufacture of the latter⁶ the ancients exhibited more skill and care than we; they had bricks of a very large size, and half bricks for filling up spaces, which prevented the necessity of shortening them with the trowel. Of these some were simply dried in the sun, used chiefly in building the dwellings of the poor.⁷ At Utica in Africa there were public inspectors of brick-kilns,⁸ to prevent any from being used which had not been made five years. In several cities on the Mediterranean bricks were manufactured of a porous earth, which when baked and painted, as it may be conjectured, on the outside, were so light that they would swim in water.⁹ To

¹ Plut. Lycurg. § 13. Agesil. § 19.

² Plut. Inst. Lac. § 30. Cf. Theocrit. Eidyll. xxix. 39.

³ Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 133.

⁴ Sometimes in form of a crow. Poll. i. 77.

⁵ See Donaldson's Collection of Doorways. pl. 8.

⁶ Winkelm. Hist. de l'Art. ii. 544. Cf. Xen. Memor. iii. 17. Cyropæd. vi. 3. 25. Plin. xxv. 14. Polyb. x. 22. Plat. de Repub. t. vi. p. 15.

⁷ Sanchon. ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. i. 10. p. 35.

⁸ Vitruv. ii. 3.

⁹ Id. ibid. 3. In lieu of these light bricks, pumice stones are now frequently used on the shores of the Mediterranean, more particularly in turning arches. They are, consequently, cut into parallelopipeds, and exported in great quantities from the Lipari islands. —Spallanzani, Travels in the Two Sicilies, &c. vol. ii. pp. 298, 302, sqq.

diminish the weight of bricks, straw was introduced into them in Syria and Egypt, which was altogether consumed in the baking. In roofing such of their houses as were not terraced they employed slates, tiles, and reed-thatch.¹ Possibly, also, the wealthy may have tiled their houses with those elegant thin flakes of marble, with which the roofs of temples were occasionally covered.

¹ Poll. x. 170. Luc. Contemplat. § 6. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 174.

CHAPTER II.

HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE.

THE movables in a Grecian house were divided into classes after a very characteristic manner. First, as a mark of the national piety, everything used in domestic sacrifices was set apart. The second division, placing women immediately after the gods, comprehended the whole apparatus of female ornaments¹ worn on solemn festivals. Next were classed the sacred robes and military uniforms of the men; then came the hangings, bed-furniture, and ornaments of the harem; afterwards those of the men's apartments. Another division consisted of the shoes, sandals, slippers, &c., of the family, from which we pass to the arms and implements of war, mixed up familiarly in a Greek house with looms, cards, spinning-wheels, and embroidery-frames, just, as Homer describes them in the Thalamos of Paris at Troy. Even yet we have not reached the end of our inventory in mere classification. The baking, cooking, washing, and bathing vessels formed a separate class, and so did the breakfast and dinner services, the porcelain, the plate of silver and gold, the mirrors, the candelabra, and all those curious articles made use of in the toilette of the ladies.²

In well-regulated families a second division took place, a separation being made of such articles as

¹ This profusion of wearing apparel was laid up in trunks and *mallekins* of wickerwork. The former were called *κιβωτοί*, the latter *κίστραι*. — Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. p. 233. Clem.

Alexand. Pæd. iii. Hesych. v. v. *κιβωτὸς* — *κίστη*. Mention is also made of presses. — Mazois, Pal. de Scaur. p. 120.

² Xenoph. Œconom. ix. 6, sqq. Aristot. Œconom. i. 6.

might be required for daily use, from those brought forward only when routs and large parties were given. The movables of all kinds having been thus arranged in their classes, the next step was to deposit every thing in its proper place.¹ The more ordinary utensils were generally laid up in a spacious store-room, called *tholos*,² a circular building detached from the house, and usually terminating in a pointed roof, whence in after ages a sharp-crowned hat obtained among the people the name of Tholos. When a gentleman first commenced housekeeping, or got a new set of domestics, he delivered into the care of the proper individuals his kneading troughs, his kitchen utensils, his cards, looms, spinning wheels, and so on; and, pointing out the places where all these, when not in use, should be placed, committed them to their custody.

Of the holiday, or show articles, more account was made. These, being brought forward only on solemn festivals, or in honour of some foreign guest, were entrusted to the immediate care of the housekeeper, a complete list of everything having first been taken; and it was part of her duty, when she delivered any of these articles to the inferior domestics, to make a note of what she gave out, and take care they were duly returned into her keeping.³

But the above comprehensive glance over the articles of furniture made use of in an Athenian gentleman's establishment, though it may give some notion of the careful and economical habits of the people, affords no conception of the splendour and magnificence often found in a Grecian house: for, as we have already seen, their opinions are highly erroneous who imagine that in the Attic democracy the rich were by any prudential or political considerations

¹ Cicero ap. Columell. De Re Rust. xii. 3.

Ithaca. — Odyss. χ. 442, 459, 466.

² Odysseus had a storehouse of this kind in his palace at

³ Xen. Œconom. ix. 10. 57.

restrained from indulging their love of ostentation by the utmost display they could make of wealth.¹ In fact, not content with outstripping their neighbours in the grandeur of their dwellings, furniture, and dress, these persons had often the ludicrous vanity, when they gave a large party, to excite the envy of such dinnerless rogues as might pass, by throwing out the feathers of game and poultry before their doors.² Indeed, since the Athenians exactly resembled other men, the exhibition of magnificence tended but too strongly to dazzle them; so that, among the arts of designing politicians, one generally was, to create a popular persuasion that they possessed the means of conferring important favours on all who obliged them.

To proceed, however, with the furniture. Though the principal value of many articles arose from the exquisite taste displayed in the design and workmanship, the materials themselves, too, were often extremely rare and costly. Porcelain, glass, crystal, ivory, amber,³ gold, silver, and bronze, with numerous varieties of precious woods, were wrought up with inimitable taste and fancy into various articles of use or luxury. Among the decorations of the dining-room was the side-board, which, though sometimes of iron, was more frequently of carved wood, bronze, or wrought silver, ornamented with the heads of satyrs and oxen.⁴ Their tables, in the Homeric age, were generally of wood, of variegated colours, finely polished, and with ornamented feet. Myrleanos, an obscure writer in Athen-

¹ That the sycophants were sometimes troublesome, however, is certain; that is to say, in later ages. Speaking of the time of his youth, Isocrates says: — *Οὐδεὶς οὐτ' ἀπεκρύπτετο τὴν οὐσίαν οὐτ' ἔκνει συμβάλλειν. κ. τ. λ.* — Areop. § 12. Cf. Bergmann. in loc. p. 362. But their persecution must always have been confined to a very few individuals, as people generally continued to display whatever they possessed

down to the final overthrow of the state.

² Aristoph. Acharn. 398. — *Mitchell*. The learned editor fails to remark how little this custom harmonizes with the fears which he imagines rich people felt at Athens.

³ On the attractive power of this substance, see Plat. Tim. t. vii. p. 118.

⁴ Athen. v. 45. Lys. Frag. 46. Orat. Att. t. ii. p. 647.

æus, imagines¹ they were round, that they might resemble the disc of the sun and moon; but from the passage in the *Odyssey*,² and the interpretation of Eustathius, they may be inferred to have been narrow parallelograms,³ like our own dining-tables. The luxury of table-cloths being unknown, the wine spilled, &c., was cleansed away with sponges.⁴ But the poet had witnessed a superior degree of magnificence, for he already, in the *Odyssey*,⁵ makes mention of tables of silver. The poor were, of course, content with the commonest wood. But as civilisation proceeded, the tables of the wealthy became more and more costly in materials, and more elegant in form.

It grew to be an object of commerce, to import from foreign countries the most curious kinds of wood,⁶ to be wrought into tables, which originally supported on four legs, rested afterwards on three, fancifully formed, or on a pillar and claws of ivory, or silver, as with us. There was a celebrated species of table manufactured in the island of Rhenea;⁷ the great, among the Persians, delighted in maple tables with ivory feet, and, in fact, the knotted maple appears at one time to have been regarded as the most rare and beautiful of woods.⁸ But the rage for sumptuous articles of furniture of this kind did not reach its full height until Roman times, when a single table of citron wood

(Gorgeous feasts
On citron tables or Atlantic stone)⁹

¹ *Deipnosoph.* xi. 78.

² *a.* 111. 138.

³ This is also the opinion of Potter, ii. 376, 377; and Damm. in *v. τράπεζα*, col. 1822.

⁴ *Odyss.* τ. 259. *Pind. Olymp.* i. 26.

⁵ *κ.* 354, seq. 361, seq. In the letters attributed to Plato we find mention made of silver tables.

t. viii. p. 397. Sometimes, also, of brass. *Athen.* ix. 75.

⁶ *Plin. Nat. Hist.* xvi. 27.

⁷ *Athen.* xi. 27.

⁸ *Athen.* ii. 31.

⁹ *Paradise Regained*, iv. 114, seq. where see Mitford's curious and learned note. ii. 350, seq. and cf. *Plin.* v. 1. *t.* ii. p. 259. *Hard. not. a.* 261. xiii. 29. *t.* iv. p. 746,

sometimes cost six or seven thousand pounds sterling. Already, however, in the best ages of Greece, their tables were inlaid with silver, brass, or ivory, with feet in the form of lions, leopards, or other wild beasts.¹

In more early times, before the effeminate Oriental habit of reclining at meals obtained,² the Greeks made use of chairs which were of various kinds, some being formed of more, others of less costly materials, but all beautiful and elegant in form, as we may judge from those which adorn our own drawing-rooms, entirely fashioned after Grecian models. The thrones of the gods represented in works of art, however richly ornamented, are simply arm-chairs with upright backs, an example of which occurs in a carnelian in the Orleans Collection,³ where Apollo is represented playing on the seven-stringed lyre. This chair has four legs with tigers' feet, a very high upright back, and is ornamented with a sculptured car and horses. They had no Epicurean notions of their deities, and never presented them to the eye of the public lounging in an easy chair, which would have suggested the idea of infirmity. On the contrary, they are full of force and energy, and sit erect on their thrones, as ready to succour their worshipers at a moment's warning. In the Homeric age these were richly carved, like the divans, adorned with silver studs, and so high that they required a footstool.⁴ The throne of the Persian kings was of massive gold, and stood beneath a purple canopy, supported by four slender golden columns thickly crusted with jewels.

sq. Petronius speaks of the "citrea mensa," p. 157. Erhard. Symbol. ad Petron. 709, seq. shows that Numidian marble was in use at Rome.

¹ Potter, ii. 377.

² In the Antichita di Ercolano, we have the representation of a very handsome armed chair, with

upright back, beautifully turned legs, and thick and soft cushions, with low footstool. t. i. tav. 29. p. 155. Athen. xi. 72.

³ Pierres Gravées, du Cabinet du Duc d'Orleans, t. i. No. 46. Cf. No. 7, representing Zeus thus seated.

⁴ Odyss. η. 162. Il. σ. 390, 422.

Bedsteads were generally of common wood such as deal,¹ bottomed sometimes with planks, pierced to admit air, sometimes with ox-hide thongs,² which in traversing each other left numerous open spaces between them. Odysseus's bedstead, which the hero was sufficient joiner to manufacture with his own hands, was made of olive-wood, inlaid with silver, gold, and ivory. Sometimes the bed was supported by a sort of netting of strong cord, stretched across the bedstead, and made fast all round.³ Later ages witnessed far greater luxury,—bedsteads of solid silver,⁴ or ivory embossed with figures wrought with infinite art and delicacy,⁵ or of precious woods carved, with feet of ivory or amber.⁶ Occasionally, also, they were veneered with Indian tortoiseshell, inlaid with gold.⁷ This taste would appear to have flowed from the East, where among the kings of Persia still greater magnificence was witnessed even in very early times. Thus, speaking of the royal feast celebrated at Susa, the Scripture says, there were in the court of the garden of the king's palace "white, green, and blue hangings, fastened "with cords of fine linen and purple to silver "rings, and pillars of marble. The beds were of "gold and silver, upon a pavement of red, and "blue, and white, and black marble." A similar style of grandeur is attributed by Hellenic writers to the Persian king, who, according to Chares,⁸ reclined in his palace on a couch shaded by a spread-

¹ Athen. xi. 48. i. 60. ii. 29. Plat. de Rep. t. vi. p. 468. Cf. Xenoph. Memor. ii. 1, 30.

² This bedstead was called *δέμνιον*; (Odys. η. 336, seq.) when heaped with soft mattresses it was *πυκινὸν λέχος* (845); *ἐβνή* was the term applied to the whole, bed and bedstead. Iliad. ω. 644. Odys. δ. 297, &c. Pind. Nem. i. 3.

³ Odys. ψ. 189, seq. Schol. ad Il. γ. 448.

⁴ Plat. de Legg, t. viii. p. 397.

⁵ Athen. vi. 67. ii. 30.

⁶ Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 530.

⁷ Lucian. Luc., sive Asin. § 53. Bedsteads of solid gold are spoken of in scripture.—Esther i.

6. Bochart. Geog. Sac. i. 6. 30.

⁸ Athen. xii. 9, 55.

ing golden vine, the grape clusters of which were imitated by jewels of various colours.

Four-post bedsteads were in use in remoter ages, as appears from a white sardonyx in the Orleans Collection,¹ representing the surprisal of Ares and Aphrodite, by Hephæstos. There is a low floating vallance fastened up in festoons, the tester is roof-shaped, and the pillars terminate in fanciful capitals. The figure of an eagle adorns the corners of the bedstead below. From a painting on the walls of Pompeii we discover, that the peculiar sort of bedstead at present found almost universally in France was likewise familiar to the ancients, made exactly after the same fashion, and raised about the same height above the floor. With regard to the beds themselves they were at different times manufactured from very different materials, and those of some parts of Greece enjoyed a peculiar reputation. From a phrase in Homer,² it would appear that, in his times, beds were stuffed in Thessaly with very fine grass. Those of Chios and Miletos were famous³ throughout Greece. In other parts of the country, persons of peculiar effeminacy slept on beds of sponge.⁴ Sicily was famous for its pillows, as were also several other Doric countries. At Athens the rich were accustomed to sleep upon very soft beds, placed on bedsteads considerably above the floor;⁵ and sometimes, it has been supposed, adorned with coverlets of dressed peacocks' skins with the feathers on.⁶

But the Greeks appear to have consulted their ease, and sunk more completely into softness and effeminacy, in proportion as they approached the East. Among the Peloponnesians most persons lived hard and lay hard; greater refinement and luxury

¹ No. 34.

² Il. ε. 697. δ. 383.

³ Athen. xi. 72.

⁴ Athen. i. 32.

⁵ Xen. Mem. ii. 1. 30.

⁶ Palm. Exercit. in Auct. Græc. p. 191. We find mention in ancient authors of certain tribes who went clad in garments covered with the feathers of birds. Senec. Epist. 90.

prevailed in Attica; but in Ionia and many of the Ægæan isles the great—although there were exceptions as in the case of Attalos—fell little short in self-indulgence of Median or Persian satraps. Some idea may be formed of their habits in this respect from the description of a Paphian prince's bed by Clearchos of Soli.¹ Over the soft mattresses supported by a silver-footed bedstead, was flung a short grained Sardinian carpet of the most expensive kind. A coverlet of downy texture succeeded, and upon this was cast a costly counterpane of Amorginian purple. Cushions, striped or variegated with the richest purple, supported his head, while two soft Dorian pillows² of pale pink gently raised his feet. In this manner habited in a milk-white chlamys the prince reclined. Their bolsters in form resembled our own;³ but the pillows were usually square, as in France, though occasionally rounded off at both ends, and covered with richly chequered or variegated muslins. To prevent the fine wool or whatever else they were stuffed with from getting into heaps, mattresses were sewn through as now, and carefully tufted that the packthread might not break through the ticking.⁴

Among the Orientals it is common at present for persons to sleep in their day apparel; but even in the heroic ages it was already customary in Greece to undress on going to bed. When Agamemnon is roused before dawn by the delusive dream, the whole process of the morning toilette is described. First, says the poet, he donned his soft chiton which was new and very handsome; next his pelisse; after which he bound on his elegant sandals and suspended his silver-hilted sword from his shoulder. Thus accoutred he issued forth, sceptre in hand, towards the ships.⁵

¹ Athen. vi. 37.

² Athen. ii. 29, sqq.

³ Gitone, Nozze di Ulisse e Penelope, Il Costume, &c. tav. 67.

⁴ See the mattress on which the statue of Hermaphroditos reclines in the Louvre.

⁵ Il. ε. 42, seq.

In Syria, children luxuriously educated are said to have been rocked in their cradles wrapped in coverlets of Milesian wool.¹ The sheep of Miletos were, in fact, the Merinos of antiquity; and their wool being celebrated for its fineness and softness, it was not only employed in manufacturing the best cloths, but also in stuffing the mattresses of kings and other great personages who thought much of their ease. And as the vulgar imagine they become great by habiting themselves in garments similar to those of their princes, like the honest man who sought wisdom through reading by Epictetus' lamp, the stuffs, couches, and coverlets of Miletos got into great vogue among the ancients. Virgil, Cicero, Servius, Columella, and many other writers speak accordingly of their excellence, and their testimonies have, with wonderful industry, been collected by the learned Bochart.²

But though Miletos had a reputation for this kind of manufacture, it by no means enjoyed a monopoly. The scarlet coverings of Sardis, and the variegated stuffs of Cyprus, produced by the famous weaver Akasas and his son Helicon,³ appear in many instances to have obtained a preference over all others. Pathymias, too, the Egyptian, distinguished himself in the same line.⁴

All these bed-coverings were commonly perfumed with fragrant essences,⁵ for which reason the voluptuous poets of antiquity dwell with a sort of rapture on the pleasure of rolling about in bed. Ephippos exclaims:—

“ How I delight
To spring upon the dainty coverlets;
Breathing the perfume of the rose, and steeped
In tears of myrrh !”

¹ Esther i. 6. Lament. iv. 5.
Bochart. Geograph. Sac. i. 6. 30.

² Geog. Sac. i. 6. 28, seq.

³ Eustath. ad Odyss. α. p. 32.
30.

⁴ Athen. ii. 30.

⁵ In old times the whole bedroom was sometimes perfumed.
—Iliad, γ. 382.

Aristophanes, likewise, and Sophron, the mimographer, make mention of these fragrant counterpanes, which were 'extremely costly, and inwrought, according to the latter, with figures of birds.¹ Elsewhere Athenæus relates that the Persian carpets contained representations of men, animals, and monsters.² Their blankets, like our own, were plain white; but even so far back as the heroic ages, the upper coverings, as being partly designed for show, were of rich and various colours.³

There seems to be good ground for believing, that if the Greeks did not borrow their philosophy from the East, they at least derived from them many of the vain and luxurious habits which at length rendered that philosophy of none effect. No one appears to have paid a single visit to Persia, or Syria, or Egypt, without bringing back along with him some pestilent new freak in the matter of dress or furniture, wholly at variance with republican simplicity. We might adduce numerous anecdotes in proof of this. For the present we confine ourselves to the following. Among the Persians, renowned in all ages for sensual indulgences, it was judged of so much importance to enjoy soft and elegantly arranged beds, that in great houses persons were employed who attended only to this. An anecdote in illustration has been preserved by Athenæus. Timagoras, or, according to Phantias, Entimos of Gortyna, envying Themistocles his reception at the court of Persia, undertook himself a toad-eating expedition to that country. Artaxerxes, whose ear could tolerate more flatterers than one, took the Cretan into favour, and made him a present of a superb marquee, a silver-footed bedstead, with costly furniture, and, along with them, sent a slave, as a Turkish pasha would send a cook or a pipe-lighter, because, in his opinion, the Greeks who prepared

¹ Athen. ii. 30. Aristoph. aub. ad Theoph. Char. p. 172.
Frag. incert. 2. Brunck. ³ Feith. Antiq. Homer, iii. 8.

² Deipnosoph. xi. 55. Cas- 4.

sleeping-places for so many Persians at Marathon and Plataea, understood nothing of bed-making.

Entimos evidently excelled the great Athenian in the arts of a courtier. In fact, he was the very prototype of Hajji Baba, and enjoyed even still greater influence over the Shah than the illustrious barber's son of Ispahan. Charmed by his cajolery, Artaxerxes invited him to his private table, where, usually, none but princes of the blood were admitted,¹ an honour, as Phantias assures us, which no other Greek ever enjoyed. For, though Timagoras of Athens performed *kou-tou* before the throne,² whereby he obtained great consideration among a nation of slaves, and was hanged when he got home, he was not invited to hob-and-nob with his majesty, but only enjoyed the distinction of having certain dishes sent him from the king's table. To Antalcidas, the Spartan, Artaxerxes sent his crown dipped in liquid perfume, an agreeable compliment, but which he more than once paid to Entimos, whose extraordinary favour at court in the long run, however, awakened the envy of the Persians. The canopy of the marquee presented to this Cretan was spangled with bright flowers, and, among the other articles of which the imperial gift consisted, were a throne of massive silver, a gilded parasol, several golden cups crusted with jewels, a hundred maple-tables with ivory feet,

¹ Very nearly the same customs prevail in Persia at the present day, except that the rules of etiquette seem to be still more rigidly observed. "It is a general custom with the kings of Persia to eat in solitary grandeur. The late Shah, however, would sometimes have select portions of his family to breakfast with him." On which occasion, "they used to squat round him in the form of a crescent, of which he was the

"centre, and were all placed scrupulously according to rank." —Fowler, i. 48.

² Athen. vi. 58. Vales. not. in Maussac. p. 282, where he corrects the old reading of the text. Cf. Xenoph. Hellen. vii. 1. 38. Plut. Pelop. § 30. Artax. § 22. Valer. Max. vi. 3. extern. 2. Demosth. de Fals. Leg. § 42, where the orator accuses Timagoras of having received a bribe of forty talents.

a hundred goblets of silver, several vases of the same precious metal, a hundred female slaves, an equal number of youths, with six thousand pieces of gold, besides what was furnished him for his daily expenditure.¹

A gentleman travelling in Ireland witnessed the ingenuity of that ready-witted people in applying the same thing to various uses: first, he saw the table-cloth, on which he had eaten a good supper, transferred as a sheet to his bed, and, next morning, his kind hostess, offering her services to put him in the right way, converted the same article into a mantle, which she wrapped about her shoulders. The Greeks were almost equally ingenious. With them what was a cloak by day became sometimes a counterpane at night,² in addition, perhaps, to the ordinary bed-clothes; for it is clear they loved to be warm, from the somewhat reproachful allusion of Strepsiades in the "Clouds" to the five *sisyræ*,³ rolled snugly up in which, his son, Pheidippides, could sleep while thoughts of his debts bit the old man like so many bugs, and roused him hours before day to consult his ledgers. All kinds of stromata were, in Plato's time, divided into two classes, first, coverings for the body, such as cloaks, mantles, and so on; secondly, bed-clothes, properly so called.

The walls of their chambers were frequently hung with Milesian tapestry, a custom to which Amphis alludes in his *Odysseus*:

- A. Milesian hangings line your walls, you scent
Your limbs with sweetest perfume, royal myndax⁴
Piled on the burning censor, fills the air
With costly fragrance.
- B. Mark you that, my friend!
Knew you before of such a fumigation? ⁵

¹ Athen. ii. 31.

⁴ Cf. Poll. vi. 105.

² Xen. Anab. i. 5. 5.

³ Nub. 10. Cf. Av. 122.
Concionat. 838. ibique not. Pol-
lux, vii. 382, seq. x. 542.

⁵ Athen. xv. 42. Cf. Meineke.
Curæ Crit. in Com. Frag. p. 7.

Mention is likewise made among the ancients of purple tapestry, inwrought with pearls and gold.¹

Carthage enjoyed celebrity for its manufacture of carpets and variegated pillows,² a piece of luxury which, as we have seen above, had already been introduced in the heroic ages; for Homer, in innumerable passages, speaks of rare and costly carpets, and these were not only spread over couches and seats, but over the floor likewise.³ Rolled up, they would occasionally appear to have served for pillows. The manufacture of carpets had, moreover, been carried to considerable perfection, for the poet speaks of some with a soft pile on both sides, which were evidently very splendid.⁴ Theocritus,⁵ too, in his *Adoniazusæ*, enumerates, among the luxuries of the youthful God,

- Carpets of purple, *softer far than sleep*,⁶
Woven in Milesian looms.

But in nothing did the Greeks display a more gorgeous or costly taste than in what may be termed their *plate*, which was not only fabricated of the rarest materials, but wrought likewise with all the elaborateness and delicacy and richness of design within the reach of art. Among the Macedonians, after

¹ Mazois, *Pal. de Scaur.* p. 103. *Tibull.* iii. 3, 17, seq. *Athen.* iv. 29.

² *Athen.* i. 49.

³ *Il.* i. 200.—The use of mats first prevailed, (*Festus*, in v. *Scirpus*.) but, as luxury increased, superb carpets were substituted.—*Æschyl.* *Agam.* 842. *Tryphiod.* "Αλωσις Ἰλίου. 343, seq. *Hemster. Comm.* in *Poll.* viii. 133. p. 287. Cf. *Klausen. Comm.* in *Æschyl.* *Agam.* p. 197, sqq.

⁴ *Il.* π. 224. *Poll.* vi. 2. *Synes. Epist.* 61.

⁵ *Eidyll.* xv. 125.

⁶ A beautiful simile, which Virgil has imitated—

"Muscosi fontes, et somno mollior herba."—*Eclog.* vii. 45.

Shakespeare, too, has, without imitation, struck upon a similar thought, where the amorous Troilus thus describes himself:—

"But I am weaker than a woman's tear,
Tamer than sleep, fonder than ignorance."

Troilus & Cressida, i. 1.

their Eastern conquests, gold plate appears not to have been uncommon; for at the grand supper described by Hippolochos in his letter to Lynceus, every guest is said to have used it.¹ The predilection for this sort of magnificence they acquired in Asia, where, at a banquet given to Alexander, the whole dessert was brought in tastefully covered with gold-leaf.² In the reign of his father, Philip, the precious metals were rare in Macedonia. Indeed, that crafty old monarch, possessing but one gold cup in the world, had so good an opinion of his courtiers that, to prevent their thieving it, he slept every night with it under his pillow.³ Gold was, more early, plentiful in Attica. Alcibiades, with tastes and habits unsuited to a democracy, carried so far his love of display as to make use of thuribles, or censers, and wash-hand basins of pure gold.⁴ But the ostentatious son of Clinias, though extravagant, was in this respect only a type of his nation. Every rich citizen of Athens aimed at the same degree of splendour; and, in describing his town-house or favourite villa, might, with little alteration, have adopted the language of the poet: —

——— “ My house within the city
Is richly furnished with plate and gold,
Basins and ewers to lave her dainty hands:
My hangings all of Tyrian tapestry.
In ivory coffers have I stuffed my crowns;
In cypress chests my arras, counterpanes,
Costly apparel, tents, and canopies,
Fine linen, Turkey cushions bossed with pearl,
Vallance of Venice, gold in needle-work,
Pewter and brass, and all things that belong
To house or housekeeping.”

Socrates, in the Republic, speaking of what the prevailing fashion required to be found in a city, makes out a list of good things, not much inferior upon the whole to Shakspeare's, — beds, tables, and

¹ Athen. iv. 2, sqq. Cf. iii. 100.

² Athen. iv. 42.

³ Deipnosoph. *ut sup.*

⁴ Athen. ix. 75.

other furniture; dainties of all kinds; perfumes, unguents, sauces, &c.; to which the philosopher adds apparel, shoes, pictures, tapestry, ivory, and gold:¹ and these rare materials, as farther on he observes, were wrought into utensils for domestic purposes.

One of the most plentifully furnished departments of a Greek house was the *Kulikeion*, or "cupboard," usually closed in front with a curtain,² where they kept their goblets, cups, and drinking-horns, under the protection of a statue of Hermes, who, as god of thieves, would, it was supposed, be respected by his children. The form and workmanship of these materials varied, no doubt, according to the taste and means of the possessor; but they were in general distinguished for the elegance of their outline, the grace and originality of the sculpture, the fineness, delicacy, and minute finish of the execution. It is well known, as an able antiquarian³ has remarked, to what an excess the luxury of the table was carried among the ancients, and how much they surpassed us in the dimensions, the massiveness, the workmanship, the quality, and the variety of their drinking apparatus.

Many persons, however, seem chiefly to have valued their plate as a mark of their wealth and magnificence; among whom may be reckoned Pythias of Phigaleia, who, when dying, commanded the following epitaph to be inscribed upon his tomb:—

Here jolly Pythias lies,
A right honest man, and wise,
Who of goblets had very great store,
Of amber, silver, gold,
All glorious to behold,
In number ne'er equalled before.⁴

Amber goblets not being, I believe, in fashion among the modern nations of Europe, some doubt

¹ Plat. De Rep. i. t. vi. p. 86.
Cf. Tim. t. vii. p. 77.

² Athen. xi. 3. Poll. x. 122.

³ Le Comte de Caylus, Mem.

de l'Acad. des Inscrit. t. xxiii. p. 353.

⁴ Athen. xi. 14. Among the Egyptians were vases of papyrus.
Bochart. Geog. Sac. i. 240.

may be experienced respecting the veracity of our friend of Phigaleia; but the ancients had other goblet-ary legends to bring forward in support of it. Helen,¹ it is said, justly proud of her beautiful bosom, dedicated in one of the temples of Rhodes, as a votive offering, an amber goblet, exactly of the size and shape of one of her breasts, which, had it come down to posterity, might have furnished artists with a perfect model of that part of the female form. However this may be, the ancients, in remote ages, set a great value on their cups, particularly such as were considered heir-looms in the family, and laid apart to be used only on extraordinary occasions. Hence Œdipos, in the old Cyclic poet, is seized with fierce anger at his son, who had, contrary to his will, brought forth his old hereditary goblets to be used at an ordinary entertainment.

¹ Bruyerin, *De Re Cibaria*, l. iii. c. 9. This goblet could by no means have been a diminutive one, if Helen resembled her countrywomen generally, who were celebrated for their large bosoms: βαθύκολποι. — Anacr. v. 14. Bruyerin's authority is Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxii. 23. "Minervæ templum habet Lindos, insula Rhodiorum, in quo Helena sacrauit calycem ex electro. Adjicit historia, mammæ suæ mensura." This, I suppose, is what Rousseau calls "Cette coupe célèbre à qui le plus beau sein du monde servit de moule."—*Nouv. Heloise*, 1^{re} partie. Lett. 23. t. i. p. 144, —though, I confess, I am not acquainted with the authors by whom it has been celebrated. Several votive offerings, representing the female breast, may be seen in the British Museum, among the Elgin Marbles. But the most curious relic of the ancient female form is mentioned in the following passage: "In the street just

" out of the gate of this villa I
 " lately saw a skeleton dug out;
 " and by desiring the labourers
 " to remove the skull and bones
 " gently, I perceived distinctly
 " the perfect mould of every feature
 " of the face, and that the
 " eyes had been shut. I also saw
 " distinctly the impression of the
 " large folds of the drapery of the
 " toga, and some of the cloth itself
 " sticking to the earth. The
 " city was first covered by a
 " shower of hot pumice-stones and
 " ashes, and then by a shower of
 " small ashes mixed with water.
 " It was in the latter stratum
 " that the skeleton above described
 " was found. In the Museum at
 " Portici a piece of this sort of
 " hardened mud is preserved; it is
 " stamped with the impression of
 " the breast of a woman, with a
 " thin drapery over it. The skeleton
 " I saw dug out was not above five
 " feet from the surface. It is
 " very extraordinary that the im-

Then Polyneices of the golden locks,
 Sprung from the Gods, before his father placed
 A table all of silver, which had once
 Been Cadmus's, next filled the golden bowl
 With richest wine. At this old Œdipos,
 Seeing the honoured relics of his sire
 Profaned to vulgar uses, roused to anger,
 Pronounced fierce imprecations, wished his sons
 Might live no more in amity together,
 But plunge in feuds and slaughters, and contend
 For their inheritance: and the Furies heard.¹

Agathocles, tyrant of Sicily, appears to have been an amateur of cups, and would sometimes while exhibiting his collection to his friends make a good-humoured allusion to his original occupation. "These golden vessels," said he, "have been made out of those earthenware ones which I formerly manufactured."² Drinking-bowls in fact made no inconsiderable figure in ancient times. They were bestowed as the prizes in gymnastic contests, and in Greece men boxed and wrestled for the cup as horses run for it in England. Parasites, like the jester of Louis XIV., used sometimes to carry home the cups and dishes set before them at dinner; but the tables were often turned when the subject gave and the prince pocketed the dole.

A curious legend has been preserved to us connected with the subject of cups. Several princes uniting, in remote times, to send a colony to Lesbos, were commanded by an oracle to cast a virgin, during their voyage, into the sea, as a sacrifice to Poseidon. Obedience, in those superstitious ages, was seldom refused to such injunctions. The maiden was precipitated into the waves, but Enallos, one of the chiefs, in whom love had quenched the reverence

"pression of the body and face
 "should have remained from the
 "year 79 to this day, especially
 "as I found the earth so little
 "hardened that it separated upon
 "the least touch." — Sir W. Ha-

milton, *Acc. of Discov. at Pompeii*, p. 15.

¹ Athen. xi. 14.

² Athen. xi. 15. Polyb. xii. 15. 6. xv. 35. 2.

for oracles, immediately plunged in to save her. Neither the chief, however, nor the virgin appeared again, and the fleet proceeded. The remainder of the tradition may be illustrated by an event said to have taken place in the Tonga islands.¹ They were probably near some uninhabited isle, and instead of rising to the surface of the sea, emerged into a cavern elevated considerably above its level, and opening perhaps upon the land. "God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," says a modern writer, and so Enallos found it. By means unrevealed in the ancient narrative, the hero and his bride continued to subsist on the rock, and many years afterwards, when the colony was already flourishing, he one day presented himself before his old friends at Methymna, and entertained them with a very romantic account of his residence among the Nereids at the bottom of the sea, where he was honoured with the care of Poseidon's horses when sent out to grass. At length, however, getting on the back of a large wave it bore him upwards and he escaped from the deep, bearing in his hand a golden cup, the metal of which was so marvellously beautiful that in comparison ordinary gold appeared no better than brass.²

Even the loftiest and least worldly-minded of the Homeric heroes, Achilles, set great value on a favourite drinking-cup, which he preserved for his own particular use, and for pouring out libations to Zeus alone. Priam³ was careful to include a rare goblet in the ransom of Hector's body, and a similar gift aided in alluring Alcmena from the paths of virtue.⁴ But the most famous bowl of antiquity was that of Heracles, which, more capacious than the barber's basin in Don Quixote, served its illustrious owner in the double capacity of a drinking-cup and a canoe; for when he had quenched his thirst, he could set

¹ See Mariner's Account, chap. 9.

² Athen. xi. 15.

³ Iliad. ω. 234.

⁴ Athen. xi. 16.

his bowl afloat, and, leaping into it, steer to any part of the world he pleased. Some, indeed, speak of it as a borrowed article, belonging originally to the Sun, and in which the god used nightly to traverse the ocean from West to East.¹

To pass, however, over the goblets of mythology. It was fashionable to possess plate of this kind finely sculptured with historical arguments; and history has preserved the names of Cimon and Athenocles, two artists who excelled in this style of engraving. These cups were sometimes of silver gilt, sometimes of massive gold crusted with jewels.² In addition to the two artists named above, we may enumerate Crates, Stratonicos, Myrmecides of Miletos, Callicrates the Lacedemonian, and Mys, whose "Cup of Heracles," celebrated in antiquity, had represented upon it the storming of Ilion, with this inscription,

Troy's lofty towers by Grecians sacked behold!
Parrhasios' draught, by Mys engraved in gold.³

The names by which the ancients distinguished their several kinds of goblets are too numerous to be here given. Some were curious—"Amalthea's Horn," "The Year," &c. Rustics made use of two-handled wooden bowls in which, when thirsty, they drew fresh milk from the cow in the fields.⁴ There was a big-bellied cup with a narrow neck which being shaped like a purse, participated with this very necessary article in the name of Aryballos.⁵

Glass cups of much beauty were manufactured in great abundance at Alexandria. Among these was the *Baucalis*, mentioned by Sopater the parodist, who says:—

¹ Bentley, Dissert. on Phal. i. 175, sqq.

² Plin. xxxiii. 2. Juven. v. 42. Athen. iv. 29.

³ Athen. xi. 19.

⁴ Athen. xi. 25, states this from

Philetas: but Kayser, in his edition of that author's fragments, seems to have overlooked this passage.

⁵ Athen. xi. 36. On the Cantharos, see § 48.

'Tis sweet in early morn to cool the lips
 With pure fresh water from the gushing fount,
 Mingled with honey in the Baucalis,
 When one o'er night has made too free with wine,
 And feels sharp thirst.¹

The glass-workers of Alexandria procured earthenware vessels from all parts of the world, which they used as models for their cups. Even the great sculptor Lysippos did not disdain to employ his genius in the invention of a new kind of vase. Having made a collection of vessels of many various shapes, and diligently studied the whole, he hit upon a form entirely new, and presented the model to Cassander, who having just then founded the city of Cassandria, was ambitious of originating an invention of this kind. He was desirous, perhaps, of recommending by the elegance of his drinking-cups the Mendæan wine exported in great quantities from his city.²

There was a peculiar kind of cup called Grammateion, from the letters of gold chased upon its exterior.³ Alexis mentions one of this sort in the following lines :

A. But let me first describe the cup ; 'twas round,
 Old, broken-eared, and precious small besides,
 Having indeed some letters on't.

B. Yes letters ;
 Eleven, and all of gold, forming the name
 Of Saviour Zeus.

A. Tush ! no, some other god.⁴

A very handsome sort of cup was imported from Sidon. It had two handles, and was ornamented with small figures in relief. Drinking-vases were also formed from the large horns of the Molossian and Pœonian oxen ; and these articles were commonly rimmed with silver or gold.⁵ Small cups were made

¹ Athen. xi. 28.

² Athen. xi. 28.

³ We find in Winkelmann, *Hist. de l'Art* t. i. p. 23, the representation of a glass grammateion, on which are the words :

Bibe Vivas Multis Annis. See a detailed description of this vase by the Marquis Trivulsi, p. 46.

⁴ Athen. xi. 30.

⁵ Theopomp. ap. Athen. xi. 34. 51.

little account of. There was even one kind of bowl which, for its enormous capacity, was called the Elephant.

A. If this hold not enough, see the boy comes
Bearing the Elephant !

B. Immortal gods !
What thing is that ?

A. A double-fountained cup,
The workmanship of Alcon ; it contains
Only three gallons.¹

A very celebrated cup among the Athenians was the Thericlean,² originally invented by Thericles, a Corinthian potter, contemporary with Aristophanes. This ware was black, highly varnished, with gilt edges;³ but the name came afterwards to be applied to any vessel of the same form from whatever materials manufactured. There were accordingly Thericlea of gold with wooden stands. The cups of this kind, made at Athens, being very expensive, an inferior sort, in imitation, was produced at Rhodes, which, as far more economical, had a great run among the humbler classes. The Thericlean was a species of deep chalice with two handles, and bulging but little at the sides. Theophrastus⁴ speaks of Thericlea turned from the Syrian Turpentine tree, the wood of which being black and taking a fine polish, it was impossible at a glance to distinguish them from those of earthenware. The paintings on these utensils appear to have been various. Sometimes a single wreath of ivy encircled them immediately beneath the golden rim ; but it seems occasionally to have been covered with representations of animals, which gave rise to a forced and false etymology of the name.⁵

¹ Athen. xi. 35.

² Cf. Bentley on the Epist. of Phalaris i. 169—189.

³ Alexis, ap. Athen. xi. 42.

⁴ Hist. Plant. v. 4. 2. cum not. Schnei. t. iii. p. 426.

⁵ Athen. xi. 41. ἄλλοι δὲ ἱστοροῦσι, θηρίκλειον ὀνομασθῆναι τὸ ποτήριον διὰ τὸ δορὰς θηρίων αὐτῷ ἐντετυκῶσθαι.

We have already observed, that the use of drinking-horns¹ was not unknown to the ancients. In fact, it seems, in very remote ages, to have been customary to convert bulls' horns into cups with very little preparation; and the practice of quaffing wine from this rude kind of goblet had by some been supposed to have suggested the idea to artists of representing Bacchos with horns, and to poets the epithet of the Bull Dionysos. He was moreover worshiped at Cyzicos under the form of a bull. Afterwards, as taste and luxury advanced, these simple vessels were exchanged for horns of silver, which Pindar attributes to the Centaurs.² Xenophon³ found drinking-horns among the Paphlagonians, and afterwards even in the palace of the Thracian king Seuthes. Æschylus speaks of silver horns, with lids of gold, in use among the Perrhæbians, and Sophocles, in his *Pandora*, makes mention of drinking-horns of massive gold. Philip of Macedon was accustomed among his friends to drink from the common horn. Golden horns were found among the inhabitants of Cythera. Horns of silver were in use at Athens; and, among the articles enumerated as sold at a public auction, mention is made of one of these vessels of a twisted form.

Mirrors constituted another article of Hellenic luxury. These were sometimes of brass,⁴ whence the proverb:

As forms by brass, so minds by wine are mirrored.⁵

The best, however, until those of glass came into use, were made of silver or of a mixed metal, the exact

¹ Bœckh. *Pub. Econ. of Athens*, ii. 254.

² Pind. *Frag. Incert.* 44. i. 244. Dissen. *Comm.* ii. 659. Jacob. *Anthol.* vii. 336. *Athen.* xi. 51. Cf. Damm. v. κέρας.

³ *Anab.* vi. 1. 4. vii. 3. 24, seq.

⁴ *Xen. Conv.* vii. 4. They were

sometimes square and washed with silver. Caylus, *Rec. d'Antiq.* t. vi. p. 398. Cf. *Cœl. Rhodig.* xv. 12, 13. *Plat. Tim.* t. vii. 52, seq. 61. *Lucian. Amor.* § 39. *Ter. Adelph.* ii. 3. 61. *Cicero in Pison.* c. 29. *Poll.* vii. 95. x. 126. 164.

⁵ *Athen.* x. 31.

composition of which is not now known. Another kind was fashioned from a species of carbuncle found near the city of Orchomenos,¹ in Arcadia. Glass mirrors² also came early into use, chiefly manufactured, at the outset, by the Phoenicians of Sidon. The hand-mirrors were usually circular,³ and set in costly frames. To prevent their being speedily tarnished they were, when not in use, carefully enclosed in cases.⁴

There were mirrors, too, of polished silver, fashioned so as to magnify immensely the objects they reflected.⁵ They invented also large cups containing within many diminutive mirrors, so that when any one looked into them, his eye was met by a multitude of faces all resembling his own.⁶ In a temple of Hera in Arcadia, was a mirror fixed in the wall, wherein the spectator could at first scarcely, if at all, discern his own image, while the throne of the goddess and the statues of the other deities ranged around were most brilliantly reflected.⁷ Many sorts of mirrors appear to have been made for the purpose of playing off practical jokes. For example, looking in one of these, a handsome woman would find her visage transformed into that of a Gorgon, so as to appear terrible even to herself. Others again were so very flattering, that a half-starved barber, viewing his figure therein, appeared to be gifted with the thewes of a Heracles. Another sort distorted the countenance, or inverted it, or showed merely the half.

Religion was the nurse of the fine arts, and first gave rise, not only to sculpture and painting, but

¹ Theoph. de Lapid. §. 33.

² It is to be observed, that before the application of quicksilver in the construction of these glasses (which I presume is of no great antiquity) the reflection of images by such specula must have been effected by their being besmeared behind, or tinged through with some dark colour, especially black,

which would obstruct the refraction of the rays of light. Nixon in Philosoph. Trans. t. iv. p. 602. Cf. Plin. xxxvi. 26. § 67.

³ Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 742.

⁴ Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 741.

⁵ Plaut. in Mostell. i. 3. 101.

⁶ Plin. xxxiii. 45. Senec. Quæst. Nat. i. 4.

⁷ Paus. viii. 37. 7.

also to those private collections of statues and pictures¹ in which we discover the germs of our modern galleries² and museums. The first step was made towards these when the Greek set up the images of his household gods upon his hearth. Thence, step by step, he proceeded, improving the appearance, enriching the materials, increasing the number of his domestic deities, with which niche after niche was filled, till his private dwelling became in some sort a temple. The religious feeling, no doubt, made way, in many cases, for a passion for show, or a nascent taste for the beautiful; so that rude figures in terra-cotta, wood, or stone, were gradually replaced by exquisite statues in ivory, gold, or silver,³ or the fairest marble, breathing beauty and life, with eyes of gems, and clothed with majesty as with a garment. Hence flowed the passion for mimetic representations and all the plastic arts. The gods were transferred from the fireside to the temple, to the agora, to the senate-house, to the innumerable porticoes everywhere abounding in Greece.⁴

On their superb candelabra,⁵ &c., matter for a curious volume might be collected. The lamps in common use,⁶ though sometimes very beautiful in shape, were of course fictile,⁷ such as we find in great numbers among the ruins of Greek cities, both in the mother-country, and in their Egyptian and other colonies. Sometimes, however, they were of bronze, silver, or massive gold. A very beautiful

¹ Plat. de Rep. t. vi. p. 86. Plin. Hist. Nat. vii. 39. xxxv. 36. xxxiii. 56.

² Athen. xi. 3. Menage, Observat. in Diog. Laert. vi. 32. p. 138. a. b.

³ Poll. i. 28.

⁴ Plat. de Rep. t. vi. p. 86.

⁵ An elegant candelabrum, ornamented with the figure of a twisted serpent, and a flight of

birds resting here and there on the branches, is found in the Mus. Cortonens. tab. 80.—They were sometimes of gilt wood.—Winkelmann, i. 34.

⁶ Poll ii. 72. vi. 103. x. 115. Soph. Ajax. 285, sqq.

⁷ Poll. x. 192.—On the brazen ladle (*ἀπόραινα*) for filling lamps with oil, see Sch. Aristoph. Eq. 1087.

specimen in this last metal was found, by Lord Belmore, among the ruins of an Egyptian temple, a short time before my visit to the Nile. In many houses were magnificent chandeliers, suspended from the ceiling, with numerous branches, which filled the apartments¹ with a flood of light. The most remarkable article of this kind which I remember was that set up as a votive offering to Hestia, in the Prytaneion of Tarentum, by Dionysios the Younger, which held as many lamps as there are days in the year.² Among people of humble condition wooden chandeliers, or candlesticks, were in use.³ In remoter ages they burned slips of pine-branches, the bark of various trees, &c., instead of lamps. They were acquainted with the use of horn and wicker lanterns.⁴

Another kind of decoration of Greek houses we must not overlook,—their armour and implements of war,⁵ with which the poet Alcæos⁶ loved to adorn his chambers, though, like Paris, he cared little to make any other use of them. “My spacious mansion,” exclaims he, “gleams throughout with brazen arms. Even along the ceiling are ranged the ornaments of Ares, glittering helmets, surmounted by white nodding plumes; greaves of polished brass are suspended on the walls, with cuirasses of linen, while, here and there, about my apartments, are scattered hollow shields. Elsewhere, you behold scimitars of Chalcis, and baldricks, and the short vest which we wear beneath our armour.”⁷ Besides the articles enumerated by the poet, there were shield-cases, sheaths for their spears,

¹ Athen. xi. 48. ² Id. xv. 60.

³ Id. xv. 61. ⁴ Id. xv. 59.

⁵ The custom, also, in Lydia. Herod. i. 84.

⁶ Alcæi Frag. vi. p. 95. Anacr. ed. Glasg.

⁷ Κύπασσις of which Pollux furnishes us with an exact description: ὁ δὲ κύπασσις, λίνου πεποίη-

το, σμικρὸς χιτωνίσκος, ἄχρι μέσου μηροῦ, ὡς Ἴων φησὶ, βραχὺς λίνου κύπασσις, ἐς μηρὸν μέσον ἐσταλμένος. (vii. 60) That is, “the *kupassis* is a small linen chiton, reaching mid-thigh, according to Ion, who says, ‘a short linen *kupassis*, descending to the middle of the thigh.’ ”

quivers curiously adorned, feathered arrows, and bows of polished horn, tipped at either end with gold.

From these gorgeous and costly commodities the reader, we fear, will be reluctant to accompany us into the kitchen, where we must pick our way among kneading-troughs, pots and pans, Delphian cutlery¹ and honey-jars.² But as without these the warriors, as Homer himself acknowledges, could make but little use of their weapons, it is absolutely necessary we should inquire into their cooking conveniences. To commence, however, we must allow³ Clearchos of Soli, to enumerate a few of the articles found among the furniture of this important part of the house. There was, first, says he, a three-legged table, then a chytra, or earthen pot, which, as in France, was always preferred for making soup. It was not, however, of coarse brown ware, as with us; for, Socrates, in his conversation with Hippias on the Beautiful, observes that, when properly made, round, smooth, and well-baked, the chytra was very handsome, particularly that large sort which contained upwards of seven gallons. It had two handles, and was evidently glazed.⁴ In stirring the chytra while boiling, the Attic cook made choice of a ladle turned from the wood of the fig-tree, which, it is said, communicated an agreeable flavour to the soup, and, in Socrates's opinion, was preferable to one of gold which, being very weighty, might chance to crack the pot, spill the broth, and extinguish the fire.⁵

There was used in the kitchen a sort of candelabrum, or lamp-stand, which Clearchos merely names. Then followed the mortar, the stool, the sponge, the cauldron, the kneading-trough, the mug, the oil-

¹ Hesych. v. Δελφικὴ μάχαιρα.

² Athen. xi. 50, ὀξίτη, a vinegar cruet.—Sch. Aristoph. Eq. 1301. ὑρχη, a pickle-jar.—Vesp. 676.

³ Athen. xiv. 60.

⁴ Plat. Hipp. Maj. t. v. p. 425, sqq.

⁵ Plat. Opp. t. v. p. 429. seq. Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 244.

flask, the rush-basket, the large knife, the cleaver,¹ the wooden platter, the bowl, and the larding-pin.² Pollux, who had, doubtless, served an apprenticeship to Marcus Aurelius's cook, gives a formidable list of culinary utensils, from which we must be content to select the most remarkable. First, however, we shall show how important a piece of sponge was to an Athenian cook. It often saved him his dinner; for, if any of his stewpans, crocks, or kettles, had suffered from the embraces of Hephæstos, in other words, had got a hole burnt in them, a bit of sponge was drawn into the aperture, and on went the cooking operations as before.³ In some houses culinary utensils were regarded as a nuisance, the presence of which was not to be constantly endured, and, accordingly, when the master desired to treat his friends, cookey was despatched early in the morning to hire pots and kettles of a broker. To this custom Alexis alludes in his Exile :

How fertile in new tricks is Chæriphon,
To sup scot-free and everywhere find welcome !
Spies he a broker's door with pots to let ?
There from the earliest dawn he takes his stand,
To see whose cook arrives ; from him he learns
Who 'tis that gives the feast,—flies to the house,
Watches his time, and, when the yawning door
Gapes for the guests, glides in among the first.⁴

But we must not pass over the Pyreion or Trypanon,⁵ the clumsy contrivance which supplied the place of our lucifers, phosphorus, and tinder-boxes. This was a hollow piece of wood, in which another

¹ See a figure, probably, of that instrument in Mus. Chiaramont. tav. 21.

² Athen. xiv. 60. Poll. x. 95, sqq.—We find mention, also, of the cheese-rasp.—Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 251.

³ Aristoph. Acharn. 439. Brunck is vastly scandalised at the idea of the Scholiast, that any man should have been so poor in At-

tica as to be driven to mend his pots in the way commemorated in the text ; but a German commentator, who had looked more into kitchens, is satisfied that the practice prevailed, and was perfectly rational. In fact, similar contrivances are still resorted to, even in England.

⁴ Athen. iv. 58.

⁵ Theoph. Histor. Plant. v. 9. 7.

piece was turned rapidly till sparks of fire flew out.¹ Soldiers carried these fire-kindlers along with them as a necessary part of their kit.

The ordinary fuel of the Greeks consisted chiefly of wood and charcoal,² (kept in rush or wicker baskets,) though the use of mineral coal was not altogether unknown to them.³ In Attica, where wood was always scarce, they economically made use of vine-cuttings,⁴ and even the green branches of the fig tree with the leaves on.⁵ The charcoal of Acharnæ, the best probably in the country, was sometimes prepared from the scarlet oak.⁶ To prevent the wood, used in their saloons, halls, and drawing-rooms from smoking, it was often boiled⁷ in water or steeped in dregs of oil. The use of the bellows⁸ was known in Hellas from the remotest antiquity. They had likewise a kind of osier flap, with a handle, and shaped like a fan, which at times supplied the place of a pair of bellows.

There were chopping-blocks⁹ both of wood and stone, mortars,¹⁰ fish-kettles, frying-pans, and spits of all dimensions,¹¹ some being so diminutive that thrushes and other small birds could be roasted on them. Their ends in the heroic ages rested on stone hobs, but afterwards andirons were invented, probably of fanciful shape as in modern France. Occasionally they would appear to have been manufactured of lead. To these we may add the ovens, the bean and barley-roasters, the sieves of bronze and other materials, the wine-strainers in the form of colanders, the crate for earthen-ware, and the chafing-dish.¹²

¹ Plat. de Rep. iv. t. vi. p. 194. Pollux. x. 146. vii. 113.

² Cf. Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 34, 302, 314. Plat. de Legg. t. viii. 116.

³ Theoph. de Lap. § 16.

⁴ Schol. Aristoph. Lysist. 308.

⁵ Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 312. Cf. Schol. Vesp. 145, 326.

⁶ Sch. Aristoph. Acharn. 587.

⁷ Plin. Hist. Nat. xv. 8.

⁸ Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 853. Athen. ii. 71.

⁹ Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 319. Vesp. 238. κρεάγπα a flesh-hook. Sch. Eq. 769.

¹⁰ Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 924.

¹¹ Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 179.

¹² Aristoph. Acharn. 34. Cooks' tables were made of wicker-work or olive-wood. Etym. Mag. 298. 36, seq.

CHAPTER III.

FOOD OF HOMERIC TIMES — MEAT, FISH, ETC.

HAVING described the implements with which a Greek meal was prepared, let us next inquire of what materials it consisted, and how it was eaten. There will be no occasion in pursuing this investigation to adhere to any very strict method. It will probably be sufficient to make a few broad divisions and a flexible outline which we can fill up as the materials fall in our way.

What the original inhabitants of Hellas ate might no doubt be satisfactorily inferred from the accounts we possess of nations still existing in the same state of civilisation. But it is nevertheless curious to examine their traditions relating to the subject. Ælian, who has preserved many notices of remote antiquity, gives a list of various kinds of food, which, as he would appear to think, constituted the chief, if not the whole, sustenance of several ancient nations. The Arcadians lived, he says, upon acorns; the Argives upon pears, the Athenians upon figs;¹ the wild pear-tree furnished the Tirynthians with their favourite food; a sort of cane was the chief dainty of the Indians; of the Karamanians² the date; millet of the Mæotæ and Sauromatæ; while the Persians³ delighted chiefly in cardamums and pistachio nuts.⁴

¹ Cf. Plut. Quæst. Græc. 51.

² Cf. Dion. Perieg. 1082.

³ These people were great eaters, and held none in estimation but those who resembled them. Aristoph. Acharn, 74. sqq.

⁴ Ælian. Var. Hist. iii. 39.

Perizonius in his note on this passage observes, that *ἄπιος* and *ἄχοας* are but different names for the same thing, both signifying "the pear," the former term prevailing among the Argives, the latter among the Tirynthians and

The tradition that while some degree of civilisation already existed in the East, many tribes of Hellas still subsisted upon acorns, has given rise to much curious disquisition. It is abundantly clear, however, that the fruit of our English oak is not what is meant; for, upon this, no one who has made the experiment will for one moment imagine that man could subsist; but every kind of production comprehended by the Greeks under the term "acorn," (βάλανος). Gerard, an old English botanist, enumerates chestnuts among acorns, and Xenophon calls dates "the acorns of the palm-tree." The mast, however, of a tree common in Greece, would, as Mitford thinks, afford a not unwholesome nourishment, though he is quite right in supposing that it could not have been a favourite food in more civilised times.¹ While upon the subject of acorns, this ingenious and able writer appears disposed to make somewhat merry with a certain project of Socrates. If we rightly comprehend him, which very possibly we do not, he means to accuse the philosopher of reducing the citizens of his airy republic to very short commons indeed,² nothing but a little beech-mast, and a few myrtle-berries. This borders strongly on the notion of the comic writer, who describes the Athenians as living on air and hope. But though abstemious enough, Socrates was not so unreasonable as to require even his Utopians to fight and philosophise upon a diet so scanty.

Laconians. By the other Greeks both words were used promiscuously, though ἄπιος was the more common. This able commentator objects to the assertion of his author, that the Hindoos lived on cane, since they also ate millet, rice, &c. But Ælian could really have intended nothing more than that the articles he enumerates were in common use among the nations spoken of. Otherwise

the whole must be regarded as a mere fable. The canes, mentioned by Ælian, are those from which sugar has been from very remote antiquity extracted.

Quique bibunt tenerâ dulces
ab arundine succos.

Lucan. Pharsal. iii. 237.

¹ See Goguet, i. 160, seq.

² Hist. of Greece, i. 9, note.
Cf. Anab. ii. 3.

Before he comes to the mast and the myrtle-berries, we find him enumerating wheaten and barley bread, salt, olives, cheese, and truffles, together with pulse and all such herbs as the fields spontaneously produce. For a dessert he would indulge them with figs, chickpeas, and beans, myrtle-berries, and beech-mast, or chestnuts roasted in the fire. Plato was aware how the luxurious wits of his time would turn up their noses at such primitive diet, and therefore brings in Glaucon inquiring, — “If you were founding a polity of swine, what other food would you provide for them?”¹ Pausanias remarks, however, that acorns long continued to be a common article of food in Arcadia,² but only those of the *fagus*.³

If we may credit some writers the ancient inhabitants of Hellas made use of food much more revolting than acorns, having been, in fact, cannibals who devoured each other. There, no doubt, existed among the Greeks of later times traditions of a state of society in which human flesh was eaten by certain fierce and lawless individuals, such as Polyphemos, but nothing in their literature can authorise us to infer that the practice was ever general. Superstition seems on very extraordinary occasions to have impelled them into the guilt of human sacrifice, when the officiating priests, and, perhaps, some few others, probably tasted of the entrails, and Galen had conversed with individuals

¹ Plat. de Rep. t. vi. p. 85.

² Cf. Polluc. i. 234.

³ Paus. viii. 1. 6. Pliny observes that the fruit of the *fagus* is sweet “*dulcissima omnium glans fagi*.” Hist. Nat. xvii. 6. Cf. Lucian. Amor. § 33. Theophrast. Hist. Plant. iii. 8, 2. This Arcadian dainty is still eaten in Spain. “In some parts (of Navarre) the mountains are girt at their base by forests of chestnut trees or of the Spanish oak cal-

led *encina*, whose acorn roasted, is as palatable as the chestnut.” (A Campaign with Zumalacarregui, i. 40.) The same writer observes, that the fruit of the ever-green *arbutus*, in shape like a cherry, though insipid and intoxicating in its effects, is also eaten by the omniverous Spaniards, p. 51. See also Laborde’s Itinerary of Spain, iv. 80, and Capell Brooke’s Travels, ii. 72.

who had been led by mere curiosity to sup on man's flesh, and found its flavour to resemble that of tender beef.¹ But instances of this kind prove nothing; for how often does it not happen that mariners are even now driven by distressful circumstances to slaughter and eat their companions at sea! And yet shall we on this account pass for anthropophagi with posterity?

The Greeks, however, were not content with one set of traditions, or upon the whole inclined to give currency to the most gloomy. On the contrary, their poets casting backward the light of their imagination, and kindling up the landscapes of the far past, called up the vision of the golden age, when neither the domestic hearth² nor the altars of the gods were stained with blood, and the fruits of the field,—milk, honey, cheese, and butter sufficed to sustain life. But we must escape from these shadowy times, and come down to the age of beef and mutton.

Food is, with great precision, divided by Aristotle into moist and dry, that is, into meat and drink.³ A classification, the credit of which, as Feith contends, belongs to Homer.⁴ In this poet, bread (*σῖτος*), the principal article of provision, is made indiscriminately both from wheat and barley, though the latter grain is thought to have been first in use.⁵ Herodotus found, in the matter of bread, a peculiar taste among the Egyptians; barley and wheat they despised, though in no country are finer produced

¹ See Bochart. Geog. Sac. i. 309.

² Cf. Plat. De Legg. vi. t. vii. p. 471.

³ Problem. x. 56, 58.

⁴ Iliad. α. 496. β. 432, seq.

⁵ Iliad. ε. 196, et 341. The scholiast on this verse, observes that, before the invention of mills, men used to eat the raw grain. (Cf. on Iliad. α. 449, and Etym.

Magn. v. οὐλόχυνται, 641, 29.)

But this is merely an absurd conjecture; for they could, at least, have roasted the young ear as in the East they still do, while it is full of juice, and have eaten it thus with salt, when it is both pleasant and nutritive. Besides, some means of reducing the grain to meal appears to have been known almost from the beginning.

than in Egypt; giving, very strangely, the preference to the *olyra*, by some supposed to be the spelt, but more probably Syrian *dhourra*, ears of which I observed sculptured on the interior of the pronaos of Leto's temple at Esneh. Bread, in the Homeric age, was brought to table in a reed basket, the use of silver bread-baskets, or trays, not having been then, as Donatus thinks, introduced. But in this the learned commentator is mistaken; or, if they had no silver trays, at least they had them of brass and gold, to match their tables of massive silver.¹

Next to bread, flesh, in the heroic ages, was the greatest stay-stomach, particularly beef, kid, mutton, and pork. They had not, however, as yet discovered many ways of cooking it. Nearly all their culinary ingenuity reduced itself in fact to roasting and boiling, a circumstance which led Athenæus,² and the president Goguet to look back with great pity and concern on these unhappy ages when even princes, generally gourmands, were deprived of the supreme felicity of dining on ragouts, soups, and boiled brains. Servius,³ too, and Varro are inclined to participate in this feeling of commiseration, and

¹ Iliad. λ. 629. Odys. κ. 355. See, too, Theocrit. Eidyll. xxiv. 135, sqq. Virgil. Æneid. i. 705.

² Deipnosoph. i. 15. Origine des Loix, ii. 306. "J'ai dit que la simplicité faisoit le caractère distinctif de ses premiers âges. La manière dont on se nourrissoit alors en fait preuve. On ne voit paroître ni sauce ni ragoût, ni même de gibier, dans la description que l'Écriture fait du repas donné par Abraham aux trois anges qui lui apparurent dans la vallée de Membré. Ce Patriarche leur sert un veau roti, ou, pour mieux dire, grillé; du lait de beurre, et du pain frais cuit sous

la cendre. Voilà tout le festin. Ce fait montre que les repas alors étoient plus solides que délicats. Abraham avoit certainement intention de traiter ses hôtes du mieux qu'il lui étoit possible, et il faut observer que ce Patriarche possédoit de très-grandes richesses en or, en argent, en troupeaux et en esclaves. On peut donc regarder le repas qu'il donne aux trois anges, comme le modèle d'un festin magnifique, et juger en conséquence quelle étoit de son tems la manière de traiter splendidement."

³ Comm. ad Æneid. i. 710.

the latter observes, that among their own ancestors people were originally compelled to dine on roast meat, though in the course of time the arts of boiling and soup-making were introduced.¹ With regard to Homer's heroes, however, our sympathies are somewhat relieved by finding, that learned men have overrated the extent of their misfortunes. They were not altogether ignorant of the art of boiling, as Athenæus himself admits, where he mentions the boiled shin of beef which one of the drunken suitors flung at Odysseus's head.

The flesh of young animals was not habitually eaten in those early ages, so that in denominating them public devourers of kids and lambs, Priam accuses his sons of scandalous luxury.² In fact, with the design of preventing a scarcity of animal food, a law was enacted at Athens prohibiting the slaughter of an unshorn lamb, and from the same motive the Emperor Valens forbade the use of veal.³

But there was nothing beyond the difficulty of catching it, to prevent the Homeric heroes from making free with game, such as venison, and the flesh of the wild goat;⁴ and from a passage in the Iliad, Feith infers, that even birds were not spared.⁵ We trust, however, that they feathered and cooked them, and did not devour them *au naturel*, as certain Hindûs do their sheep, wool and all. The Egyptians had a very peculiar taste in ornithophagy, and actually ate some kinds of birds quite raw, as they likewise did several species of fish; and this not in those early ages when Isis and Osiris had not reclaimed the bogs of the Nile, but in times quite modern, when Herodotus travelled in their country, and heard their vain priests

¹ Feith, Antiq. Homer, iii. 1, 3.

² Il. ω. 262.

³ Hieron adv. Jovian. ii. 75.
a. Diosc. ap. Athen. ix. 17. Eustath. ad Il. ω. p. 1481. 12.

Schweigh, Animad. in Athen. t. vi. p. 96, seq.

⁴ Od. ι. 185. κ. 180.

⁵ Iliad. ψ. 852, seq.

lay claim to having civilised Hellas. Both birds and fish, indeed, underwent a certain sort of preparation. Of the latter some were dried in the sun, others preserved in pickle, and the same process was applied to ducks, quails, and many other species of birds, after which they were eaten raw. We recommend the practice to our gourmands, and have no doubt they would find a pickled owl or jackdaw, devoured in the Egyptian style, altogether as wholesome as diseased goose's liver. It must not, however, be dissembled, that many critics, concerned for the gastronomic reputation of the Egyptians, contend that, by the word which we translate "to pickle,"¹ Herodotus must have meant some kind of cookery; to which Wesseling replies, that, without designing to impugn the taste of those gentlemen, he must yet refuse to accept of their interpretation, since by observing that they roasted or boiled all other species of birds and fish, such as were sacred excepted, the historian evidently intends to say, that these were eaten raw. The learned editor might have added, that Herodotus uses the same term in treating of the process of embalming,² and we nowhere learn that the mummies were cooked before they were deposited in the tombs.

But to return to the Homeric warriors; it seems extremely³ probable, notwithstanding the opinions of several writers of great authority, both ancient and modern, that the demi-gods, and heroes before Troy, admitted that effeminate dainty called *fish* to their warlike tables. At all events the common people understood the value of this kind of food,⁴ and it may safely be inferred that their betters, never slow in appropriating delicacies to their

¹ Προσαρτιχέειν. Herod. ii. 77, edit. Wessel.

² Herod. i. 77, seq. ii. 15. ix. 80.

³ Plato, among others, remarks

that, in the military messes of his heroes, Homer introduces neither fish nor boiled meat. De Rep. iii. t. vi. p. 141.

⁴ Odyss. τ. 113.

own use, soon perceived that fish is no bad eating. Hunger would at least reconcile them to the flavour of broiled salmon, as we find by the example of Odysseus's companions, who devoured both fish and fowl.¹ This is acknowledged by Athenæus;² but Plutarch contends, that they could have been driven to it only by extreme necessity. At all other times he imagines they temperately abstained from food of so exciting a kind,³ though Homer describes the Hellespont as abounding in fish,⁴ and more than once alludes to the practice of drawing it thence with hook and line.⁵ Thus we find that angling can trace back its pedigree to the heroic ages; and the disciple of the rod as he trudges with Izaak in his pocket through bog and mire in search of a good bite, may solace his imagination with reminiscences of Troy and the Hellespont. But the good people of those days did not wholly rely for a supply of fish on this very tedious and inefficient process; they had discovered the use of nets, which Homer describes the fisherman casting on the sea shore.⁶ Though the poet, however, had omitted all allusion to this kind of food, its use might, nevertheless, have been confidently inferred, as may that of milk, common to all nations, though Homer mentions it only, I believe, in the case of the Hippomolgians,⁷ and the cannibal Polyphemus, who understood also the luxury of cheese.⁸ Circe, too, who being a goddess may be supposed to have been a connoisseur in dainties, presents her paramour Odysseus with a curious mixture, consisting of cheese, honey, flour, and wine,⁹ very savoury, no

¹ Odyss. μ. 330. sqq.

² Deipnosoph. i. 47.

³ Plut. Sympos. viii. 8.

⁴ Il. ι. 360.

⁵ Il. π. 407.

⁶ Od. χ. 364, sqq. Eustathius, however, on this passage observes, that though nets are

spoken of in the Iliad, (ε. 487,) this is the only place where the poet distinctly mentions their being used in taking fish.

⁷ Il. ο. 6.

⁸ Od. ι. 236, 246. Theoc. Eidyll. xi. 35.

⁹ Od. κ. 234, seq.

doubt, and by old Nestor considered of salutary nature, since Hecamedè, at his order, prepares a plentiful supply of it for the wounded Machaon. Along with this posset, garlic was eaten as a relish.¹

Fruits and potherbs, as may be supposed, were already in use.² Garlic we have mentioned above; and Odysseus, after all his wars and wanderings, recalls to mind with a quite natural pleasure the apple and pear trees which his father, Laertes, had given him when a boy.³ Alcinoös possessed a fine orchard, where, though the process of grafting is supposed to have been then unknown, we find a variety of beautiful fruits, as pears, apples, pomegranates, delicious figs, olives, and grapes; and in his kitchen-garden were all kinds of vegetables.⁴ And the shadowy boughs of a similar orchard, covered with golden fruit, wave over Tantalos in Hades, but are blown back by the wind whenever the wretched old sinner stretches forth his hand towards them.⁵ From this circumstance Athenæus, with much ingenuity, infers that fruit was actually in use before the Trojan war! Apples seem then, as now, to have constituted a favourite portion of the dessert, though among the Homeric warriors they seem sometimes to have formed a principal part of the meal; for Servius⁶ describes the primitive repasts as consisting of two courses, of which the first was animal food, and apples the second.

Salt was in great use in the Homeric age, and by the poet sometimes called divine.⁷ Plato, also, in the *Timæos*,⁸ speaks of salt as a thing acceptable to the gods, an expression which Plutarch quotes with mani-

¹ Il. λ. 623, sqq. This mixture called *κυκεών*, is more than once mentioned by Plato — *De Rep.* iii. t. vi. p. 148.

² Cf. Hom. Il. λ. 629, seq.

³ Od. ω. 339.

⁴ Od. η. 115, sqq. Plut. *Sympos.* v. 8.

⁵ Od. λ. 587, sqq.

⁶ *Ad Æneid.* i. 727.

⁷ Il. ι. 214. In later times it was customary to bruise thyme small, and mingle it with salt to give it a finer flavour. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 772. Suid. v. *θυμῖδιον ἀλῶν*. t. i. p. 1336. b.

⁸ *Opera*, t. vii. p. 80.

fest approbation in a passage where he grows quite eloquent in praise of this article, which he denominates the condiment of condiments, adding, that of some it was numbered among the Graces.¹ By the most ancient Greeks salt was, for this reason, always spoken of in conjunction with the table, as in the old proverb, where men were advised "never to pass by salt or a table," that is, not to neglect a good dinner.² Poor men, who probably had no other seasoning for their food, were contemptuously denominated "salt-lickers."³ But, in Homer's time, there existed certain Hellenic tribes who had not yet arrived at a knowledge of this luxury; among whom, accordingly, even the most aristocratic personages were compelled to go without salt to their porridge.⁴ The poet has, indeed, omitted to mention their names; but Pausanias supposes him to have alluded to the more inland clans of Epeiots, many of which had not yet, in those ages, acquired a knowledge of salt, or even of the sea.⁵

It appears to be agreed on all hands, that the primitive races of men were mere water-drinkers. Accordingly they had neither poets nor inn-keepers, nor excisemen, — three classes of persons who never flourish but where wine, or at least beer, is found. Homer more than once alludes to this vicious habit of the old world, where, with a sly insinuation of contempt, — for he was himself partial to the blood-red wine, — he tells us that this or that nation drank, like so many oxen or crocodiles, of the waters of such or such a river. Thus, when enumerating the allies of Ilion, he describes the Zeleians as those who sipped the black waters of the Æsepos.⁶ Pindar, too, in the hope of obtaining a reputation for sobriety, says, he was accustomed to drink the waters of

¹ Sympos. v. 9.

² Erasm. Adag. Chil. i. Cent. vi. Adag. 10.

³ Ἀλαλείχειν. Erasm. Adag. iii. vi. 33, or, as Persius expresses

it, "digito terebrare salinum." Sat. v. 138.

⁴ Od. λ. 122.

⁵ Paus. i. 1. 12.

⁶ Il. β. 824, seq.

Thebes, which, in his opinion, were very delicious,¹ though Hippocrates would unquestionably have been of a totally different way of thinking. The Persian, and afterwards the Parthian kings, appear in many cases to have entertained a temperate predilection for the water of certain streams, of which Milton has given eternal celebrity to one:—

“ Choaspes, amber stream,
The drink of none but kings.”²

But evidently through mistake; for though historians pretend that the Parthian monarchs would drink of no water save that of the Choaspes, to which Pliny³ adds the Eulæus, it is by no means said that they enjoyed a monopoly of those streams. Perhaps our great poet confounded the Choaspes with those Golden Waters which, in Athenæus, are said to have been wholly reserved for the use of the king and his eldest son.⁴

Wine, however, was invented very early in the history of the world; and the virtue of sobriety was born along with it; for, until then, it had been no merit to be sober. With whomsoever its use began, wine was well known to Homer's heroes, one of whom speaks of it, in conjunction with bread, as the chief root of man's strength and vigour.⁵ Yet the warriors of those ages by no means exhibited that selfish par-

¹ Pind. Olymp. vi. 85.

² Paradise Regained, iii. 288, seq.

³ Hist. Nat. xxxi. 21. “ Parthorum reges,” says this writer, “ ex Choaspe et Eulæo tantum bibunt; et eæ quamvis in longinqua comitatur eos.” Hence Tibullus has the following verses in his Panegyric of Messala, iv. 1. 142:

“ Nec quâ vel Nilus vel regia
 lympha Choaspes
“ Profluit.

Herod. i. 188. Æl. Var. Hist. xii. 40. Cf. Strabo. l. xv. c. 3. t. iii. p. 318.

⁴ Athen. xii. 9. Ἀγαθοκλῆς δ', ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ Κυζίκου, ἐν Πέρσαις φησὶν εἶναι καὶ χρυσοῦν καλούμενον ὕδωρ. εἶναι δὲ τοῦτο λιβάδας ἐβδομήκοντα, καὶ μηδένα πίνειν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἢ μόνον βασιλέα, καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτατον αὐτοῦ τῶν παίδων. τῶν δ' ἄλλων εἰάν τις πῖνῃ, θάνατος ἢ ζημία.

⁵ Iliad. i. 702. τ. 161.

simony which led the Romans to debar their matrons the use of wine.¹ In Homer we find women, even while very young, permitted the enjoyment of it: for example, Nausicaa and her companions, who, in setting forth on their washing excursion, are furnished by the queen herself with a plentiful supply of provisions, and a skin of wine.² Boys, likewise, in the heroic ages, met with similar indulgence; for Phoenix is represented permitting Achilles to join him in his potations before the little urchin knew how to drink without spilling it over himself.³ This practice, however, is very properly condemned by Plato, who considered that no person under eighteen should be allowed to taste of wine, and even then but sparingly.⁴ After thirty, more discretion might, he thought, be granted them; though he recommended sobriety at all times, save, perhaps, on the anniversary festival of Dionysos, and certain other divinities, when a merry bowl was judged in keeping with the other ceremonies of the day.⁵

We shall now pass from the primitive aliments of the heroic times to those almost infinite varieties of good things which the ingenuity of later ages brought into use. The reader, not already familiar with the gastronomic fragments of ancient literature, will probably be surprised at the omniverous character of the Greeks, to whom nothing seems to have come amiss, from the nettle-top to the peach, from the sow's metra to the most delicate bird, from the shark to the small semi-transparent aphyæ, caught along the shores of Attica.⁶ Through this ocean of dain-

¹ Athen. x. 33.

² Od. ζ. 77, seq.

³ Iliad. ι. 487.

⁴ Montaigne, whom few things of this kind had escaped, reads *forty*, and thinks that men might lawfully get drunk after that age. *Essais*, ii. 2. t. iii. p. 278.

⁵ De Legg. ii. t. vii. p. 258, sqq.

⁶ Ass's flesh was commonly eaten by the Athenians. Poll. ix. 48, et Comment. t. vi. p. 938, seq. Their neighbours the Persians, however, enjoyed one dainty not known, I believe, to the Greeks; that is to say, a camel, which, we are told, they sometimes roasted whole. Herod. i. 123. Athen. iv. 6. In the opi-

ties we shall endeavour to make our way on the following plan :—first, it will be our “hint to speak” of the more solid kinds of food, as beef, mutton, pork, veal; we shall then make a transition to the soups, fowls, and fish; next the fruit will claim our attention; and, lastly, the several varieties of wines.

It has already been observed, that in the earliest ages men wholly abstained from animal food.¹ Afterwards when they began to cast “wolfish eyes” upon their mute companions on the globe, the hog is said to have been the first creature whose character emboldened them to make free with him. They saw it endued with less intelligence than other animals; and, from its stupidity, inferred that it ought to be eaten, its soul merely serving during life, as salt, to keep the flesh from putrefying.² The determining reason, however, appears to have been, that they could make no other use of him, since he would neither plough like the ox, nor be saddled and mounted like the horse or ass, nor become a pleasant companion, or guard the house, like the dog.

It was long before men in any country slew the ox for food; his great utility was his protection, and in some parts of the East the well-meaning priesthood at length compassed him round with the armour of superstition, which outlasted the occasion, and in India has come down in nearly all its strength to our own day. It was otherwise in Greece. There common sense quickly dissipated the illusion, which, while it was necessary, had guarded the ox, and beef became the favourite food

nion of Aristotle the flesh of this animal was singularly good : ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὰ κρέα καὶ τὸ γάλα ἡδίστα πάντων.—Hist. Anim. vi. 26. It was this passage, perhaps, that first induced Heliogabalus to try a camel's foot, which he appears afterwards to have much affected. Lamprid. Vit. Anton. Heliogab. § 19. Hist. Aug. Script. p. 195.

The same emperor also tried the taste of an ostrich, whose eggs anciently constituted an article of food among certain nations of Africa. Lucian. de Dipsad. § 7.

¹ Plato, De Legg. vi. t. vii. p. 471.

² Cicero, De Natura Deorum, ii. 64. Dion. Chrysost. i. 280, cum not. Reisk.

of its hardy and active inhabitants, who likewise fed indiscriminately on sheep, goats, deer, hares, and almost every other animal, wild or tame.

It has been seen that in remote ages fish did not constitute any great part of the sustenance of the Greeks. But public opinion afterwards underwent a very considerable change. From having been held in so little estimation as to be left chiefly to the use of the poor, in the historical ages it became their greatest luxury.¹ And there arose among gourmands, those ancient St. Simonians, whose god was their belly, a kind of enthusiastic rivalry as to who should be first in the morning at the fish-market, and bear away, as in triumph, the largest Copaic eels, the finest pair of soles, or the freshest *anthias*.² On this subject, therefore, our details must be somewhat more elaborate than on beef and mutton. And first, we shall take the reader along with us to the market, whither it will be advisable that he carry as little money as possible, since, according to the comic poets, your Athenian fishmonger, not content with being a mere rogue, dealt a little also in the assassin's trade.³

The first thing which a rich gourmand inquired in the morning was, which way the wind blew. If from the north, and there was anything like a sea, he remained sullenly at home, for no fishing smacks could in that case make the Peiræus;⁴ but if the wind sat in any other quarter, out he

¹ The Pythagoreans, however, must be excluded from this category since they abstained from fish because they kept perpetual silence like themselves.—Athen. vii. 80. Another and a better reason, perhaps, may be discovered in a passage of Archestratos, who, observing that the sea-dog is delicious eating, proceeds to dispose of the objection that it feeds

on human flesh, by saying, that all fish do the same. Id. vii. 85. From this fact the Pythagoreans esteemed fish-eaters no better than cannibals at second-hand.

² Cf. Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 525.

³ Amphis ap. Athen. vi. 5.

⁴ Athen. viii. 81. Cf. Xenoph. Hellen. v. i. 23.

went eagerly and stealthily with a slave and basket¹ at his heels, casting about anxious looks to discover whether any other impassioned fish-eater had got the start of him on his way to the Agora, who might clear the stalls of the best anthias or thunny before he could reach the spot.

The unmoneyed rogue, however, whose ambitious taste soared to these expensive dainties, approached the market with a rueful countenance. Thus we find a poor fellow describing, in Antiphanes, his morning's pilgrimage in search of a pair of soles:

I once believed the Gorgons fabulous :
But in the agora quickly changed my creed,
And turned almost to stone, the pests beholding
Standing behind the fish stalls. Forced I am
To look another way when I accost them,
Lest if I saw the fish they ask so much for,
I should at once grow marble.²

Amphis, another comic poet, supplies us with further details respecting the hardships encountered by those who had to deal with fishmongers at Athens. Much of his wit is, I fear, intransferable, depending in a great measure on the vernacular clipping of Greek common in the market-place. But the sense, at least, may perhaps be given:

“ Ten thousand times more easy 'tis to gain
Admission to a haughty general's tent,
And have discourse of him, than in the market
Audience to get of a cursed fishmonger.
If you draw near and say, How much my, friend,
Costs *this* or *that*?—No answer. Deaf you think
The rogue must be, or stupid; for he heeds not
A syllable you say, but o'er his fish
Bends silently like Telephos (and with good reason,
For his whole race he knows are cut-throats all).
Another minding not, or else not hearing,

¹ This basket was usually of rushes, in form like a basin, and with a handle passing over the top.—Antich. di Ercol. tav. 21. tom. i. p. 111.

² Athen. vi. 4.

Pulls by the legs a polypus.¹ A third
 With saucy carelessness replies, ' Four oboli,
 That 's just the price. For this no less than eight.
 Take it or leave it ! ' " ²

Alexis, too, that most comic of comic writers, seems to have imagined, that the humour of his pieces would be incomplete without a spice of the fishmonger. Commencing, like Amphis, with an allusion to the haughty airs of military men, he glides into his subject as follows :—

However, this is still endurable.
 But when a paltry fishfag will look big,
 Cast down his eyes affectedly, or bend
 His eyebrows upwards like a fullstrained bow,
 I burst with rage. Demand what price he asks
 For—say two mullets ; and he answers straight
 " Ten obols "—" Ten ? That 's dear : will you take eight ? "
 " Yes, if one fish will serve you."—" Friend, no jokes ;
 I am no subject for your mirth."—" Pass on, Sir !
 And buy elsewhere."—Now tell me is not this
 Bitterer than gall ? ³

But if the reader should be disposed to infer from these testimonies that the fishmongering race were saucy only at Athens, he will be in danger of falling into error. Throughout the ancient world they were the same, and we fear that should any poor devil from Grub-street, or the *Quartier Latin*, presume to dispute respecting the price of salmon with one of their cockney or Parisian descendants, he would meet with little more politeness. At all events their manners had not improved in the Eternal city,⁴ for it is *a propos* of the Roman fishfags that Athenæus brings forward his examples of like insolence elsewhere. The poet Diphilos would appear, like Archestratos, to have travelled in search of good fish and civil fishmongers, but his labours

¹ Cf. Chandler, ii. 143. Plin.
 Hist. Nat. ix. 45, seq.

² Athen. vi. 5.

³ Athen. vi. 5.

⁴ Deipnosoph. vi. 4.

were fruitless; he might as well have peregrinated the world in the hope of finding that island where soles are caught ready-fried in the sea. Such at least is the tenour of his own complaint:

Troth, in my greener days I had some notion
That here at Athens only, rogues sold fish;
But everywhere, it seems, like wolf or fox,
The race is treacherous by nature found.
However, we have one scamp in the agora
Who beats all others hollow. On his head
A most portentous fell of hair nods thick
And shades his brow. Observing your surprise,
He has his reasons pat; it grows forsooth
To form, when shorn, an offering to some god!
But that's a feint, 'tis but to hide the scars
Left by the branding iron upon his forehead.
But, passing that, you ask perchance the price
Of a sea-wolf—"Ten oboli"—very good.
You count the money. "Oh not those," he cries,
"Æginetan I meant." Still you comply.
But if you trust him with a larger piece,
And there be change to give; mark how the knave
Now counts in Attic coin, and thus achieves
A two-fold robbery in the same transaction!¹

Xenarchos paints a little scene of ingenious roguery with a comic extravagance altogether Shakespearian, and incidentally throws light on a curious law of Athens, enacted to protect the citizens against stinking fish.² The power of invention, he observes—willing to kill two birds with one stone—had totally deserted the poets in order to take up with the fishmongers; for while the former merely hashed up old ideas, the latter were always hitting upon new contrivances to poison the Demos:

Commend me for invention to the rogue
Who sells fish in the agora. He knows

¹ Athen. vi. 6.

² The longer to preserve fish fresh, the Orientals sometimes cover them with a coating of wax.

Mullets, caught at Damietta, are sent, thus preserved, throughout the Turkish Empire, as well as to different parts of Europe. Pococke's Description of the East.

In fact there 's no mistaking,—that the law
 Clearly and formally forbids the trick
 Of reconciling stale fish to the nose
 By constant watering. But if some poor wight
 Detect him in the fact, forthwith he picks
 A quarrel, and provokes his man to blows.
 He wheels meanwhile about his fish, looks sharp
 To catch the nick of time, reels, feigns a hurt :
 And prostrate falls, just in the right position.
 A friend placed there on purpose, snatches up
 A pot of water, sprinkles a drop or two,
 For form's sake on his face, but by mistake,
 As you must sure believe, pours all the rest
 Full on the fish, so that almost you might
 Consider them fresh caught.¹

By a law passed at the instance of the wealthy Aristonikos, himself no doubt an ichthyophagos, the penalty of imprisonment was decreed against all those who, having named a price for their fish, should take less, in order that they might at once demand what was just and no more. In consequence of this enactment, an old woman or a child might be sent to the fish-market, without danger of being cheated. According to another provision of this Golden Law, as it is termed by Alexis, fish-mongers were compelled to stand at their stalls and not to sit as had previously been the custom. The comic poet, in the fulness of his charity, expresses a hope that they might be all *suspended* aloft on the following year, by which means, he says, they would get a quicker sight of their customers, and

¹ Our readers will probably remember the good old Italian marchioness, who having, perhaps, been cajoled, by the blarney of some Hibernian peripatetic, into the purchase of a pair of strong-odoured soles, recommended to our magistrates the adoption of an ordinance passed, as she affirmed, by his grace of Tuscany. In that prince's territories, she assured their worships, the man

who has fish to sell, must transact business standing on one leg in a bucket of hot water, a practice undoubtedly calculated to induce despatch and prevent haggling. This Tuscan enactment might evidently have been adopted with great advantage at Athens, where, however, legislation proceeded on exactly the same principles, and attained in this point an almost equal degree of perfection.

carry on their dealings with mankind from a machine like the gods of tragedy.¹

In consequence no doubt of the perpetually increasing demand, fish was extremely dear at Athens. Accordingly Diphilos, addressing himself to Poseidon, who, as god of the sea, was god also of its inhabitants, informs him that, could he but secure the tithe of fish, he would soon become the wealthiest divinity in Olympus. Among those who distinguished themselves in this business in the agora, and apparently became rich, it is probable that many were metoiki, such as Hermæos, the Egyptian, and Mikion, who, though his country is not mentioned, was probably not an Athenian. In proportion as they grew opulent, the gourmands on whom they preyed became poor, and doubtless there was too much truth in the satire which represented men dissipating their whole fortunes in the frying-pan. There were those also it seems who spent their evenings on the highway, in order to furnish their daily table with such dainties. For this fact we have the satisfactory testimony of Alexis in his Heiress :

Mark you a fellow who, however scant
In all things else, hath still wherewith to purchase
Cod, eel, or anchovies, be sure i' the dark
He lies about the road in wait for travellers.
If therefore you 've been robbed o'ernight, just go
At peep of dawn to th' agora and seize
The first athletic, ragged vagabond
Who cheapens eels of Mikion. He, be sure,
And none but he's the thief: to prison with him !²

They had at Corinth a pretty strict police regulation on this subject. When any person was observed habitually to purchase fish, he was interrogated by the authorities respecting his means. If found to be a man of property they suffered him to do what he pleased with his own; but, in the contrary event, he received a gentle hint that the

¹ Athen. vi. 8.

² Athen. vi. 10. 12.

state had its eye upon him. The neglect of this admonition was followed, in the first place, by a fine, and ultimately, if persevered in, by a punishment equivalent to the treadmill.¹ These matters were in Athens submitted to the cognizance of two or three magistrates, called *Opsonomoi*, nominated by the Senate.² With respect to the purchase of this class of viands, everywhere attended with peculiar difficulties, it may be said, that the ancients had considerably the advantage of us; since in Lynceus of Samos's "Fish-buyer's Manual," they possessed a sure guide through all the intricacies of bargaining in the agora.

But before we proceed further with this part of our subject, we will demand permission of Lynceus to hear what Hesiod has to say of saltfish, on which Euthydemus, the Athenian, composed a separate treatise. According to this poet, who boldly speaks of cities erected long after his death, immense quantities of fish were salted on the Bosphoros, sometimes entire, as in modern times,³ sometimes cut into gobbets of a moderate size. Among these were the *oxyrinchos* whose taste proved often fatal, the *thunny*, and the mackerel. The little city of Parion furnished the best *kolias* (a kind of mackerel), and the Tarentine merchants brought to Athens pickled *orcynos* from Cadiz, cut into small triangular pieces, in jars.⁴ Physicians, indeed, inveighed against these relishes; but the gourmands would consult only their palates and preferred a short life with pickled *thunny* to that of Saturn himself on beef and mutton.

But the Hesiod of Euthydemus (a creation probably of his own) is but very poor authority compared with Archestratos, who made the pilgrimage of the world in search of good cheer, and afterwards, for the benefit of posterity, treasured up his experience in a grand culinary epic. In his opinion a

¹ Diphilos apud Athen. vi. 12.

² Athen. vi. 72.

³ Herod. iv. 53.

⁴ Athen. iii. 84.

slice of Sicilian thunny was a rare delicacy, while the *saperda*, though brought from the Pontos Euxinos, he held as cheap as those who boasted of it.¹ The *scombros*, by some supposed to be a species of thunny, though others understand by it the common mackerel, stood high in the estimation of this connoisseur. He directs that it be left in salt three days, and eaten before it begins to melt into brine.² In his estimation the *horaion*³ of Byzantium was likewise a great delicacy, which he advises the traveller, who might pass through that city, to taste by all means. It seems to have been there what macaroni is at Naples.

Alexis, in one of his comedies, introduces the Symposiarch of an *Eranos* (president of a picnic) accounting with one of the subscribers who comes to demand back his ring, and in the course of the dialogue, where something like Falstaff's tavern-bill is discussed, we find the prices of several kinds of salt-fish. An *omotarichos* (shoulder piece of thunny) is charged at five *chalci*; a dish of sea-mussels, seven *chalci*, of sea-urchins, an *obol*, a slice of *kybion*, three *obols*, a conger eel, ten, and another plate of broiled fish, a *drachma*. This comic writer⁴ rates the fish of the Nile very low, and he is quite right, for they are generally muddy and ill-tasted, though the Copts, who have considerable experience during Lent, contrive, by the application of much *Archestratic* skill, to render some kinds of them palatable. Sophocles, in a fragment of his lost drama of *Phineus*, speaks of salt-fish embalmed like an Egyptian mummy.⁵ Stock-fish, as I know to my cost,

¹ Athen. iii. 85.

² Athen. iii. 85. The *Scomber Pelamys* or mackerel of Pallas, caught in the Black Sea, is pickled in casks and not eaten for a twelvemonth. *Travels in Southern Russia*, iv. 242.

³ *Poterant ὀπαῖα nominari, ut vere vel initio ætatis salita, quo*

tempore minus pinguis totus piscis esset. Schweigh. *Animadv.* in Athen. iii. 85. t. vii. 313. Cf. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xxxii. 53. Gesner, *De Salsamentis*.

⁴ Ap. Athen. iii. 86. Cf. Herod. ii. 77.

⁵ Athen. iii. 86.

is still a fashionable dish in the Mediterranean, especially on board ship, and from a proverb preserved by Athenæus we find it was likewise in use among the Athenians.¹

The passion of this refined people for salt-fish furnished them with an occasion of showing their gratitude publicly. They bestowed the rights of citizenship on the sons of Chæriphilos, a metoikos who first introduced among them a knowledge of this sort of food.² A similar feeling prompted the Dutch to erect a statue to G. Bukel, the man who taught them to salt herrings.³

Without enumerating a tenth part of the other species eaten among the Greeks, we pass to the shell-fish, of which they were likewise great amateurs. Epicharmos, in his marriage of Hebe, supplies a curious list, which, however, might be extended almost ad infinitum. Among these were immense limpets, the buccinum, the cecibalos, the tethynakion, the sea-acorn, the purple fish, oysters hard to open but easy to swallow, mussels, sea-snails or periwinkles, skiphydria sweet to taste but prickly to touch, large shelled razor-fish, the black conch, and the amathitis. The conch was also called tellinè as the same poet in his Muses observes. Alcæos wrote a song to the limpet beginning with

“ Child of the rock and hoary sea.”⁴

Boys used to make a sort of whistle of tortoise and mussel shells. These mussels were usually broiled on the coals, and Aristophanes, very ingenious in his similes, compares a gaping silly fellow to a mussel in the act of being cooked.⁵

Like the sepia, of which excellent pilaus are made at Alexandria, the porphyra or purple fish was very good eating, and thickened the liquor in which it

¹ Deipnosoph. iii. 89.

² Athen. iii. 90.

³ Goguet, Origine des Loix, i. 254.

⁴ Athen. iii. 30, 31. Cf. Scheigh. Animadv. t. vii. p. 68, sqq.

⁵ Fragm. Babylon. 2. Brunck. Athen. iii. 33.

was boiled.¹ There was a small delicate shell-fish caught on the island of Pharos and adjacent coasts of Egypt, which they called Aphrodite's ear,² and there is still found on the same coast near Canopos a diminutive and beautiful rose-coloured conch called Venus's nipple. On the same shore, about the rise of the Nile, that species of mussel called tellinè was caught in great abundance, but the best-tasted were said to be found in the river itself. A still finer kind were in season about autumn in the vicinity of Ephesos. The echinos, or sea-chestnut,³ cooked with oxymel, parsley, and mint, was esteemed good and wholesome eating. Those caught about Cephalonia, Icaria, and Achaia were bitterish, those of Sicily laxative; the best were the red and the quince coloured. A laughable anecdote is told of a Spartan, who being invited to dine where sea-chestnuts were brought to table, took one upon his plate, and not knowing how they were eaten put it into his mouth, shell and all. Finding it exceedingly unmanageable, he turned it about for some time, seeking slowly and cautiously to discover the knack of eating it. But the rough and prickly shell still resisting his efforts, his temper grew ruffled; crunching it fiercely he exclaimed, "Detestable beast! Well! I will not let thee go now, after having thus ground thee to pieces; but assuredly I will never touch thee again."

Oysters were esteemed good when boiled with mallows, or monks' rhubarb.⁴ In general, however,

¹ Athen. iii. 30. During their long fasts the modern Greeks also eat the cuttle-fish, snails, &c. Chandler, ii. 143.

² Athen. iii. 35.

³ Athen. iii. 40. The taking of this fish at Sunium is thus described by Chandler: "Meanwhile
"our sailors, except two or three
"who accompanied us, stripped
"to their drawers to bathe, all
"of them swimming and diving

"remarkably well; some running
"about on the sharp rocks with
"their naked feet, as if devoid of
"feeling, and some examining the
"bottom of the clear water for
"the Echinus or sea-chestnut, a
"species of shell-fish common on
"this coast, and now in perfec-
"tion, the moon being nearly
"at the full." Vol. ii. p. 8.

⁴ Demet. Scep. ap. Athen. iii. 41.

the physicians of antiquity considered them hard of digestion. But lest the shelled-fish should usurp more space than is their due, we shall conclude with Archestratos' list, in which he couples with each the name of the place where the best were caught:

For mussels you must go to Ænos ; oysters
You 'll find best at Abydos. Parion
Rejoices in its urchins ; but if cockles
Gigantic and sweet-tasted you would eat,
A voyage must be made to Mitylene,
Or the Ambracian Gulf, where they abound
With many other dainties. At Messina,
Near to the Faro, are pelorian conchs,
Nor are those bad you find near Ephesos ;
For Tethyan oysters, go to Chalcedon ;
But for the Heralds,¹ may Zeus overwhelm them
Both in the sea and in the agora !
Aye, all except my old friend Agathon,
Who in the midst of Lesbian vineyards dwells.²

We have already mentioned the magnificent eels of Lake Copais,³ in Bœotia, a longing for which appears to have been Aristophanes's chief motive for desiring an end to the Peloponnesian war. Next in excellence were those caught in the river Strymon, and the Faro of Messina.⁴ The ellops, by some supposed to be the sword-fish,⁵ was found in greatest perfection near Syracuse; at least, in

¹ The κήρυξ, ceryx, so called because the Heralds (κήρυκες) used its shell instead of a trumpet, when making proclamation of any decree in the agora.

² Athen. iii. 44. Cf. Polluc. vi. 47. The ancients made the most of their fish in every way. They were hawked about the streets in rush-baskets, as with us.—Athen. vii. 72.

³ Sch. Aristoph. Acharn, 845. Lysist. 36. There were in the fountain at Arethusa, as we are told by the philosophical Plutarch,

eels that understood their own names.—Solert. Anim. § 23.

⁴ Archestratos gives the preference over all other eels to those caught in the Faro of Messina. Athen. vii. 53. Very excellent and large eels are taken in the lake of Korion, in Crete, according to the testimony of Buondelmonte. Pashley, i. 72.

⁵ On the sword-fish fishery in the Strait of Messina, see Spallanzani's Travels in the Two Sicilies, vol. iv. p. 331, sqq.

the opinion of Arcestratos; but Varro and Pliny give the preference to that of Rhodes, and others to that of the Pamphylian sea.¹ The red mullet, the hepsetos, the hepatos, the elacaten, the thunny, the hippouros, the hippos, or sea-horse, found in perfection on the shores² of Phoenicia, the ioulis, the kichlè, or sea-thrush, the sea-boar, the citharos, the kordylos, the river cray-fish, the shark, which was eaten when young, the mullet, the coracinos, the carp, the gudgeon, the sea-cuckoo, the sea-wolf, the latos, the leobatos, or smooth ray, the lamprey,³ the myræna, the anchovy,⁴ the black tail, the torpedo, the mormyros, the orphos, the onos, the polypus, the crab, the sea-perch, the physa, or sea-tench, the raphis, the sea-dog,⁵ the scaros, the sparos, the scorprios, the salpe, or stock-fish, the synodon, the sauros, the scepinos, or halibut, the sciaina, the syagris, the sphyræna, the sepia, the tœnia, the skate, the cuttle-fish, the byca, the phagros, the perca cabrilla, the chromis, the gilt-head, the trichidon, the thratta, and the turbot;⁶ such is a list of the fish in common use among the Greeks. The species it will be seen has not in many cases been ascertained.

¹ Athen. vii. 57. Animadv. t. ix. p. 220.

² The finest prawns were taken at Minturnæ, on the coast of Campania, exceeding in size those of Smyrna, and the crabs (ἀστράκοι) of Alexandria.—Athen. i. 12.

³ See on Crassus's lamprey. Plut. Solert. Animal. § 23.

⁴ Esteemed a delicacy cooked with leeks. Aristoph. Vesp. 494. Cf. Acharn. 901. Av. 76.

⁵ See Spallanzani's Travels in the Two Sicilies, vol. iv. p. 343, sqq.

⁶ Athen. vii. 16—39. Aristot. Hist. Anim. iv. 2—6. viii. 3, 4, 5, 16.

CHAPTER IV.

POULTRY, FRUIT, WINE, ETC.

THE reader by this time will, probably, be willing to escape from fish, though it would be easy to treat him to many new kinds, and along with us take a slice of Greek pheasant, or the breast of an Egyptian quail. In other words, he will hear what we have to say on Hellenic poultry. Chrysippos, in his treatise on things desirable in themselves, appears to have reckoned Athenian cocks and hens among the number, and reprehends the people of Attica for importing, at great expense, barn-door fowls from the shores of the Adriatic, though of smaller size, and much inferior to their own; while the inhabitants of those countries, on the other hand, were anxious to possess Attic poultry.¹ Matron, the parodist, who furnishes an amusing description of an Athenian repast, observes, that excellent wild ducks were brought to town from Salamis, where they grew fat in great numbers on the borders of the sacred Lake.²

The thrush,³ reckoned among the greatest deli-

¹ Athen. vii. 23.

² Athen. iv. 23.

³ The solitary sparrow inhabits the cliffs of Delphi, and the song-thrush is heard in the pine woods of Parnassus. Above these, when the heights of the mountain are covered with snow, is seen the *Emberiza Nivalis*, inhabitant alike of the frozen Spitzbergen, and of the Grecian Alp.—Sibthorpe in

Walp. Mem. i. 76, seq. Homer is said to have written a poem called *Ἐπικυχλίδεις*, because when he sung it to the boys they rewarded him with thrushes. In consequence of the estimation in which these birds were held *κυχλίζω* “to feed on thrushes,” came to signify “to live luxuriously.”—Payne Knight, Prolegg. ad Hom. p. 8.

cacies of the ancients, generally at grand entertainments formed part of the propoma, or first course, and was eaten with little cakes, called ametiskoi. If we may credit Epicharmos, a decided preference was given to such as fed on the olive. Aristotle divides the thrush into three species, the first and largest of which he denominates *Ixophagos*, or the "mistletoe-eater;" it was of the size of a magpie. The second, equal in bigness to the black bird, he calls *Trichas*,¹ and the third, and smallest kind, which was named *Ilas* or *Tulas*, according to Alexander, the Myndian, went in flocks, and built its nest like the swallow.² Next in excellence to the thrush was a bird known by a variety of names, *elaios*, *pirias*, *sycalis*,³ the beccafico of the moderns, which was thought to be in season when the figs were ripe. They likewise ate the turtle and the ringdove,⁴ which are excellent in Egypt; the chaffinch, to whose qualities I cannot bear testimony; and the blackbird. Nor did they spare the starling, the jackdaw, or the strouthanion, a small bird for which modern languages cannot afford a name. Brains were thought by the ancient philosophers an odious and cannibal-like food, because they are the fountain of all sensation; but this did not prevent the gourmands from converting pigs' brains into a dainty dish,⁵ and their taste has maintained its ground in Italy. Partridges, wood-pigeons, geese, quails, jays, are also enumerated among the materials of an Hellenic banquet.

¹ The red-winged thrush, well known to sportsmen in hard weather.

² Athen. ii. 68.

³ Arist. Hist. Anim. viii. 3. p. 221. ix. 49. p. 305. Bekk.

⁴ The turtle and the wood-pigeon are found in the woods and thickets. Among the larks, I

observed the crested lark to be the most frequent species, with a small sort, probably the *alauda campestris* of Linnæus. Black-birds frequent the olive grounds of Pendeli. — Sibth. in Walp. Mem. i. 76.

⁵ Athen. ii. 69—72.

Goose's liver was in extreme request both at Rome and Athens.¹ Another dainty was a cock served up with a rich sauce, containing much vinegar. Aristophanes speaks of the pheasant in his comedy of the Birds; and, again, in the Clouds, Athenæus rightly supposes him to mean this bird, where others imagine he alludes to the horses of the Phasis. Mnesilochos, a writer of the middle comedy, classes a plucked pheasant with *hen's milk*, among things equally difficult to be met with, which shows that the bird had not then become common. It obtained its name from being found in immense numbers about the embouchure of the Phasis, and the bird was evidently propagated very slowly in Greece and Egypt, since we find Ptolemy Philadelphos, in a grand public festival at Alexandria, exhibiting it, among other rarities, such as parrots, peacocks, guinea-fowl, and Ethiopian birds in cages.²

Among the favourite game of the Athenian gourmands was the Attagas,³ or francolin, a little larger than the partridge, variegated with numerous spots, and of common tile colour, somewhat inclining to red. It is said to have been introduced from Lydia into Greece, and was found in extraordinary abun-

¹ See the fragment of Eubulos's Garland-Seller, in Athen. ix. 33.

² Athen. ix. 38.

³ No bird appears to have puzzled commentators more than the *attagas*, some supposing it to be the *francolin*, or grouse, which is Schneider's opinion; others, as Passow, the *hazel-hen*; others, again, as Ainsworth, consider it to have been a delicious bird, resembling our wood-cock, or snipe. Mr. Mitchell's edit. of the Acharnæ of Aristophanes, 783.—This learned writer professes not to understand what Schneider means by *francolin*. The word in Ita-

lian is *francolino*, as appears from Bellon. v. 6: Les Italiens ont nommé cet oiseau Francolin, que parcequ'il est franc dans ce pays, c'est-à-dire, qu'il est défendu au peuple d'en tuer: il n'y a que les princes qui aient cette prérogative. — Valmont de Bomare, ii. 739.—Hardouin thinks, that the Attagas is the *gallina rustica*, or *gelinotte de bois*, which Laveaux explains to be a sort of partridge. —Cf. Dict. Franç. in voce, and Plin. Hist. Nat. xi. 68. ed. Franz. Cf. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 257. This bird was plentiful about Marathon, Pac. 249.

dance in the Megaris. Another of their favourites was the porphyryon, a bird which might with great advantage be introduced into many countries of modern Europe, since it was exceedingly domestic, and kept strict watch over the married women, whose *faut pas* it immediately detected and revealed to their husbands, after which, knowing the revengeful spirit of ladies so situated, it very prudently hung itself. It is no wonder, therefore, that the breed has long been extinct, or that the remnant surviving has taken refuge in some remote region, where wives require no such vigilant guardians. In the matter of eating it agreed exactly with Lord Byron, loving to feast alone, and in retired nooks, where none could observe. Aristotle describes this half fabulous bird as unwebfooted, of blue colour, with long legs, and red beak. The porphyryon was about the size of a cock, and originally a native of Libya, where it was esteemed sacred.¹

Another bird common in Greece, but now no longer known, was the porphyris, by some confounded with the foregoing. Of the partridge, common throughout Europe, we need merely remark, that both the gray and the red (the *bartavelle* of the French) were common in Greece.

If we pass from the poultry to puddings and soups,² we shall find that the Athenians were not ill-provided with these dainties. They even converted gruel into a delicacy,³ and it is said, that the best was made at Megara. They had bean soup, flour soup, ptisans made with pearl-barley or groats.⁴ We hear, also, of a delicately-powdered dish or soup

¹ Athen. ix. 40. Aristoph. Hist. Anim. i. 17. viii. 6.

² Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 103.

³ Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 803.—It was thought, also, to deserve a place among the offerings to Asclepius, especially by pious old women, who, having lost their

teeth, could eat nothing else. In lieu of the classical name of ἀθήρα, this gruel obtained, in the dialect of the common people, the more homely designation of κουρκούρη. Schol. Plut. 673.

⁴ Athen. iii. 101. iv. 30.

which was sprinkled over with fine flour and olives. The polphos, evidently *soupe à la julienne*, is said, by some, to have been composed of scraped roots, vegetables, and flour. Others take it to mean a sort of made-dish, resembling macaroni or vermicelli. Another kind of soup was the *kidron*, which, according to Pollux,¹ they made of green wheat, roasted and reduced to powder.

There was one dish fashionable among the ancient Greeks mistaken by our neighbours, the French, for plum-pudding, which is still found in perfection in the Levant, where I have many times eaten of it. Julius Pollux² has preserved the recipe for making it, and we can assure our gourmands, that nothing more exquisite was ever tasted, even in the best café of the Palais Royal. They took a certain quantity of the finest clarified lard, and, mixing it up with milk until it was quite thick, added an equal portion of new cheese, yolks of eggs, and the finest flour. The whole rolled up tight in a fragrant fig-leaf, was then cooked in chicken-broth, or soup made with kid's flesh. When they considered it well done, the leaf was removed and the pudding soured in boiling honey. It was then served up hissing-hot. All the ingredients were used in equal proportions, excepting the yolks of eggs, of which there was somewhat more than of anything else, in order to give firmness and consistency to the whole.³

Black puddings, made with blood, suet, and the other materials now used were also common at Athens.⁴ Mushrooms and snails were great favourites; and Poliochos speaks of going out in the dewy mornings in search of these luxuries.⁵ In spring, before the arrival of the swallow, the nettle

¹ Onomast. vi. 62.—Made usually from panic seed in Caria.—Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 580, et Eq. 803. Cf. Goguet, Origine des Loix, i. 212.

² Onomast. i. 237. vi. 57, 69.

³ Vid. Schol. Arist. Eq. 949. Acharn. 1066.

⁴ Aristoph. Eq. 208.

⁵ Athen. ii. 19.

was collected and eaten, it being then young and tender.¹ Leeks, onions, garlic, were in much request, the last particularly, which grew in great plenty in the Megarean territory, and hence, perhaps, the inhabitants were accounted hot and quarrelsome, garlic being supposed to inspire game, even in fighting cocks, to which it was accordingly given in great quantities.²

Among the herbs eaten by his countrymen, Hesiod enumerates the mallow,³ and the asphodel, which are likewise said by Aristophanes to have constituted a great part of the food of the early Greeks. Goetting, therefore, not without reason, wonders that Pythagoras should have prohibited the use of the mallow. Lupines, pomegranates, horse-radish, the dregs of grapes and olives, all of which entered into the material of an Attic entertainment, were commonly cried about the streets of Athens.⁴ But these edible lupines, (*βίσημοι*) still eaten by the Egyptian peasantry and the poor generally throughout the Levant, must be distinguished from the common species. An anecdote of Zeno, of Cition, will illustrate the character of this kind of pulse, with which the philosopher was evidently familiar. Being one day asked why, though naturally morose, he became quite affable when half-seas-over: "I am like the lupine," he replied, "which, when dry, is very bitter, but perfectly sweet and agreeable after it has been well soaked."⁵ Kidney-beans, too, were in much request, and pickled olives, slightly flavoured with fennel.

The radish⁶ was esteemed a great delicacy, par-

¹ Aristoph. Eq. 422. Brunck.

² Aristoph. Pac. 503.

³ Cf. Lucian. Amor. § 33.

⁴ Cf. Arist. Acharn. 166. Eq. 493. Athen. xiii. 22.

⁵ This is as good as the reply of an English labourer who, being reproached for babbling in his

drink, replied, "Sir, I am like a hedgehog—when I'm wet I open."

⁶ Hesiod. Oper. et Dies, 41. ed. Goetting. Aristoph. Plut. 543. Brunck. — Lobeck. Aglaoph. p. 899.

ticularly that of Thasos and Bœotia. And the seeds of the ground-pine,¹ still eaten as a dessert in Italy, entered, in Greece, also into the list of edible fruits.² The tree, I am informed, has been introduced into England, but I have nowhere seen its fruit brought among pears, walnuts, and apples, to table. Hen's milk has already been spoken of among the good things of Hellas;³ but lest the reader should suspect us of amusing him with fables, it should be explained, that the white of an egg was so called by Anaxagoras.⁴ Eggs of all kinds were much esteemed. Sometimes they were boiled hard, and cut in two with a hair; but, many writers, confounding ἄα, the berries of the service-tree, with ᾠὰ, eggs, have imagined that the Athenians, in the capriciousness of their culinary taste, actually ate pickled eggs, an idea which stirs to the bottom the erudite bile of David Ruhnken.⁵ Generally, eggs were eaten soft, as with us, or swallowed quite raw. Those of the pea-hen were considered the most delicate; next to these, the eggs of the *chenalopex bergander*, or Egyptian goose, and, lastly, those of the hen. This, at least, is the opinion of Epicrates and Heracleides, of Syracuse, in their treatises on cookery.⁶

As when an entertainment was given the host necessarily expected his guests to make a good dinner, they usually commenced the business of the day with an antecœnium or whet, consisting of herbs of the sharpest taste. At Athens, the articles which generally composed this course were colewort, eggs, oysters, œnomel—a mixture of honey and wine—all supposed to create appetite.⁷ To these even in later

¹ The kernels of the stone-pine are brought to table in Turkey. They are very common in the kitchens of Aleppo.—Russell ap. Walp. Mem. i. 236.

² Tim. Lex. Platon. v. στέρμυλα, p. 239. Ruhnken. Athen. ii. 45.

³ Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 505.

⁴ Athen. ix. 37.

⁵ Not. ad Timæi Lex. Plat. p. 189. Cf. Platon. Conviv. Oper. iv. 404. Bekk. Athen. ii. 50.

⁶ Athen. ii. 50.

⁷ Potter, Archæol. Græc. iv. 20. Stuck. Antiq. Conviv. iii. 11. Petron. Satyr. § 31. 33.

times were added the mallow and the asphodel, king's-spear or day-lily, gourds,¹ melons, cucumbers. The melons of Greece are still delicious, and famous as ever in the Levant. Antioch was celebrated for its cucumbers, Smyrna for its lettuces. Mushrooms were always a favourite dish;² and they had receipts for producing them, which even now, perhaps, may not be wholly unworthy of attention.

The use, however, of this kind of food was always attended with great danger, there being comparatively few species that could be safely eaten. Persons were frequently poisoned by them, and a pretty epigram of Euripides has been preserved, commemorating a mother and three children who had been thus cut off, in the island of Icaros:

Bright wanderer through the eternal way,
Has sight so sad as that which now
Bedims the splendour of thy ray,
E'er bid the streams of sorrow flow?
Here, side by side, in death are laid
Two darling boys, their mother's care;
And here their sister, youthful maid,
Near her who nursed and thought them fair.³

Diocles, of Carystos, enumerates among wholesome vegetables the red beet, the mallow, the dock, the nettle, orach, the bolbos, or truffle, and the mushroom, of which the best kinds were supposed to grow at the foot of elm and pine trees.⁴

The sion⁵ (*sium latifolium*), another of their vegetables, is a plant found in marshes and meadows, with the smallage.⁶

Another plant, of far greater celebrity, was the Silphion,⁷ once extremely plentiful in Cyrenaica, as

¹ The *σίκρα*, or long Indian gourd, so called because the seed was first brought from India to Greece. Athen. ii. 53.

² Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 189. 191. Eccles. 1092. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vii. 13. 8. Dioscor. ii.

200, seq. Athen. xii. 44. 70. Plin. Hist. Nat. xix. 11.

³ Athen. ii. 57.

⁴ Athen. ii. 57. 59.

⁵ Plin. Hist. Nat. xix. 11.

Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 191. 199.

⁶ Dioscorid. ii. 154.

⁷ Sch. Aristoph. Eq. 891.

also, though of an inferior quality, in Syria, Armenia, and Media, but afterwards so rare as to be thought extinct. Besides being used in seasoning soups and sauces, and mixed with salt for giving a superior flavour to meat, its juice occupied a high place among the *materia medica*.¹ A single plant was discovered in the reign of Nero, and sent to Rome as a present to the Emperor. Its seed, according to Pollux,² was called *magudaris*, its root *silphion*, the stem *caulos*, and the leaf *maspeton*. Be this as it may, it communicated to the sauces in which it was infused a pungent and somewhat bitter taste, and was in no favour with Archestratos.³

We come now to the fruit,⁴ and shall begin with that which was the pride of Attica, the fig.⁵ According to traditions fully credited in Athens, figs were first produced on a spot near the city, on the road to Eleusis, thence called *Hiera Suke*, "the sacred fig-tree."⁶ Like its men, the figs of Attica were esteemed the best in the world, and to secure an abundant supply for the use of the inhabitants it was forbidden to export them. As might have been expected, however, this decree was habitually contravened, and the informers against the delinquents were called *sycophants*, that is, "revealers of figs,"⁷ a word which has been adopted by most modern languages to signify mean-souled, dastardly persons, such as informers always are. The fig-tree of Laconia was a dwarfed species, and its fruit, according to Aristophanes,⁸ sa-

¹ It is called *laser*, Plin. Hist. Nat. xix. 15. Hard. But Philoxenos, in his Glossary, writes *λδσapιον*. Idem. See Dioscorid. iii. 76; and Strabo, xi. 13. t. ii. p. 452. Cf. Ezek. Spanh. Diss. iv. De Usu et Præstant. Numism. p. 253, sqq. Brotier, in his notes on Pliny, observes, on the authority of Le Maire, that the *Silphion* is still found in the neighbourhood of Derné, where it is called *cefie* or *zerra*.

² Onomast. vi. 67.

³ Ap. Athen. ii. 64.

⁴ Plat. Tim. t. vii. p. 119. Bruyerin. de Re Cib. l. xi. p. 447, sqq.

⁵ At present the green fig is esteemed insipid in Greece. Hobhouse, Travels, i. 227.

⁶ Athen. iii. 6. Meurs. Lect. Att. v. 16. p. 274.

⁷ Athen. iii. 6.

⁸ Fragm. Γεωργ. iv. t. ii. p. 268. Bekk.

voured of hatred and tyranny, like the people themselves.

There is no kind of fig,
Whether little or big,
Save the Spartan, which here does not grow ;
But this, though quite small,
Swells with hatred and gall,
A stern foe to the Demos, I trow.¹

Aristophanes, in Athenæus, speaking of fruit, couples myrtle-berries with Phibaleian figs.²

According to the ancients, there were certain sorts of fig-trees that bore twice, thrice, and even four times, in the year. Sosibios, the Laconian, attributing the discovery of the fig to Bacchos, observes, that for this reason the god was, at Sparta, worshiped under the name of *Sukites*. Andriscos, however, and Agasthenes, relate that this divinity obtained the name of *Meilichios*, "the gracious," among the Naxians because he taught them the use of figs. To eat figs at noon was regarded as unwholesome; and they were at all times supposed to be highly prejudicial to the voice, for which reason singers should carefully eschew them.³

The apples of Delphi enjoyed great celebrity, and probably, therefore, were mild, since these were thought superior, or at least more wholesome, than sharp ones. Quinces they esteemed still more salubrious than apples, and, during certain public rejoicings, this fruit, handfuls of myrtle-leaves, crowns of roses and violets, were cast before the cars of their princes and other great men.⁴ The Greeks loved to connect something of the marvellous with whatever they admired. To the quince they attributed the honour of being a powerful antidote, observing that even the Phariac poison, though of extremely rapid operation, lost its virulence if poured into any vessel which had held quinces and retained their odour.⁵ According to

¹ Athen. iii. 7.

² See Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 707.

³ Athen. iii. 19.

⁴ Stesich. ap. Athen. iii. 20.

⁵ Athen. iii. 21.

Hermon, in his Cretic Glossaries, the quince was called Kodumala, in Crete. Sidoüs, a village of Corinthia, was famous for its fine apples; and even Corinth itself, the “windy Ephyre” of Homer, produced them in great perfection.

“O where is the maiden, sweeter far
Than the ruddy fruits of Ephyre are?
When the winds of summer have o’er them blown,
And their cheeks with autumn’s gold have been strown!”¹

Another favourite fruit was the peach, introduced from Persia into Greece.² The citron, too, though supposed by some not to have been known to the ancient inhabitants of Hellas, perfumed in later ages the tables of the Greeks with its delicious fragrance. This is the fruit which, according to King Juba, was called in Africa “the apple of the Hesperides,” a name bestowed by Timachidas on a rich and fragrant kind of pear called *epimelis*. The oldest Greek writer who has described the citron tree is Theophrastus,³ who says it was found in Persia and Media. Its leaf, he observes, resembled that of the laurel, the strawberry tree, or the walnut. Like the wild pear tree, and the oxyacanthos, it has sharp, smooth, and very strong prickles. The fruit is not eaten, but together with the leaves exhales a sweet odour, and laid with cloths in coffers protects them from the moth. The citron tree, is always covered with fruit, some ripe and fit to be gathered, others green, with patches of gold; and, in the midst of these, are other branches covered thick with blossoms. It now forms the fairest ornaments of the gardens of Heliopolis, where it shades the Fountain of the Sun.

¹ Antigonos Carystios, ap. Athen. iii. 22.

² Vict. Var. Lect. p. 892.

³ Hist. Plantarum, iv. 4.2. The orange attains great perfection in

Crete. Mr. Pashley speaks of twelve different kinds, and nearly as many sorts of lemons. Travels, i. 96, seq.

Antiphanes observes, in his *Bœotian*, that it had only recently been introduced into Attica :

- A. 'Twould be absurd to speak of what 's to eat,
As if you thought of such things ; but, fair maid,
Take of these apples.
- B. Oh, how beautiful !
- A. They are, indeed, since hither they but lately
Have come from the great king.
- B. By Phosphoros !
I could have thought them from the Hesperian bowers,
Where th' apples are of gold.
- A. There are but three.
- B. The beautiful is no where plentiful.¹

Athenæus, after quoting the testimony of poets, relates a curious anecdote *à propos* of citrons, which I shall here repeat : it has, probably, some reference to the secret of the *Psylli*. An opinion, it seems, prevailed in Egypt, that a citron eaten the first thing in the morning was an antidote against all kinds of poison, whether taken into the stomach, or introduced by puncture into the blood, and the notion arose out of the following circumstance. A governor of Egypt, in the time of the Emperors, had condemned two criminals to be executed, in obedience to custom, by the bite of an asp. They were, accordingly, led in the morning towards the place of execution, and on the way the landlady of an inn, who happened to be eating citrons, compassionating their condition, gave them some which they ate. Shortly afterwards they were exposed to the hungry serpents, which immediately bit them, but instead of exhibiting the usual symptoms followed by death, they remained uninjured. At this the governor marvelled much,

¹ Ap. Athen. iii. 27. Mitford, *Hist. Greece*, i. 154, note 59, misled by Barthelemy (*Anacharsis*, ch. 59) confounds Antiphanes, the comic poet, born B. C. 407 (*Clinton, Fast. Hellen.* ii. 81) with

Antiphanes, the master of Thucydides, born B. C. 479, and who died in the year 411, four years before the birth of Antiphanes.—*Clinton*, ii. 31, 37.

and at length demanded of the soldier who guarded them, whether they had taken anything previously to their arrival. Learning what had happened he put off the execution to the following day, and ordering a citron to be given to one and not to the other, they were once more exposed to the bite of the asp. The wretch who had eaten nothing died soon after he was bitten, but the other experienced no inconvenience. Similar experiments were several times afterwards made by others, until it was at length ascertained that this exquisite fruit is really an antidote against poisons.¹

Another fruit of which great use was made, was the damascene plum, sometimes confounded with the brabylon. The cherry,² introduced into Italy by Lucullus, was known to the Greeks³ at a much earlier period, and is described by Theophrastus. The wild service berry,⁴ the dwarf cherry, the arbutus fruit, and the mulberry, formed part of their dessert. Even the blackberry, when perfectly ripe, was not disdained.⁵ In fact, both the mulberry and blackberry were esteemed a preventive of gout, and an ancient writer relates, that this kind of fruit having failed during a period of twenty years, that disease prevailed like an epidemic, attacking persons of both sexes and all ages, and extending its ravages even to the sheep and cattle.

Filberts, walnuts, and almonds,⁶ deservedly held

¹ Athen. iii. 28.

² Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 13, 1.

³ It was spoken of by Xenophanes in his treatise *περὶ φύσεως*. Poll. vi. 46. Now this philosopher was born about the 40th Olympiad, 620 B. C.—Clinton, Fast. Hellen. ii. sub an. 477.

⁴ The berry of the cedar, about the same size as that of the myrtle, had a pleasant taste, and was commonly eaten.—Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 12. 3.

⁵ Athen. ii. 33—37. A dainty of a very peculiar character is sometimes seen on the tables of the modern Greeks. “We were served also with some *φασκομῆλια*, or sage apples, the inflated tumours formed upon a species of sage, and the effect of the puncture of a cynops.”—Sibth. in Walp. Mem. t. i. p. 62. Cf. Sibth. Flor. Græc. t. i. pl. 15.

⁶ Theoph. Hist. Plant. i. 11. 2.

a high place in the estimation of the ancients. Of almonds, the island of Naxos had the reputation of producing very excellent ones, and those of Cypros also enjoyed considerable reputation. These latter were longer in form than the former; like pickled olives they were eaten at the commencement of a repast, for the purpose of producing thirst; and bitter almonds were considered a preservative against intoxication, as we learn from an anecdote of Tiberius's physician, who could encounter three bottles when thus fortified, but easily succumbed if deprived of his almonds. This fruit being extremely common in Greece, they had their almond-crackers, as we have our nut-crackers, which at Sparta were called *moucerobatos* but *amygdalocatactes* in the rest of Greece.¹

The larger kind of chestnut, sometimes denominated the "acorns of Zeus," appears to have been introduced into Greece from the countries round the Pontos Euxinos, where they were produced in great abundance, particularly in the environs of Heraclea. There was, likewise, a sort of chestnut imported from Persia, and another from the neighbourhood of Sardes, in Lydia. Both these and the walnut were considered indigestible; but not so the almond, of which it was thought great quantities might be eaten with impunity.² The best kinds were produced in Thasos and Cypros, and, when freshly gathered, the almonds of the south are, undoubtedly, of all fruit, the most delicate. The walnuts and chestnuts of Eubœa, in the opinion of Mnestheos, were difficult of digestion, but fattening; and no one can have frequented the eastern shores of the Mediterranean without observing what an important article of food, and how nourishing, they are.³ The pistachio nut, produced from a tree

¹ Athen. ii. 40.

42. Cf. Hippocrat. de Morb. ii. p. 484. Foës.

² Dioscorid. i. 176. Athen. ii.

³ Athen. ii. 43.

resembling the almond-tree, was imported from Syria and Arabia.¹ The *persea*, now no longer known, but supposed to be represented on the walls of the Memnonium,² at Thebes, is, also, said, by Poseidonios, the stoic, to have grown in Arabia and Syria, and I brought home a quantity of leaves, preserved in an Egyptian coffin, which are, probably, those of this tree. Pears, which were brought to table floating in water,³ and service-berries, were grown in great perfection in the island of Ceos, and Bœotia was famous for its pomegranates.⁴

Speaking of this fruit, which the Bœotians call *sidè*, Agatharchides relates the following anecdote: A dispute arising between the Athenians and Bœotians, respecting a spot called *Sidè*, situated on the borders, Epaminondas, in order to decide the question, took out a pomegranate from under his robe, and demanded of the Athenians, what they called it. "*Rhoa*," they replied. "Very good," said Epaminondas; but we call it *Sidè*, and, as the place derives its name from the fruit which grows there in abundance, it is clear the land must belong to us." And it was decided in favour of the Bœotians.⁵

¹ Athen. xiv. 61.

² We find that the *Persea* grew, likewise, in the island of Rhodes, but there, though flowers came, it produced no fruit.—Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 3, 5. For a full description of the tree see iv. 2, 5, and Cf. Caus. Plant. ii. 3, 7.—In its original country, Persia, the fruit of this tree is said to have been poisonous, for which reason the companions of Cambyses carried along with them numerous young trees, which they planted in various parts of Egypt, that the inhabitants, eating of the fruit, might

perish. But, through the influence of soil and climate, the nature of the *Persea* was wholly changed, and, instead of a harsh and fatal berry, produced delicious fruit.—Ælian. de Nat. Animal. ap. Schneid. ad Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 2, 5. t. iii. p. 284. — Cf. Athen. xiv. 61. — Schweigh. Animadv. t. xii. p. 585. Plin. xv. 13. xvi. 46.

³ Athen. xiv. 63. ●

⁴ The best pomegranates, however, were grown in Egypt and Cilicia.—Theoph. Caus. Plant. ii. 13. 4.

⁵ Athen. xiv. 64.

We have already observed, that the palm-tree flourished and produced dates in Greece, particularly in Attica and Delos;¹ but it is clear, from a remark of Xenophon, that these dates were small and of an inferior quality; for, speaking of the productions of Mesopotamia, he says, that they set aside for the slaves such dates as resembled those produced in Greece, while the larger and finer kinds,² which were like amber in colour, they selected for their own use. They were also dried, as they still are in the East, to be eaten as a dessert, at other seasons of the year. From which we learn, that the black date, which is larger and finer than the yellow, was not then cultivated in Persia. But neither dates, nor any other fruit, could compare with the grape, which is found in perfection in almost every part of Greece, where, as in Burgundy and, I presume, in the rest of France, the law regulated the period of the vintage, prohibiting individuals from gathering their grapes earlier under a heavy penalty.³ The best kind of grape in Attica, like that of the *Clos Vougeot* in Burgundy, was the *Nikostrateios*, supposed to be unrivalled for excellence, though the Rhodians pretended, in their *Hipponion*, to possess its equal.⁴

From the grape we pass naturally to wine, which has of itself formed the subject of many treatises. It will not, therefore, be expected that we should enter into very minute details; though, if we are sparing, it will certainly not be for want of materials. D'Herbelot⁵ relates an oriental tradition which at-

¹ Theoph. Char. pp. 33, 233. Casaub. A very fine palm-tree is at present growing in one of the principal streets of Athens. —Blackwood's Magazine, April, 1838.

² Pollux. i. 73. Herod. i. 28, 172, 193. ii. 156. iv. 172, 183.

³ Plato de Legg. t. viii. p. 106. Bekk. Athen. xiv. 68.

⁴ Athen. xiv. 68. Cf. Bruyerin. de Re Cibaria, xi. 447, sqq.

⁵ Bibliothèque Orientale, Article Giamschid.

tributes the invention of wine to the ancient Persian monarch Giamshid; and Bochart, with some show of ingenuity, attributes to Bacchos, the Grecian inventor and god of wine, an origin which would confound him with the founder of Babylon.¹ A very celebrated wine, called *nectar*, is said to have been produced in the neighbourhood of that city.² But, according to Theopompos, it was the inhabitants of Chios who first planted and cultivated the vine, and from them the knowledge was transmitted to the other Greeks.³

Theophrastus⁴ relates that, in the territory of Heraclea, in Arcadia, there was a wine which rendered men insane and women prolific.⁵ In the environs of Cerynia, in Achaia, grew a vine, the wine of which blasted the fruit of the womb, nay, the very grapes were said to possess a similar quality.⁶ At Thasos were two kinds of wine, of which the one caused stupefaction, while the other was in the highest degree exhilarating.⁷ The wine called *anthosmias*,⁸ according to Phanias of Eresos, was produced by mixing one part of salt-water with fifty parts of wine, and it was considered best when made with the grapes of young vines. The comic poets are eloquent in praise of the wines of Thasos, particularly of that mixed sort, of most agreeable flavour, which was drunk in their Prytaneion. Theophrastus⁹ gives the recipe for making it. They threw, he says, into the jars, a small quantity of flour kneaded with honey, the latter to impart a sweet odour to the wine, the former mildness. A similar

¹ Geog. Sacr. I. ii. 13.

² Chæreas. ap. Athen. i. 58.

³ Athen. i. 47.

⁴ Hist. Plant. ix. 18. 10, seq. In Athenæus, instead of Heraclea, we find Heræa, i. 57. Cf. Ælian. Var. Hist. xiii. 6.

⁵ The same effect was attributed to the waters of a fountain flowing near a temple of Aphro-

dite upon Mount Hymettos.—Chandler, ii. 164.

⁶ Plin. Hist. Nat. xiv. 18.

⁷ Athen. i. 57.

⁸ 'Ο ἀνθέων ὀσμὴν ἔχων οἶνος.—Etym. Mag. 108. 41. Cf. Suid. v. ἀνθοσμίας. t. i. p. 289. b. Aristoph. Plut. 808. Ran. 1181.

⁹ De Odor. 51.

effect was produced by mixing up hard inodorous wine with one which was oily and fragrant.¹

The wines of Cos, Myndos, and Halicarnassos, being thought to temper the crudity of rain and well-water, were, therefore, like all others containing a quantity of salt-water, in great request at Athens and Sicyon, where the springs were harsh. The Mareotic wine² was made from vineyards on the banks of the lake Mareotis, where the present Pasha has his gardens, in the vicinity of Marea, once a place of considerable importance, but now a small village. Attempts, however, have been made by M. Abro, an Armenian, once more to cover the ancient sites with vineyards, several acres of ground being planted with cuttings imported from the great nursery grounds at Chambéry, in Savoy.

The town of Marea derived its name, according to tradition, from Maron,³ a person who accompanied Bacchos in his military expedition, and, in honour of its founder, surrounded itself with the fruit-tree most agreeable to that god. The grapes here produced were delicious, and the wine, slightly astringent and aromatic, had an exquisite flavour. The Mareotic was white, of delicate taste, light, sparkling, and by no means heady. The best sort was the Tæniotic, so called from the *tænia*, "sandy eminences," on which the vineyards were situated. This wine, in its pure state, had a greenish tinge, like the Johannisberg, and was rich and unctuous; but, mingled with water, it assumed the colour of Attic honey. By degrees the vine grew to be cultivated along the whole course of the Nile,⁴ but its produce differed greatly in different places, both in colour and quality. Among the best was that of Antylla, a city near Alexandria,

¹ Athen. i. 56. — Cydonia, in Crete, is conjectured, by Mr. Pashley, to have produced a good wine.—Travels in Crete, i. 23, seq.

² Athen. i. 59.

³ Idem, i. 60. Horat. Carm. i. 37. 14.

⁴ The cultivation of the vine

appears to have flourished in Egypt down to the reign of the Caliph Beamrillah, who commanded all the vineyards both in the valley of the Nile and in Syria to be utterly destroyed. Maured Allatafet Jemaledдини, p. 7.

the revenues arising from which the ancient kings of Egypt, and afterwards those of Persia, settled on their queens for their girdle. The wines of the Thebaid, particularly those made about Koptos, were so extremely light as to be given even in fevers, as, moreover, they passed quickly, and greatly promoted digestion.¹

According to Nicander of Colophon, the word *οἶνος*, "wine," was derived from the name of *Oineus*, who having squeezed out the juice of the grape into vases, called it, after his own name, *wine*. Diphilos,² the comic poet, gives us, however, something better than etymologies in that burst of Bacchic enthusiasm in which, in verses fragrant as Burgundy, he celebrates the praises of the gift of Dionysos :

" Oh ! friend to the wise, to the children of song,
Take me with thee, thou wisest and sweetest, along ;
To the humble, the lowly, proud thoughts dost thou bring,
For the wretch who has thee is as blythe as a king :
From the brows of the sage, in thy humorous play,
Thou dost smooth every furrow, every wrinkle away ;
To the weak thou giv'st strength, to the mendicant gold,
And a slave warmed by thee as a lion is bold."

Nectar, the poetical drink of the gods, was a sort of wine made near Olympos in Lydia, by mingling with the juice of the grape a little pure honey and flowers of delicate fragrance. Anaxandrides, indeed, regards the nectar as the food of the immortals, and ambrosia as their wine; in which opinion he is upheld by Alcman and Sappho. But Homer and Ibycos take an opposite view of the matter.³

Alexis speaks of those who are half-seas-over as much addicted to reasoning. Nicænetus⁴ considers wine as the Pegasus of a poet, mounted on the wings of which like Trygæos on his beetle he soars "to the bright heaven of invention." At the

¹ Athen. i. 60.

³ Athen. ii. 8.

² Idem, ii. 1, where are collected many other etymologies and curious fables.

⁴ Or Nicarchos. Anthol. Græc. xiii. 29. Athen. ii. 9.

port of Munychia, too, good wine was held in high estimation; indeed, the honest folks of this borough, with small respect for the water nymphs, paid particular honour to the hero *Acratopotes*, that is, in plain English, "one who drinks unmixed wine." Even among the Spartans,¹ in spite of their cothons, and black broth, certain culinary *artistes* set up in the Phydion, or common dining-hall, statues in honour of the heroes *Matton* and *Keraon*, that is, the genii of eating and drinking. In Achaia, too, much reverence was paid to *Deipneus*, or the god who presides over good suppers.²

As the Greeks had a marvellous respect for wine they, like the German paper enthusiast, almost appeared to imagine it could be made out of a stone. They had, accordingly, fig wine,³ root wine, palm wine, and so on; and their made or mixed wines were without number. There was scarcely an island or city in the Mediterranean that did not export its wines to Athens: they had the Lesbian, the Eubœan, the Peparethian, the Chalybonian, the Thasian, the Pramnian, and the Port wine. We have already observed, that wine was drunk mixed with flour,⁴ and in the island of Theræ it was thickened with the yolk of an egg. In the Megaris they prepared with raisins or dried grapes⁵ a wine called *passon*, in taste resembling the Ægosthenic sweet wine, or the Cretan malmsey. But, however exquisite the wines themselves, it was not thought enough in the summer months unless they were brought to table cooled with ice or snow,⁶ which was accordingly the practice.

¹ Athen. ii. 9.

² Athen. ii. 9. Cf. x. 9.

³ Damm. 2224. *βρύρον*. Athen. x. 67. Plato de Rep. t. vi. p. 144. Xenoph. Anab. p. 54. 138. Cyrop. p. 522. Plin. Hist. Nat. xiii. 4. Diod. Sic. ii. 136. On the *οἶνος σκυλῆς* vid. Foës. Œcon. Hip. in v. Dioscorid. v.

40. Lotus wine. Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 3. 1. Herod. iv. 177. Athen. vii. 9—13.

⁴ Plato de Repub. t. vi. p. 144. Bekk. Athen. viii. 1. On the Pramnian cf. Athen. 1, 17.

⁵ Athen. x. 41.

⁶ Athen. x. 56.

CHAPTER V.

ENTERTAINMENTS.

HAVING now gone rapidly through the materials of which Grecian repasts consisted, it will next be necessary to describe the manner in which all these good things were disposed of, first to maintain the energy of the frame, and secondly, for mere pleasure and pastime. Locke, with many other modern philosophers, erroneously supposes the Greeks of remote antiquity to have been so abstemious as to content themselves with one meal per diem. But experience appears to have led all mankind on this point to much the same conclusion; viz., that health and comfort require men to eat at least thrice in the day,¹ which accordingly was the practice of the ancient Greeks, though Philemon and others enumerate four repasts. Our own ancestors, before the introduction of tea and coffee, appear to have been very well content with beer or ale for their morning's meal, so that we could not pity the Greeks even though it should be found that they had nothing better² than hot rolls, muffins, or crumpets, with strawberries, grapes, pears, and a flask of Chian or Falernian. But they soon found the necessity of some warm beverage; and though it does not appear how it was prepared, they had a substitute for tea,³ in use at Athens, in Eu-

¹ Æschyl. Palamed. fr. 168. Klausen. Comm. in Agamemnon. p. 136.

² In modern times a breakfast in the Troad often consists of grapes, figs, white honey in

the comb, and coffee.—Chandler, i. p. 37.

³ Athen. xi. 26, 50. Pollux. ix. 67, sqq. Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 643. Cf. Boeckh. Pub. Econ. of Athens, i. 140.

boea, in Crete, and, no doubt, in all other parts of Greece. This meal, of whatever it consisted, was called *acratisma*, or *ariston*, and eaten at break of day.¹ Homer's heroes, whose business was fighting, just snatched a hasty meal, and hurried to the field; but at Athens, where people had other employments, they breakfasted early, to allow themselves ample time for despatching their affairs in the city, if they had any, and afterwards at their neighbouring farms or villas.² The second repast, *deipnon*, or dinner, seems to have been eaten about eleven or twelve o'clock: the *hesperisma*,³ equivalent to our tea, late in the afternoon, and the *dorpon*, or supper, the last thing in the evening. But of these meals two only were serious affairs, and the *hesperisma* was often dispensed with altogether. In fact, Athenæus, a great authority on this subject, considers it perfectly absurd to suppose, that the frugal ancients could have thought of eating so often as three times in one day.⁴

As the greater includes the less, instead of confining ourselves to the ordinary daily dinner of a Greek, we shall in preference describe their grand entertainments, introducing remarks on the former by the way. These repasts were divided into three classes, the public dinner, the pic-nic, and the mar-

¹ Which we may infer from a passage of Aristotle, Hist. Anim. vi. 8. where describing the habits of birds, he says, τῶν δὲ φαβῶν ἡ μὲν θήλεια ἀπὸ δείλης ἀρξαμένη τὴν τε νύχθ' ὅλην ἐπφάζει καὶ ἕως ἀκρατίσματος ὥρας, ὃ δ' ἄρρην τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου.—One of the Homeric scholiasts is more explicit:—καὶ τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἐκάλουν ἀριστον, ἣν ἐλάμβανον πρωτὰς σχεδὸν ἔτι σκοτίας οὔσης.—In Iliad β. 381. Cf. Athen. i. 19.

² Xenoph. Œcon. xi. 14.

³ Philemon, ap. Athen. i. 19. Suid. v. δειπνον t. i. p. 671. a. b.

⁴ Deipnosoph v. 20.—τρισι δὲ οὐδέποτε οὔτε μνηστῆρες οὔτε μὴν κύκλωψ ἐχρῶντο τροφαῖς.—Schol. Il. β. 381. Yet Athenæus i. 19. speaks in one place of a fourth repast in Homeric times.—τῆς δὲ τετάρτης τροφῆς οὕτως "Ὅμηρος μέμνηται—" σὺ δ' ἔρχεο δειλιήσας." ὃ καλοῦσιν τινες δειλινόν, ὃ ἐστὶ μετὰ τὸ ὑφ' ἡμῶν λεγόμενον ἀρίστου καὶ δειπνου.

riage feast. The last, so far as it had any peculiar features, has been described among the circumstances attending matrimony. We have, therefore, for the present, to do with two only; and, as the Greek contrived to throw much of his ingenuity into all matters connected with feasting and merry-making, the discussion of this part of our subject should savour strongly of mirth and jollity.

The grand dinner,¹ which they called *eilapinë*, was generally given at the expense of an individual, and its sumptuousness knew no limit but the means of the host. Other kinds of feasts there were at which all the members of a tribe, a borough, or a fraternity, were entertained, not to speak for the present of the common tables of the Cretans, Spartans, or Prytanes of Athens. We now confine ourselves to those jovial assemblages of private citizens whose object in meeting was not so much the dinner, though that was not overlooked, as the elevation of animal spirits and flow of soul produced by the union of a thousand different circumstances.

When a rich man desired to see his friends around him at his board, he delivered to his *deipnocletor*,² a domestic kept for this purpose, a tablet, or as we should say, a card, whereon the names of the persons to be invited, with the day and hour fixed upon for the banquet, were inscribed. With brothers and other very near relations this ceremony was thought unnecessary.³ They came without invitation. So likewise did another class of men, who, living at large upon the public and lighting unbidden upon any sport to which they were attracted by the savour of a good dinner, were denominated⁴ Flies,

¹ On the subject of dining see Pollux, vi. 9, seq. with the notes of Jungermann, Kuhn, Hemsterhuis. &c.

² Athen. iv. 70. Aristoph. Concion. 648, et Schol.

³ For a further account of the

persons usually invited, see Athen. v. 4.

⁴ Plut. Sympos. vii. 6. Each guest was also followed by a footman who stood behind his master's chair and waited on him. Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. p. 219.

and occasionally SHADES or PARASITES. There was at one time a law at Athens, which a good deal nonplussed these gentlemen. It was decreed, that not more than thirty persons should meet at a marriage feast, and a wealthy citizen, desirous of "going the whole hog," had invited the full complement. An honest Fly, however, who respected no law that interfered with his stomach, contrived to introduce himself, and took his station at the lower end of the table. Presently the magistrate appointed for the purpose, entered, and espying his man at a glance, began counting the guests, commencing on the other side and ending with the parasite. "Friend," said he, "you must retire. I find there is one person 'more than the law allows.'" "It is quite a mistake, sir," replied the Fly, "as you will find if you 'will have the goodness to count again, beginning 'on this side.'"¹ Among the Egyptians, who shrouded all their poetry in hieroglyphics, a *fly* was the emblem of impudence, which necessarily formed the principal qualification of a Parasite, and in Hume's² opinion is no bad possession to any man who would make his way in the world.

Archbishop Potter,³ in his account of Grecian entertainments, observes, upon the authority of Cicero

To persons of this description the guests delivered the presents that were made them, or if they happened to be bad characters, what they stole. Athen. iv. 2. Plut. Anton. § 28. Lucian. Conviv. seu Lapith. § 46. Rich men then as now were usually haunted by flatterers who would pluck off the burrs from their cloaks or the chaff which the wind wafted into their beards, and try to screw a joke out of the circumstance by saying, they were grown grey! Theoph. Char. c. ii. p. 7. If the patron joked, they would stuff their chlamys into their

mouths as if they were dying of laughter. In the street they would say to the person they met, "Stand aside, friend, and allow 'this gentleman to pass!'" They would bring apples and pears in their pocket for his little ones and be sure to give them in his sight, with great praise both of father and children.

¹ Athen. vi. 45, seq.

² Nothing, says this philosopher, carries a man through the world like a true genuine natural impudence. Essays, p. 9, quarto.

³ Antiq. iv. 19.

and Cornelius Nepos, that women were never invited with the men.¹ But in this, as has been shown in the proper place, he was misled by those learned Romans; for, in many cities and colonies of Greece, no banquet was given at which they were not present. Even at Athens, where women of character thought it unbecoming to mingle in the convivial revelries of the men,² in which wine constantly overleaps the boundaries of decorum, their place was supplied by *hetairæ*, whose polished manners, ready wit, and enlarged and enlightened understandings, recommended them to their companions, and caused the laxity of their morals to be forgotten.³ To proceed, however, with our feast: it will readily be supposed, that gentlemen invited out to dinner were careful to apparel themselves elegantly, to shave clean, and arrange their beards and moustachios after the most approved fashion of the day. Even Socrates, who cared as little as most people for external appearances, bathed, put on a pair of new shoes, brushed his *chlamys*, and otherwise spruced himself up when going to sup at Agathon's with Phædros, Aristophanes, Eryximachos, and other exquisites. Even in Homeric times the bath was

¹ Plato giving directions for a marriage feast, observes, that five male and five female friends should be invited; along with these, five male and five female relations, who with the bride and bridegroom, with their parents, grandfathers, &c., would amount to 28. De Legg. vi. t. vii. Schweigh. ad Athen. t. vi. p. 60. Among the ancient Etruscans, who, if not Greeks, had many Greek customs, the women reclined at table with the men, under the same cover. Athen. i. 42.

² Isæus, De Pyrrh. Hered. § 2. That among the more simple and old-fashioned citizens of Athens,

however, men and women, when of the same family or clan, dined together, we have the testimony of Menander to prove. He introduces one of his characters, apparently a fop, observing that it was a bore to be at a family party, where the father, holding the goblet in his hand, first made a speech, abounding with exhortations: the mother followed, and then the grandmother prated a little. Afterwards stood up her father, hoarse with age, and his wife, calling him her dearest; while he mean time nodded to all present. Athen. ii. 86.

³ Athen. v. 6.

among the preliminaries to dinner, and guests arriving from a distance were attended through all the operations of the toilette by female slaves.¹ But this general ablution was not considered sufficient. On sitting down to table water was again presented to every guest in silver² lavers or ewers of gold. And since they ate with their fingers, as still is the practice in the Levant, it was moreover customary to wash the hands between every course,³ and wipe them,⁴ in remoter ages, with soft bread, which was thrown to the dogs, and in aftertimes with napkins. The Arcadians, however, about whose mountains all the old superstitions of Hellas clung like bats, found a very different use for the cakes with which they wiped their fingers. They supposed them to acquire some mystic powers by the operation, and preserved them as a charm against ghosts.⁵

But we are proceeding too fast, for the guests are scarcely within doors, and our imagination has jumped to the conclusion. To return then. Immediately on entering, and when the host had welcomed and shaken hands with all, such gentlemen as possessed beards⁶ had them perfumed over burning censers of frankincense, as ladies have their tresses on visiting a Turkish harem. The hands, too, after each lavation, were scented.⁷ Before sitting down to table,

¹ *Odyss.* δ. 48, sqq.

² *Athen.* ix. 27. In some luxurious houses wine mingled with spices was presented to the guests in lavers for the purpose of washing their feet. *Plut. Phoc.* § 20. In the palace of Trimalchio we find Egyptian servants pouring water, cooled with snow, on the hands of the guests. *Petron. Satyr.* p. 76.

³ *Schol. Aristoph. Eq.* 412.

⁴ Rich purple napkins were sometimes used. *Sappho* in *Deipnosoph.* ix. 79. These articles are still in the Levant elaborately embroidered.

⁵ *Athen.* iv. 31.

⁶ *Hom. Odyss.* γ. 33, seq. *Athen.* xv. 23. Similar customs still prevail in the Levant: "When we visited the Turks
"we were received with cordiality
"and treated with distinction.
"Sweet gums were burned in the
"middle of the room to scent the
"air, or scattered on coals before
"us while sitting on the sofa, to
"perfume our moustachios and
"garments, and at the door, at
"our departure, we were sprink-
"led with rose-water." *Chandler*, ii. 150. ⁷ *Athen.* ix. 77.

and while the cooks were peppering the soup, frying the fish, or giving the roast-meat another turn, politeness required the guests to take a stroll¹ in the picture-gallery and admire the exquisite taste of their entertainer in articles of *virtu*.² Here while the scent of the savoury viands found its way through every apartment, and set the bowels of the hungry parasites croaking, the rogues who had lunched well at home leisurely discussed the merits of Zeuxis or Parrhasios, of Pheidias or Polygnotos, or opened wide their eyes at the microscopic creations of that Spartan artist whose chisel produced a chariot and four that could be hidden under the wing of a fly. At length, however, the connoisseurs were interrupted in their learned disquisitions by the entrance of Xanthos, Davos, or Lydos, with the welcome intelligence that dinner was on the table.

But the appetites of the gourmands had still to encounter another trial.³ The Greeks were above all things a pious people, and regarded every banquet, nay, every meal, in the light of a sacrifice, at which the first and best portion should be offered as an oblation to the gods,⁴ with invocations and prayer, after which it was considered lawful to attend to their own appetites. An altar, accordingly, of Zeus stood in the midst of every dining-room, on which these ceremonies were performed, and libations of pure wine poured.⁵ This done, the guests

¹ Cf. Hom. Odyss. δ. 43, sqq.

² Aristoph. Vesp. 1208. Athen. v. 6, where the splendid roofs and ornaments of the court are mentioned. These ornaments, *κρεαδία*, whatever they were, must have been worth looking at. See the note of Casaubon, Animadv. in Athen. t. viii. p. 27, seq. Consult likewise the note on Aristophanes in Bekker's edition, t. iii. p. 606.

³ Athen. v. 7. Cf. Plat. Symp. t. iv. p. 376, et Xenoph. Conviv.

ii. 1. Schweigh. Animadv. in Athen. viii. p. 26, seq.

⁴ Casaubon mentions this as a thing *nota eruditis*. Ad Theoph. Charact. p. 232; but we must not on that account pass it over. Alexis poetically deploras the miseries of the half-hour before dinner. Athen. i. 42.

⁵ There was in great houses a person whose duty it was to assign each guest his place at table, *ὀνομακλήτωρ*, or nomenclator. Athen. ii. 29.

took their places, in the earlier ages on chairs, but afterwards, when they had become familiar with the East, on rich sofas, arranged round the board.¹ Occasionally, however, even so late as the age of Alexander,² princes and other great men chose to adopt the ancient custom, and, on one occasion, that conqueror himself entertained four hundred of his officers, when seats of wrought silver, covered with purple carpets, were provided for all.

The manner of reclining on the divans was not a little ludicrous. For, at the outset, while the appetite was keen, they stretched themselves flat upon their stomachs, in order, I presume, to command the use of both hands, and putting forward their mouths towards the table looked like so many sparrows with their open bills projecting over the nest. But this they could conveniently do only when they had a large space to themselves. When packed close, as usually they were, one man, the chief in dignity, throwing off his shoes,³ placed himself on the upper end of the divan, that is, next the host, reclining on one elbow supported by soft cushions. The head of the next man reached nearly to his breast,—whence in Scripture, the beloved disciple is said to recline on the bosom of Christ,⁴—while the feet of the first extended down behind him. The third guest occupied the same position with respect to the second, and so on until five individuals sometimes crowded each other on the same sofa.

As the heaven of the poets was but a colossal

¹ Plin. xxxiii. 51. xxxiv. 8.

² At most sumptuous entertainments *tasters* were employed who, as in the East, made trial of the dishes before the guests, lest they should be poisoned. These persons were called *ἰδέατροι* and *πρωτένθαι*. Athen. iv. 71.

³ Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 825.

⁴ John, xiii. 23. On the cushions, of which there was a great variety, see Pollux, vi. 9, where he reckons among them the *ὑπηρέσιον*, which Mitford confounds with the *δοκωμα*, or leathern bags which closed the row-port of war-galleys round the oar, to prevent the influx of sea-water.

picture of earth, we may, from the practice of the gods, infer what took place among mortals, even where supported by no direct testimony. Now, in Homer, we find gods and goddesses mingling freely together at the feast. Zeus takes the head of the table, next him sits his daughter Athena, while the imperial Hera, as Queen of Heaven, takes precedence of all the she Olympians, by placing herself at the head of the secondary divinities, directly opposite her husband. On one occasion we find Athena, the type of hospitality and politeness, yielding up her seat of honour to Thetis, because, as an Oceanid, she was somewhat of a stranger in Olympus.¹ Potter has discussed, with more learning than perspicuity, the question of precedence at table. To render the matter perfectly intelligible would require a plan of the dining-room; but wanting this, it may be observed, that in Persia the king, or host of whatever rank, sat in the middle, while the guests ranged themselves equally on both sides of him.

In Greece, the bottom of the table was the end next the door. Here no one sat, it being left open for the servants to bring in and remove the dishes. From this point, on either side, the seats augmented in value, and consequently the post of greatest honour was the middle of the other extremity.² There were those, however, who made no account of these matters, but suffered their guests to seat themselves as they pleased. This was the case with Timon, who, having invited a very miscellaneous party, would not be at the pains to settle the question of precedence between them; but a pompous individual of aristocratic pretensions, dressed like an actor, arriving late with a large retinue, and surveying the company from the door, went away again, observing, there was no fit place left for him. Upon which the guests, who, as Plutarch remarks, were

¹ Iliad. ω. 100.

² Cf. Plut. Conv. Quæst. i. 3.
Pet. Ciacon, De Triclin. p. 44.

far gone in their cups, burst into shouts of laughter, and bade him make the best of his way home.¹

Some persons observed a very different order in arranging their guests, grouping those together whom they considered suited by age or temper to each other, in order by this contrivance to produce general harmony,—the vehement and impetuous being placed beside the meek and gentle, the silent beside the talkative, the ripe and full and expansive minds beside those who were ready to receive instruction. But very often, as at Agathon's, those sat next each other, who were most intimately acquainted or united together by friendship; for thus the greatest freedom of intercourse with the brightest sallies of convivial wit were likely to be produced.

At length, however, we must imagine the guests in their places and every thing in proper train. The servants bring in first one well-covered table, then a second, then a third, till the whole room is filled with dainties. Brilliant lamps and chandeliers poured a flood of light over the crowned heads of the guests, over the piled sweetmeats, over the shining dishes, and all the baits with which the appetite is caught. Then, on silver pateræ, cakes whiter than snow were served round. To these succeeded eggs, pungent herbs, oysters, and thrushes.² Next several dishes of rich eels, brown and crisp, sprinkled thickly with salt, followed by a delicious conger dressed with every rare device of cookery, calculated to delight the palate of the gods. Then came the belly of a large ray, round as a hoop; dishes, containing, one some slices of a sea-dog, another garnished with a sparos, a third with a cuttle-fish, or smoking polypus whose legs were tender as a chicken. While the sight of these dainties was feasting the eyes of the

¹ Sympos. i. 2. 1.

² Probably also the myttotos, a dish flavoured with garlic and

rich spices, formed a part of this course. Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 173. Vesp. 62.

guests, the noses of the experienced informed them of the approach of a synodon,¹ which perfumed the passages all the way from the kitchen, and, flanked with calamaries, covered the whole table. Shrimps too were there in their yellow cuirasses, sweet in flavour as honey, with delicious varieties of puff pastry bordered with fresh green foliage.² The teeth of the parasites watered at the sight. But while deeply engaged in the discussion of these good things, in came some smoking slices of broiled thunny, a mullet fresh from the fish-kettle, with the teats of a young sow cooked *en ragoût*.

Pleasure of all kinds being supposed to promote digestion, female singers, flute-players and dancers, were meanwhile exercising their several arts for the entertainment of the guests. But as they paid very little attention to them till the rage of hunger was appeased, we shall imitate their example, and proceed with the gourmandize. One of the greatest accomplishments a boon companion could possess, was the power to seize with the fingers, and swallow hissing-hot, slices of grilled fish or morsels of lamb or veal broiled like kabobs, so as to be slightly burnt and cracking externally, while all the juice and flavour of the meat remained within. And the acquirement being highly important, great pains were taken to become masters of it. For this purpose some accustomed themselves daily to play with hot poker, others case-hardened their fingers by repeatedly dipping them in water as hot as they could bear, and gargled their throats with the same, while one famous gourmand, more inventive than the rest, hit upon the ingenious device of wearing metallic fingerlings with which he could have seized a kabob even from the gridiron. These proficient in the art of eating, an art practised indeed by all, but possessed in perfection by very few, enjoyed great advantages over the ignorant and uninitiated. And

¹ Athen. i. 8. vii. 46. 68. 119.
Arist. Hist. Anim. v. 5.

² Pollux, vi. 77.

accordingly, when invited out, they generally succeeded in bribing the cook to send in all his dishes hot as Phlegethon, that, while the more modest and inexperienced guests sat gazing on, they might secure the best cuts, and come again before the others could venture on a mouthful.

Among the articles served up in this scorching state were calf's pluck, pig's harslet, with the chine, the kidneys, and a variety of small hors-d'œuvre. To these may be added the head of a sucking-kid which had tasted nothing but milk, baked between two dishes well luted together; giblets boiled; small, delicate hams with their white sward unbroken; pigs' snouts and feet swimming in white sauce, which the gourmand Philoxenos thought a rare invention. Roast kid and lamb's chitterlings, or the same viands boiled, formed a supplement to the dishes above enumerated, and were usually done so exactly to a turn, that even the gods, Bacchos for example, and Hermes, the parasites of Olympos, might have descended expressly to wag their beards over them. But the Levantines have always been enamoured of variety in cookery. Lady Wortley Montague counted fifty dishes served up in succession at the Sultana Hafiten's table; and this she-barbarian, with all her wealth, could never rival the variety of invention of an ancient Eleian or Sicilian cook, who usually closed the list of his dainties with hare, chickens roasted to the gold-colour celebrated by Aristophanes, partridges, pheasants, wood-pigeons or turtle-doves, which your true gourmand should eat in the Thebaid, immediately after the close of harvest. But the dinner was not yet over. There still remained the dessert to be disposed of, consisting of pure honey from the district of the silver mines, curdled cream, cheese-tarts, and all that profusion of southern fruit of which we have already spoken.¹

It is a well-known rule among modern gourmands,

¹ Athen. iv. 28. There was a kind of cheese, apparently much in use, imported from Gythion, in Laconia. Lucian. Diall. Hec-tair. xiv. 2.

that no man should utter a syllable at table till the first course is removed, and precisely the same regulation prevailed among the ancients. Silence, however, was sometimes interrupted by the arrival of some wandering buffoon, who, after long roaming about in search of a dinner, happened, perhaps, to be attracted thither by the wings and feathers ostentatiously scattered before the door. This sort of gentry required no introduction: they had only to knock and announce themselves to ensure a ready welcome; for most men would willingly part with a share of their supper to be made merry over the remainder. The Athenian demos was pre-eminently of this humour. No king, in fact, ever kept up so large an establishment of fools by profession, or, which is much the same thing, of wits, — fellows who grind their understandings into pointed jests to tickle the risible muscles and expand the mouths of sleek junketters, who esteem nothing beyond eating and grinning.

At a feast given by Callias, the famous jester, Philip, a-kin in spirit, I trow, to him of Macedon, presented himself in this way, and, on being admitted, — “Gentlemen,” said he, “you know my profession and its privileges, relying on which I am come uninvited, being a foe to all ceremony, and desiring to spare you the trouble of a formal invitation.” — “Take your place,” replied the host; “your company was much needed, for our friends appear to be plunged up to the chin in gravity, and would be greatly benefited by a hearty laugh.”¹

In fact, the heads of the honest people were filled with very serious meditations, being all in love, and endeavouring to discover how each might excel the other in absurdity. Philip began to fear, therefore, that he had carried his jests to a bad market, and, in reality, made many vain attempts to kindle the spirit of mirth, and call home the imaginations of persons who had evidently suffered them to stray as far as the clouds. Aware that success on this point was indis-

² Xenoph. Conv. i. 13, 14.

pensable to his subsistence, the jester grew piqued at the indifference of his hearers, and breaking off in the midst of his supper, wrapped up his head in his chlamys, and lay down like one about to die. "What, now!" cried Callias. "Has any sudden panic seized on thee, friend?"—"The worst possible, by Zeus!" replied Philip; "for, since laughter, like justice, has taken its leave of earth, my occupation is gone. Hitherto I have enjoyed some celebrity in this way, living at the public expense, like the guests of the Prytaneion, because my drollery was effective, and could set the table in a roar. But it is all over, I see, with me now, for I might as soon hope to render myself immortal as acquire serious habits." All this he uttered in a pouting, desponding tone, as if about to shed tears. The company, to humour the joke, undertook to comfort him, and the effect of their mock condolences, and assurances that they would laugh if he continued his supper, was so irresistibly ludicrous, that Autolychos, a youthful friend of Callias, was at length unable to restrain his merriment; upon which the jester took courage, and apostrophising his soul, informed it very gravely, that there would be no necessity for them to part company yet.¹

The Greeks had, properly speaking, no drawing-rooms, so that, instead of retreating to another part of the house, they had the tables themselves removed immediately after dinner. Libations were then poured out to Zeus Teleios, and having sung a hymn to Phœbos Apollo, the amusements of the evening commenced. Professional singers and musicians were always hired on these occasions. They were female slaves, selected in childhood for their beauty and budding talents, and carefully educated by their owners.² When not already engaged, they stood in blooming bevvies in the agora, waiting, like the Labourers of Scripture, until some one should

¹ Xenoph. Conviv. i. 15. 16.

² Cf. Luc. Amor. § 10. Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 1058.

hire them, upon which they proceeded, dressed and ornamented with great elegance, to the house of feasting. But, besides these, there were other *artistes* who contributed to the entertainment of the demos, persons that, like our Indian jugglers, performed wonderful feats by way of interlude between the regular exhibitions of the damsels from the agora.¹

Xenophon introduces into that living picture of Greek manners called the Banquet, a company of this kind. Finding Philip's jokes dull things, he brings upon the scene a strolling Syracusan, with a beautiful female flute-player, a dancing girl who could perform surpassing feats of activity, and a handsome boy, who, besides performing on the cithara, was likewise able, on occasion, to sport the toe like his female companions.

But, where philosophers were present, amusements of this kind were not allowed to occupy their whole attention. Every thing that occurred was made a handle for conversation, so that discussions, more or less lively, according to the temperament, or ability of the interlocutors, formed the solid ground-work upon which the flowers of gaiety and laughter were spread. It was usual, immediately after supper, to perfume the guests, and great was the variety of unguents, essences, and odorous oils, made use of by the rich and vain upon these occasions; but when Callias proposed conforming to the mode in this particular, Socrates objected, observing, that the odour of honourable toil was perfume enough for a man.² Women, indeed, to whom every thing sweet and beautiful naturally belongs, might, he admitted, make use of perfume, and they did so most lavishly as we have already shown, when we entered their dressing-room and assisted at their toilette.

The Greeks, however, were careful not to convert

¹ The Indian jugglers themselves became known to the

Greeks in the age of Alexander. Ælian. Var. Hist. viii. 7.

² Xen. Conv. ii. 4.

their pleasure-parties into a mere arena for the exhibition of dialectic power. They from time to time glanced at philosophy, but only by the way, in the moments of transition from one variety of recreation to another. Their conversation was now and then brought to a pause by the rising of dancing girls,¹ robed elegantly, as we behold them still on vases and on bas-reliefs, in drapery adapted to display all the beauty of their forms. Hoops were brought them, and while musicians of their own sex called forth thrilling harmonies from the flute, they executed a variety of graceful movements, in part pantomimic,—now casting up the hoops, now catching them as they fell, keeping time exactly with the cadences of the flute. Their skill in this accomplishment was so great, that many were enabled to keep up twelve hoops in the air at the same time, while others made use of poniards.²

When the novelty of this exhibition was worn off a little, other different feats followed. A hoop stuck all round with upright swords was placed in the midst of the apartment, into which one of the dancing girls threw herself head foremost, and while standing on her head balanced the lower part of her body round over the naked points, to the infinite terror of the spectators. She would then dart forth between the swords, and, with a single bound, regain her footing without the circle.³ To add to the entertainment of the company, some parasitical buffoon would at times undertake to exhibit his awkwardness as a foil to the grace of the dancers, frisking about with the clumsy heaviness of a bear, and exaggerating his own ignorance of orchestics to excite a laugh. Sometimes the female dancer, like our own fair tumblers, would throw back her head till it reached her heels, and then putting herself in motion, roll about the room like a hoop,⁴ To

¹ Lucian. Amor. § 10.

² Poll. iii. 134.

³ Artemid. Oneirocrit. i. 68.
Xen. Conviv. ii. 8.

⁴ Xen. Conviv. ii. 22.

these, as a relief and a change, would succeed, perhaps, a youth with fine rich voice, who accompanied himself on the lyre with a song.

But nothing could entirely restrain the Greeks from indulging in the pleasure of listening to their own voices. The buzz of conversation would soon be heard in different parts of the room, which, when Socrates was present, sometimes provoked from him a sarcastic reproof. For example, at Callias's dinner, observing the company broken up into knots, each labouring at some particular question in dialectics, and filling the apartment with a babel of confused murmurs; "As we talk all at once," said he, "we may as well sing all at once;" and without further ceremony he pitched his voice and began a song.¹

But when professed jugglers happened to be present, gentlemen were not long abandoned to their own resources for amusement. Trick followed trick in rapid succession. To the pantomimic dances, and the sword circle, succeeded the exhibition of the potter's wheel, in which a young girl seated on this machine, like a little Nubian at a cow's-tail in a *sakia*, was whirled round with great velocity,² but retained so much self-possession as to be able both to write and to read. These, however, were merely sources of momentary wonder. Other amusements succeeded capable of exciting superior delight, such for example, as the mimetic dance, which, like that of the ghawazi, could tell a whole story of love, of adventure, of war, of religious frenzy and enthusiasm, transporting by vivid representations the fancy of the spectators to warmer or wilder scenes, calling up images and reminiscences of times long past, or steeping the thoughts in poetical dreams, filled with the caverned nymphs, the merry Seileni, the frisking satyrs, Bacchos, Pan, the Hours, the Graces, sporting by moonlit fountains, through antique woods,

¹ Xen. Conviv. vii. 1.

² Xen. Conviv. vii. 3.

or on the shelled and sand-ribbed margin of the ocean.¹

On some occasions a slight dramatic scene was represented. Clearing the centre of the banqueting hall, the guests ranged themselves in order as at the theatre. A throne was then set up in the open space, and a female actor, representing Ariadne, entering, took her seat upon it, decked and habited like a bride, and supposed to be in her Thalamos at Naxos. Dionysos, who has been dining with Zeus, comes flushed with Olympian nectar into the harem to the sound of the Bacchic flute, while the nymph who has heard his approaching footsteps makes it manifest by her behaviour that her soul is filled with joy, though she neither advances nor rises to meet him, but restrains her feelings with difficulty, and remains apparently tranquil. The god, drawing near with impassioned looks, and dancing all the while, now seats himself, and places the fair one on his knee. Then, in imitation of mortal lovers, he embraces and kisses her, nothing loth; for, though she hangs down her head, and would wish to appear out of countenance, her arms find their way round his neck and return his embrace. At this the company, we may be sure, clapped and shouted. The god, encouraged by their plaudits, then stood up with his bride, and going through the whole pantomime of courtship, not coldly and insipidly, but as one whose heart was touched, at length demanded of Ariadne if in truth she loved him. Sometimes the mimic scene concealed beneath it all the reality of passion. From personating enamoured characters, the youthful actor and his partner learned in reality to love; and what was amusement to others contained a deep and serious meaning for them. This, Xenophon says, was the case with the youth and maiden who enlivened the banquet of Callias. Absorbed in the earnestness of their

¹ Plat. de Legg. vii. t. viii. p. 55. Bekk. Xen. Conv. vii. 5.

feelings, they seem to have forgotten the presence of spectators, and instead of a stage representation, gave them a scene from real life, where every impassioned look and gesture were genuine, and every fiery glance was kindled at the heart.¹

This, however, may be considered a serious amusement, and something like broad farce was necessary to awaken the guests from the reverie into which the love scene had plunged them. Jesters were, therefore, put in requisition; and, as even they sometimes failed to raise a laugh, their more humorous brethren the wits and jesters of the forests, or, in the language of mortals, monkeys were called upon to dissipate the clouds of seriousness. These were the favourite buffoons of the Scythian Anacharsis,—not the Abbé Barthélemy's,—who said, he could laugh at a monkey's tricks, because his tricks were natural, but that he found no amusement in a man who made a trade of it.² Nor could Euripides at all relish punsters and manufacturers of jokes, whom he considered, with some reason, as a species of animal distinct from mankind.

Many there be who exercise their wits
In giving birth, by cutting jests, to laughter.
I hate the knaves whose rude unbridled tongues
Sport with the wise; and cannot for my life
Think they are men, though laughter doth become them,
And they have houses filled with treasured stores
From distant lands.³

But if Euripides found nothing desirable in laughter, there were those who had a clean contrary creed, and lamented nothing so much as the loss of their risible faculties. On this subject Semos has a story quite *à propos*. Parmeniscos, the Metapontine, having descended, he says, into the cave of Trophonios, became so extremely grave, that with all the ap-

¹ Xen. Conviv. ix. 1—7.

³ Eurip. Fragm. Melanipp. 20.

² Athen. xiv. 2.

pliances, and means to boot, furnished by wealth, and they were not a few, he thereafter found himself quite unable to screw up his muscles into a smile; which taking much to heart, as was natural, he made a pilgrimage to Delphi, to inquire by what means he might rid himself of the blue devils. Somewhat puzzled at the strangeness of the inquiry, the Pythoness replied,—

Poor mortal unmerry, who seekest to know
What will bid thy brow soften, thy quips and cranks flow,
To the house of the mother I bid thee repair—
Thou wilt find, if she's pleased, what thy heart covets, there.

Upon this, Parmeniscos hastened homeward, hoping soon to enjoy a good laugh as the reward of his industry; but, finding his features remain fixed as cast-iron, he began to suspect the oracle had deceived him. Some time after, being at Delos, he beheld with admiration the several wonders of the island, and, lastly, proceeded to the temple of Leto, expecting to find in the mother of Apollo something worthy of so great a divinity. But, on entering and perceiving, instead, a grotesque and smoky old figure in wood, he burst into an immoderate fit of laughter, whereupon the response of the oracle recurred to his mind, and he understood it; and, being thus delivered from his infirmity, he ever after held the goddess in extremest reverence.¹

Even from this story, therefore, it will be seen how highly “broad grins” were estimated in antiquity, particularly at Athens, where there was a regular “Wits’ Club,” consisting of threescore members, who assembled during the *Diomeia*,² in the temple of Heracles. The names of several of these jovial mortals have come down to us; Mandrogenes, for example, and Strato, Callimedon, who, for some particular quality of mind or body, ob-

¹ Athen. xiv. 2.

53. Etym. Mag. 277. 24.

² Eustath. ad Iliad. δ. p. 337. Meurs. Græc. Feriat. ii. 96.

tained the *sobriquet* of the *Lobster*, Deinias, Mnasigeiton, and Menæchmos. The reputation of these gentlemen spread rapidly through the city, and, when a good thing had a run among the small wits, it was remarked, that "the Sixty had said *that*." Or, if a man of talent were asked, whence he came, he would answer, "From the Sixty." This was in the time of Demosthenes, when, unhappily, jesters were in more request in Athens than soldiers; and Philip of Macedon, himself no mean buffoon, learning the excellent quality of their *bon mots*, sent them a present of a talent of gold, with a request that, as public business prevented his joining the sittings of the club, they would make for his use a collection in writing of all their smart sayings, which was, probably, the first step towards those repositories for stray wit, called "Joe Millers," that form so indispensable a portion of a bon vivant's library.¹

But we are all this while detaining the company from their wine, and those other recreations which the fertile genius of the Greeks invented to make the wheels of life move smoothly. Though the tables, according to the fashion of the times, were removed with the solid viands, others were brought in to replace them, on which the censers, the goblets, the silver or golden ladles for filling the smaller cups, were arranged in order.² The chairman, or, as he was then called, the king of the feast,³ enjoyed absolute power over his subjects, and could determine better than their own palates, how much and how often each man should drink. This important functionary was not always identical with the entertainer, but sometimes his substitute, sometimes

¹ Athen. xiv. 3.

² Among the Etruscans these ladles were of bronze, and of extremely elegant form, the point ending in a swan's or duck's head.

³ The proceedings of this per-

son were governed by a code of laws, the making and reformation of which employed the wits of no less personages than Xenophanes, Spensippos, and Aristotle. Athen. i. 5.

a person chosen by lot.¹ Capacious bowls of wine,² mingled with water, were placed on a sideboard, whence cup-bearers, sometimes of one, sometimes of the other sex, but always selected for their youth and beauty, filled, with ladles,³ the goblets of the guests, which, when the froth rose above the brim, were, by an obvious metaphor, said to be crowned.⁴ Among the Doric Greeks, female cup-bearers seem to have been always preferred; the Ptolemies of Egypt cherished the same taste; and the people of Tarentum, themselves of Doric race, passing successively through every stage of luxury, came, at length, to be served at table by beautiful young women without a vestige of clothing. In most cases, these maidens were slaves, but, in some countries, and everywhere, in remoter ages, the performance of such offices was not regarded as any way derogatory to persons of noble or princely blood. But, whatever might be their birth, beauty of form and countenance constituted their chief recommendation. For there is a language in looks and gestures, there is a fountain of joy and delight concealed deep in the physical structure, and its waters laugh to the eye of intellect, and reflect into the hearts of those who behold it a sunniness and exhilaration greater than we derive from gazing on the summer sea. Hence, Hebe and Ganymede were chosen to minister at the tables of the gods, even Zeus himself⁵ not disdaining to taste of the pleasures to be derived from basking in the irradiations of beauty.

When the goblets were all crowned with the

¹ Horat. Od. ii. 7. 25.

² Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 1183. Vesp. 1005.

³ Eustath. ad Iliad. γ. p. 333. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 855.—A specimen of these ladles (*ἀρύταιναι*) occurs in Mus. Chiaramont. pl. 2.

⁴ Virgil actually wreaths the

bowls with garlands.—Æneid. iii. 525. — Homer, however, crowns his bowls only with wine.—Il. ε. 471.

⁵ Homer. Iliad. δ. 2. γ. 232. β. 813. Odys. ο. 327. Juven. Sat. v. 60. Cf. Philo. Jud. de Vit. Contempl. t. ii. p. 479. Mangey.

nectar of earth, the Master of the Feast¹ set the example of good-fellowship by drinking to his guests, beginning with the most distinguished.² Originally, custom required him who drank to the health of another to drain off his cup while his comrade did the same; but, in after ages, they sipped only a portion of the wine, and, as they still do in the East, presented the remainder to their friend. The latter, by the rules of politeness, was bound to finish the goblet, or, where the antique fashion prevailed, to drink one of equal size.³ The Macedonians, who, probably, excelled the Greeks in drinking, if in nothing else, disdained small cups as supplying a very roundabout way to intoxication, and plunged into Lethe at once by the aid of most capacious bowls. It was customary, when the practice of passing round the goblet had been introduced, for the king of the feast to drink to the next man on his right hand, who, in his turn, drank to the next, and so on till the bowl had circulated round the board. But different customs prevailed in the different parts of Greece. At Athens, small cups, like our wine-glasses, were in use; among the Chians, Thracians, and Thessalians, nations more prone to sensual indulgences, the goblets were of larger dimensions; but, at Sparta, where sobriety and frugality long flourished, the practice was to drink from diminutive vessels, which, as often as required, were replenished by the attendants.⁴

Isocrates, in his exhortation to Demonicos, marks the distinction between the true and false friend, by observing, that, while the latter thinks only of those around him, the former remembers the absent, and makes his affection triumph over time and distance. And the Greeks generally had this merit.

¹ There were certain barbarians, who, to cement their friendships, drank wine tinged with each other's blood.—Athen. xv. 47.

² Plut. Symp. i. 2. 2. The first

cup was drunk to the Agathodemon.—Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 85. Athen. xv. 47.

³ Athen. v. 20.

⁴ Athen. x. 39. Plut. Cleom.

§ 13.

Amid the enjoyments of the festive board, they recalled to mind the friends of other days; and, having first performed libations to the gods, those best and purest of friends, drank to the health and prosperity of former associates, now far removed by circumstances,¹ and this they did not in the mixed beverage which formed their habitual potations, but in pure wine.² There was something extremely delicate in this idea, for tacitly it intimated, that their love placed the objects of it almost on a level with their divinities, in whose honour, also, on these occasions, a small portion of the wine was spilt in libations³ upon the earth. The young, in whose hearts a mistress held the first place,⁴ drank deeply in honour of their beloved, sometimes equalling the number of cups to that of the letters forming her name,⁵ which, if the custom prevailed so early, would account for Ægisthos's being a sot. Sometimes, however, taking the hint from the number of the Graces, they were satisfied with three goblets; but, when an excuse for drinking "pottle deep" was sought, they chose the Muses for their patrons, and honoured their mistresses' names with three times three.⁶ This is the number of cheers with which favourite political toasts are received at our public dinners, though every one who fills his bumper, and cries "hip, hip, hip, hurrah!" on these occasions, is, probably, not conscious that he is keeping up an old pagan custom in honour of the Muses.

The number four was in no favour at the drinking-table, not because it was an even number, for they sometimes drank ten, but because some old superstition had brought discredit on it. Our very fox-hunters, however, exhibit an inferior capacity to many

¹ Theoc. Eidyll. vii. 69.

² Cicero in Verr. Act. ii. Orat. i. § 26, and Ascon. Pedan. in loc.

³ Antiphon. Acc. Nec. Ven. § 3.—The third libation was in

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honour of Zeus.—Scol. Pind. Isth. vi. 22.

⁴ Theocrit. Eidyll. xiv. 18, et Schol.

⁵ Mart. Epig. i. 78.

⁶ Horat. Od. iii. 19. 11, &sq. Lambinus in loc. p. 143.

of the ancients in affairs of the bottle, though when it is the poets who perform the feat, we may safely consider them to be simply regaling their fancies on "air-drawn" goblets, which cost nothing, and leave no head-aches behind them. On this subject there is a very pretty song in the Anthology, which Potter, following some old edition, completely misrepresents.¹ It deserves to be well translated, and I would translate it well if I could. The following at least preserves the meaning :

Pour out ten cups of the purple wine,
 To crown Lycidicè's charms divine ;
 One for Euphrantè, young and fair,
 With the sparkling eye and the raven hair.
 Then I love Lycidicè more, you say ?
 By this foaming goblet I say ye nay.
 More valued than ten is Euphrantè to me,
 For, as when the heavens unclouded be,
 And the stars are crowding far and nigh
 On the deep deep blue of the midnight sky,
 The moon is still brighter and lovelier far
 Than the loveliest planet or brightest star ;
 So, ' mid the stars of this earthly sphere,
 None are so lovely or half so dear
 As to me is Euphrantè young and fair,
 With the sparkling eye and the raven hair.²

But the Macedonians entertained no respect for poetical goblets : they loved to scent their moustachios with the aroma of the real rosy wine when it sparkled in the cup,—when it moved itself aright, as the wise king of Judah expresses it. Plutarch describes briefly one of their drinking-bouts which took place on the evening of the day wherein old Kalanos, the Hindù Yoghi, burnt himself alive to escape the colic. Alexander, on returning from the funeral pile, invited a number of his friends and generals to sup with him, and, proposing a drinking contest, appointed a crown for the victor. Prodigious efforts were made by all present to achieve so enviable a triumph ; but the man who proved himself to possess the most capacious interior was Promachos, who is said to have

¹ Antiq. ii. 394, seq. ² Marc. Argent. ap. Anthol. Græc. v. 110.

swallowed upwards of two gallons. He obtained the prize, which was a golden crown, valued at a talent, but died within three days.¹ Chares, the Mitylenian, relates the matter somewhat differently. According to him, Alexander celebrated funeral games in honour of Kalanos, at his barrow, where horse-races and gymnastic contests took place,² and a poetical encomium was pronounced upon the Yoghi, who, like the rest of his countrymen, was, doubtless, a great toper, and thence the drinking-match instituted in the evening. Chares says there were three prizes; the first, in value, a talent; the second, thirty minæ, or about a hundred and twenty pounds sterling; the third, three minæ. The number of aspirants is not stated, but thirty-five (Plutarch says forty-one) perished in cold shiverings on the spot, and six more died shortly after in the tents.³

Numbers have celebrated the military genius of Alexander; but Athenæus alone has given him due credit for his truly royal power of drinking. Like his father, Philip, who, in his jolly humour, ruffled the Athenian dead at Chæronea, where he could safely beard the fallen republicans, Alexander delighted to spend his evenings among drunken roysterers, whose chief ambition consisted in making a butt of their bowels. One of these worthies was Proteas, the Macedonian mentioned by Ehippos, in his work on the sepulture of Alexander and Hephæstion. He was a man of iron constitution, on which wine, whatever quantity he drank, appeared to make no impression. Alexander, knowing this, loved to pledge him in huge bowls, such as none, perhaps, but themselves could cope with. This he did even at Babylon, where the climate suffers few excesses to be indulged in with impunity. Taking a goblet more like a pail than a drinking-cup, Alexander caused it to be crowned with wine, which, having tasted, he presented the bowl to Proteas. The veteran imme-

¹ Plut. Alexand. Magn. §§ 69, 70.

³ Athen. x. 49.

² Ælian. Var. Hist. ii. 41. Periz.

diately drained it off, to the great amusement of the company, and presently afterwards, desiring to pledge the king, he filled it up again, and sipping a little, according to custom, passed the bowl to Alexander, who, not to be outdone by a subject, forthwith drank the whole. But if he possessed the courage, he wanted the physical strength of Proteas: the goblet dropped from his hand, his head sank on a pillow, and a fever ensued of which the conqueror of Persia, and the rival of Proteas in drinking, died in a few days.¹

But to return from these barbarians: as the presence of sober persons must always be felt by hard drinkers to be a tacit reproach, it was one of the rules of good fellowship, that all such as joined not in the common potations should depart. "Drink, or begone!" said the law, and a good one in Cicero's opinion it was, for if men experienced no disposition to join in the mirth and enjoyment of the company, what had they to do there? ²

From the existence of these rules, however, an inference has been drawn unfavourable to the Greek character, as if, because some were merry, the nation generally must of necessity have been wine-bibbers.³ But this is scarcely more logical than the reasoning of a writer, who, because the comic poets speak chiefly of the mirth and lighter enjoyments of the Athenians, very gravely concludes that they busied themselves about little else. The truth is, that like all ardent and energetic people, they threw their whole souls into the affair, whether serious or otherwise, in which they happened to be engaged; and besides, while the careful and industrious applied themselves to business, there was always an abundance of light and trifling people to whom eating and drinking constituted a serious occupation.

¹ Athen. x. 44.

² Tuscul. Quæst. ii. 41.

³ Potter, ii. 396.

CHAPTER VI.

ENTERTAINMENTS.

THE man upon the creations of whose art the principal enjoyments of Greek gourmands were based was the cook,¹ whose character and achievements ought not perhaps to be entirely passed over. We are, indeed, chiefly indebted for our information to the comic poets; but, in spite of some little exaggeration, the likeness they have bequeathed to us is probably upon the whole pretty exact.

The Athenian cook was a singularly heterogeneous being, something between the parasite and the professed jester; he was usually a poor citizen, with all the pride of autochthoneity about him, who considered it indispensable to acquire, besides his culinary lore, a smattering of many other kinds of knowledge, not only for the purpose of improving his soups or ragouts, but in order, by the orations he pronounced in praise of himself, to dazzle and allure such persons as came to the agora in search of an artist of his class. Of course the principal source of his oratory lay among pots and frying-pans, and the wonders effected by his art. Philemon hits off with great felicity one of these worthies, who desires to convey a lofty opinion of himself,—

“How strong is my desire 'fore earth and heaven,
To tell how daintily I cooked his dinner
'Gainst his return! By all Athena's owls!

¹ On famous Cooks see Max. Tyr. Dissert. v. 60. 83. Pollux, vi. 70, seq. Athen. iii. 60.

'Tis no unpleasant thing to hit the mark
 On all occasions. What a fish had I—
 And ah! how nicely fried! Not all bedevilled
 With cheese, or browned atop, but though well done,
 Looking alive, in its rare beauty dressed.
 With skill so exquisite the fire I tempered,
 It seemed a joke to say that it was cooked.
 And then, just fancy now you see a hen
 Gobbling a morsel much too big to swallow;
 With bill uplifted round and round she runs
 Half choking; while the rest are at her heels
 Clucking for shares. Just so 'twas with my soldiers;
 The first who touched the dish upstarted he
 Whirling round in a circle like the hen,
 Eating and running; but his jolly comrades,
 Each a fish worshiper, soon joined the dance,
 Laughing and shouting, snatching some a bit,
 Some missing, till like smoke the whole had vanished.
 Yet were they merely mud-fed river dabs:
 But had some splendid scaros graced my pan,
 Or Attic glaucisk, or, O saviour Zeus!
 Kapros from Argos, or the conger eel,
 Which old Poseidon exports to Olympos,
 To be the food of gods, why then my guests
 Had rivalled those above. I have, in fact,
 The power to lavish immortality
 On whom I please, or, by my potent art,
 To raise the dead, if they but snuff my dishes!"¹

This honest fellow, in the opinion of Athenæus, exceeded in boasting even that Menecrates of Syracuse, who for his pride obtained the surname of Zeus; he was a physician, and used vauntingly to call himself the arbiter of life to mankind. He is supposed to have possessed some specific against epilepsy; but being afflicted with a vanity at least equal to his skill, he would undertake no one's cure unless he first entered into an agreement to follow him round the country ever after as his slave, which great numbers actually did. Nicos-tratos, of Argos, one of the persons so restored, travelled in his train habited and equipped like Heracles; others personated Asclepios, and Apollo, while Menecrates himself enacted in this fantastic

¹ Athen. vii. 32.

masquerade the part of Zeus; and, as the actors say, he dressed the character well, wearing a purple robe, a golden crown upon his head, sandals of the most magnificent description, and bearing a sceptre in his hand.¹

But whatever might have been the conceit of our Syracusan physician, there were those among the cooking race, who certainly lagged not far behind him. They usually stunned such as came to hire them with reciting their own praises, laying claim to as much science and philosophy as would have sufficed to set up two or three sophists. In fact, to take them at their word, there was nothing which they did not know, nothing which they could not do. Painting they professed to comprehend as profound connoisseurs, and, no doubt, the soles they fried tasted all the better for the accomplishment. In astronomy, medicine, and geometry, they appear to have made a still greater proficiency than Hudibras, notwithstanding that—

“ In mathematics he was greater
Than Tycho Brahe, or Erra Pater ;
For he by geometric scale
Could take the size of pots of ale ;
Discern by sines and tangents strait
If bread and butter wanted weight ;
And wisely tell what hour o’ the day
The clock does strike by algebra.”

In all this he was a fool to the Athenian cooks; for, by the help of astronomy, they could tell when mackerel was in season, and at what time of the year a haddock is better than a salmon. From geometry they borrowed the art of laying out a kitchen to the best advantage, and how to hang up the gridiron in one place, and the porridge-pot in another. To medicine it is easy to see how deeply they must have been indebted, since it not only taught them what meats are wholesome, and

¹ Athen. vii. 33.

what not, but also enabled them by some sleight of art to diminish the appetite of those voracious parasites, who when they dined out appeared to have stomachs equal in capacity to the great tun of Heidelberg.¹

Many individuals, half guests, half parasites, used to extract considerable matter for merriment out of the dinner materials, that they might render themselves agreeable, and be invited again. Thus Charmos, the Syracusan, used to convert every dish served at table into an occasion for reciting poetical quotations or old proverbs, and sometimes, perhaps, suffered the fish to cool while he was displaying his erudition. He had always civil things to say both to shell-fish and tripe, so that a person fond of flattery might have coveted to be roasted, in order that his shade might be soothed with this kind of incense, which even Socrates allowed was not an illiberal enjoyment. It was, however, a common custom among parasites to make extracts from the poets and carry them in portfolios to the tables of their patrons, where they recited all such as appeared to be *à propos*. In this way the above Charmos obtained among the people of Messina the reputation of a learned man, and Calliphanes,² son of Parabrycon,³ succeeded no less ingeniously by copying out the first verses of various poems, and reciting them, so that it might be supposed he knew the whole.

Cleanthes, of Tarentum, always spoke at table in verse, so likewise did the Sicilian Pamphilos; and these parasites, travelling about with wallets of poetry on their backs, were everywhere welcomed and entertained, which might with great

¹ Athen. vii. 37.

² Suidas in v. t. i. p. 1361. c.

³ Athen. i. 6. "Sic ut παράσιτος, et παραμασήτης vel παραμασύνης convivam denotat invocatum, qui absque symbola

"ad convivium venit; sic nomen

"παράβρυκων (à verbo βρύκω,

"mordeo, rodo, deglutio) eum-

"dem habet significatum." —

Scheigh. Animadv. t. vi. p. 54.

propriety have been adduced by Ilgen¹ among his other proofs of the imaginative character of the Greeks.

Archestratos, the Syracusan, belonged no doubt to this class. He composed an epic poem on good eating, which commenced with recommending that no company, assembled for convivial enjoyment, should ever exceed four,² or at most five, otherwise he said they would rather resemble a troop of banditti than gentlemen. It had probably escaped him, that there were twenty-eight guests at Plato's banquet. Antiphanes, after observing that the parasites had lynx's eyes to discover a good dinner though never invited, immediately adds, that the republic ought to get up an entertainment for them, upon the same principle that during the games an ox³ was slaughtered some distance from the course at Olympia, to feast the flies, and prevent them from devouring the spectators.

Besides Archestratos, there were several other celebrated gastronomers among the ancients. Of these the principal were Timachidas, of Rhodes, who wrote a poem in eleven books on good eating,⁴ Noumenios, of Heraclea, pupil to the physician Dieuches, Metreas, of Pitana, the parodist Hegemon, of Thasos, surnamed the *Lentil*, by some reckoned among the poets of the old comedy, Philoxenos, of Leucadia, and a second Philoxenos, of Cythera, who composed his work in hexameter verse. The former, after chaunting the eulogium of the kettle, comes nevertheless to the conclusion at last, that superior merit belongs to the fryingpan. He earnestly recommended truffles to lovers, but would not have them touch the

¹ De Scol. Poes. p. 8.

² Athen. i. 7.

³ Athen. i. 7. This ox was sacrificed to Zeus the Fly-Chaser, in order to prevail on him to drive the swarms of insects, by which the spectators were incommoded,

beyond the Alpheios. Cf. Plin. Nat. Hist. x. 40. ix. 34. Pausan. v. 14. i. viii. 26. 7. Ælian. De Nat. Animal. v. 17. xi. 8.

⁴ Athen. i. 8. Suidas. v. Τιμαχίδας. t. i. p. 899, seq.

barbel. His anger burst forth with great vehemence against those who cut in pieces fish which should be served up whole; and, though he admits that a polypus may occasionally be boiled, it was much better, he says, to fry it. From this man the Philoxenian cakes derived their name; and he it is whom Chrysippos reproaches with half scalding his fingers in the warm bath and gargling his throat with hot water, in order that he might be able to swallow kabobs hissing from the coals.¹ He likewise used, at the houses of his friends, to bribe the cooks to bring up everything fiery hot, that he might help himself before any one else could touch them. A kindred gourmand, in the poet Krobylos, exclaims: "My fingers are insensible to fire like the Dactyls of Mount Ida. And ah! how delightful it is to refresh my throat with the crackling flakes of broiled fish! Oh I am in fact an oven, not a man!"

According to Clearchos it was this same Philoxenos, who used to maraud about rich men's houses, followed by a number of slaves laden with wine, vinegar, oil, and other seasonings. Wherever he smelled the best dinner he dropped in unasked, and slipping slyly among the cooks, obtained their permission to season the dishes they were preparing, after which he took his place among the guests where he fed like a Cyclops. Arriving once at Ephesos, by sea, he found, upon inquiry in the market, that all the best fish had been secured for a wedding feast. Forthwith he bathed, and repairing to the house of the bridegroom, demanded permission to sing the Epithalamium. Every one was delighted; they could do no less than invite him to dinner. And "Will you come again to-morrow?" inquired the generous host. "If there be no fish in the market," replied Philoxenos. It was this gourmand who wished nature had bestowed on man the neck of the

¹ Athen. i. 9.

crane that the pleasure of swallowing might be prolonged.¹

Pithylos, another parasite, surnamed "the Dainty," not content with the membrane which nature has spread over the tongue, superinduced artificially a sort of mucous covering, which retained for a considerable time the flavour of what he ate.² To prolong his luxurious enjoyment as much as possible, he afterwards scraped away this curious coating with a fish. Of all ancient gourmands he alone is said to have made use of artificial finger-points, that he might be enabled to seize upon the hottest morsels. An anecdote so good as to have given rise to many modern imitations, is related of Philoxenos, of Cythera. Dining one day with Dionysios, of Syracuse, he observed a large barbel served up to the prince, while a very diminutive one was placed before him. Upon this, taking up the little fish, he held it to his ear and appeared to be listening attentively. Dionysios, expecting some humorous extravagance, made a point of inquiring the meaning of this movement, and Philoxenos replied, that happening just then to think of his Galatea,³ he was questioning the barbel respecting her. But as it makes no answer, said he, I imagine they have taken him too young and that he does not understand me. I am persuaded, however, that the old fellow they have placed before your majesty must know all about it. The king, amused by his ingenuity, immediately sent him the larger fish which he soon questioned effectually.⁴

But the Athenians were not reduced to depend for amusement at table upon the invention of these

¹ Suid. in *v. Φιλοξ.* t. ii. p. 1058. c. *Athen.* i. 10.

² *Athen.* i. 10. Suid. *v. Πιθυλλ.* t. ii. p. 526. c.

³ Making allusion perhaps to his love for Galatea, the mistress

of Dionysios. *Athen.* i. 11. *Ælian.* Var. Hist. xii. 44. Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 290.

⁴ *Athen.* i. 11. See another anecdote of this gourmand in *Ælian.* Var. Hist. x. 9.

humble companions. They knew how, when occasion required, to entertain themselves, and, in the exuberance of their hilarity, descended for this purpose to contrivances almost infantine. They posed each other with charades, enigmas, conundrums, and, sometimes, in the lower classes of society, related stories of witches, lamias, mormos, and other hobgoblins believed in by the vulgar of all nations. Among persons engaged in public affairs the excitement of political discussion was often, of course, intermingled with their more quiet pleasures.¹ But with this we have, just now, nothing to do, nor with the enigmas which we shall describe anon. There was another and more elegant practice observed by the Greeks at convivial meetings, which, though not peculiar to them, has nowhere else, perhaps, prevailed to the same extent,—I mean the introduction of music and the singing of songs,² light, graceful, and instinct with wit and gaiety, to the barbitos or the lyre.

Among the Greeks, generally, the love of music and poetry seemed to be a spontaneous impulse of nature. Almost every act of life was accompanied by a song,—the weaver at his loom, the baker at his kneading-trough, the reaper, the “spinners and the knitters in the sun,” the drawer of water, even the hard-working wight who toiled at the mill, had his peculiar song, by the chaunting of which he lightened his labour. The mariner, too, like the Venetian gondolier, sang at the oar, and the shepherd and the herdsman, the day-labourer and the swineherd, the vintager and the husbandman, the attendant in the baths, and the nurse beside the cradle. It might, in fact, be said, that from an Hellenic village music arose as from a brake in spring. Their sensibilities were tremblingly alive to pleasure. There was elasticity, there was balm in their atmo-

¹ Aristoph. *Aves.* 1189, sqq.

² Sch. Aristoph. *Eq.* 403.

sphere, and joy and freedom in their souls.—How could they do other than sing?

But, if music and poetry thus diffused their delights over the industry of the laborious, it was quite natural that where men met solely for enjoyment, these best handmaids of enjoyment should not be absent. Accordingly, we find that while the goblet circulated, kindling the imagination, and unbending the mind, the lyre was brought in and a song called for. Nor was the custom of recent date. It prevailed equally in the heroic ages, and, like many other features of Greek manners, derived its origin from religion. For, in early times, men rarely met at a numerous banquet, except on occasion of some sacrifice, when hymns in honour of the gods constituted an important part of the ceremonies. Thus Homer, describing the grand expiatory rites by which the Achæan host sought to avert the wrath of Apollo, observes, that they made great feasts, and celebrated the praises of the god amid their flowing goblets.¹

Yet, though the theme of those primitive songs may have been at first serious, it was, probably, not long before topics better adapted to festive meetings obtained the preference. At all events, they soon came to be in fashion. The first step appears to have been from the gods to the heroes, whose achievements, being sometimes tinged with the ludicrous, opened the door to much gay and lively description. And these convivial pleasures,² so highly valued on earth, were, with great consistency, transferred to Olympus, where the immortals themselves were thought to heighten their enjoyments by songs and merriment.

In the ages following, the art of enhancing thus the delights of social intercourse, so far from falling into

¹ *Iliad.* α. 492, sqq. Ilgen,
Disq. de Scol. Poes. p. 55.

² *Conf. Odyss.* θ. 72, sqq. α.
154. 350.

neglect, grew to be more than ever cultivated. Even the greatest men, beginning from the Homeric Achilles, disdained not to sing. They did not, says a judicious and learned writer, consider it sufficient to perform deeds worthy of immortality, or to be the theme of poets and musicians, or so far to cultivate their minds as to be able to relish and appreciate the songs of others, but included music within the circle of their own studies, as an accomplishment without which no man could pretend to be liberally educated. For this reason it was objected by Stesimbrotos, as a reproach to Cimon, that he was ignorant of music, and every other gentlemanly accomplishment held in estimation among the Greeks;¹ and even Themistocles himself incurred the charge of rusticity, because, when challenged at a party, he refused to play on the cithara.²

A different theory of manners prevailed among the Romans, who, like the modern Turks, considered it unbecoming a gentleman to sing. But to the Greeks, a people replete with gaiety and ardour, and whose amusements always partook largely of poetry, music presented itself under a wholly different aspect, and was so far from appearing a mean or sordid study, that no branch of education was held in higher honour, or esteemed more efficacious in promoting tranquillity of mind, or polish and refinement of manners. The lyre is accordingly said, by Homer, to be a divine gift, designed to be the companion and friend of feasts, where it proved the source of numerous advantages. In the first place, persons too much addicted to the bottle found in this instrument an ally against their own failing, for, whether playing or listening, a cessation from drinking was necessarily effected. Rudeness also and violence, and that unbridled audacity commonly inspired by wine, were checked by music, which, in their stead, inspired a pleasing exalt-

¹ Plut. Cim. § 4. Afterwards, however, we find Cimon represented as singing with great skill. § 9.

² Cicero, Tuscul. Quæst. i. 2. Cf. Ilgen. De Scol. Poes. p. 62.

ation of mind, and joy free from all admixture of passion.¹

It has already been observed that the convivial song soon divested itself of its religious and sombre character; for, as parties are made up of persons differing extremely in taste and temperament, it necessarily happened that when each was required to sing, much variety would be found in the lays, which generally assumed a festive and jocund air. Hymns in honour of the gods were more sparingly introduced,² nor was much stress laid on the praises of heroes;³ the spirit of joviality moulded itself into

Quips and cranks, and wanton wiles;
Nods and becks, and wreathed smiles.

Every one poured forth what the whim of the moment inspired, — jokes, love-songs, or biting satires, with the freedom and fertility of an improvisatore.⁴

These convivial songs were divided by the ancients into several kinds, with reference sometimes to their nature, sometimes to the manner in which they were chaunted: the most remarkable they denominated *Scolia*, or zig-zag songs,⁵ for a reason somewhat difficult of explanation. Several of the later Greek writers appear to have been greatly at a loss to account for the appellation, which is, no doubt, a singular one; but the learning and diligence of Ilgen⁶ may be said to have fully resolved this curious question. After determining the antiquity of the Scolion, which Pindar⁷ supposes to have been an invention of Ter-

¹ Athen. xiv. 24. Ilgen, *Disq. De Scol. Poes.* p. 64.

² The hymn, for example, in honour of Pallas was, in all ages, sung. Sch. Aristoph. *Nub.* 954.

³ Of Harmodios, for example, and Aristogeiton. Sch. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 942. See Ilgen, *Disq. de Scol. Poes.* p. 69.

⁴ Conf. Hom. *Hymn. in Herm.* 52, sqq. Pind. *Olymp.* i. 24.

⁵ Poll. vi. 108, with the notes of Seber and Jungermann, t. v. p. 142.

⁶ Who has published a collection of these songs, accompanied by very interesting and instructive notes. *Σκολία* hoc est, *Carmina Convivalia Græcorum*. Jenæ, 1798.

⁷ Apud Plut. de *Musica*, § 28.

pander, or, at least, the verses of the song, but which Ilgen dates as far back as the heroic period, he observes, that the name itself was known in very remote ages, since they formed a separate class among the works of Pindar, and are mentioned by Aristophanes and Plato,¹ and that, like the Cyclic chorus, it arose out of the circumstances under which it was sung. For as this chorus was called Cyclic, or circular, because chaunted by persons moving in a circle round the altar of Bacchos, so the Scolion, or zig-zag song,² received its name from the myrtle branch, or the cithara, to which it was sung, being passed from one guest to another in a zig-zag³ fashion, just as those who possessed the requisite skill happened to sit at table.

To render this explanation perfectly intelligible, it will, perhaps, be necessary to describe succinctly the whole process of singing in company. At first, it has been conjectured, when manners were rude, and the language still in its infancy, singing, like dancing, required no great art, and was little more than those wild bursts of melody still common among the improvisatori of Arabia and other Eastern countries, but that from these humble beginnings lyrical poetry took its rise, preserving still the freedom of its original state, and rising, unshackled by the rigid laws of metre, to heights of sublimity and grandeur beyond which no human composition ever soared. By degrees some complex forms of verse obtained the preference,—such, for example, as those of Sappho and Alcæos,—and fixed and definite laws of metre were established.

¹ Pind. Fragm. Dissen. t. i. p. 234, with the Commentary, t. ii. p. 639, sqq. Aristoph. Vesp. 1222, 1240. Acharn. 532. Pac. 1302. Plat. Gorg. t. iii. p. 13. Bekk.

² Suidas, v. σκολίον, t. ii. p. 759, e. sqq. Etym. Mag. 718, 35, sqq. Eustath. ad Odys. 7. 276, 49.

³ Mr. Müller, however, disap-

proves of this etymology. "It is much more likely," he says, "that in the melody to which the scolia were sung, certain liberties and irregularities were permitted, by which the extempore execution of the song was facilitated." — History of Greek Literature, pt. i. chap. xiii. § 16, seq.

The Scolion, however, always preserved something of its original spontaneous character, at least in appearance, and the same thing may be predicated of all their festive lays. But before they gave loose to their gaiety, the deep religious sentiment which pervaded the whole nation required a pæan, or hymn, to be sung in honour of the gods, and in this every person present joined.¹ While thus engaged, each guest, it is supposed, held in his hand a branch of laurel, the tree sacred to Apollo.² To the pæan succeeded another air, which all present sang in their turn, holding this time a branch of myrtle,³ which, like the laurel bough mentioned above, was called *æsakos*, or the "branch of song."⁴ The singing commenced with the principal guest, to whom the symposiarch or host delivered the Cithara⁵ and *æsakos*, demanding a song, which, according to the laws of the table, no one could refuse. Having performed his part, the singer was, in turn, entitled to call upon his neighbour, beginning on the right hand, and delivering to him the Cithara and the myrtle branch. The second, when he had sung, handed it then to the third, the third to the fourth, and so on until the whole circle of the company had been made. It sometimes happened, though not often, that among the guests an individual, unskilled in instrumental music, was found, and, in this case, he sang without accompaniment, holding the *æsakos* in his hand.⁶

The poets who had the honour thus to cheer the convivial hours of the Greeks were, in remoter times, Simonides and Stesichoros, and, probably, Anacreon, with others of the same grade;⁷ and, if we may credit Aristophanes, songs were also selected from the plays of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, as

¹ Plut. Symp. i. 1. Athen. xiv. 24.

² Hesych. v. *ῥῥακος*, ap. Ilgen. De Scol. Poes. p. 154.

³ Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 1339, 1346.

⁴ Potter, Antiq. ii. 403.

⁵ Scol. Aristoph. Nub. 1337, seq.

⁶ Ilgen, De Schol. Poes. p. 156.

⁷ Aristoph. Nub. 1358. Conf. Schol. ad Vesp. 1222.

among ourselves from Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, or Ben Jonson. It may even be inferred that passages from Homer himself¹ were sung on these occasions; or, if not sung, they were certainly recited by rhapsodists introduced for the purpose into the assembly, who, holding a laurel branch while thus engaged, probably gave rise to the practice of passing round the myrtle bough. This branch, therefore, whether of myrtle or laurel,² constituted a part of a singer's apparatus. The latter was originally chosen as sacred to Apollo, the patron of music, and because it was also believed to be endowed with something of prophetic power, the Pythoness eating its leaves before she ascended the tripod, while it was the symbol of ever-during song. Instead of the laurel, myrtle was afterwards introduced, on account, probably, of its being sacred to Aphrodite, whose praises were celebrated in those amatory songs common at feasts. It may, likewise, have been considered an emblem of republican virtue, since Harmodios and Aristogeiton concealed their swords in a myrtle wreath.³

To proceed, however, with the *Scolia*. These lays, like the rest, made the circle of the company, though not by passing in an unbroken series from man to man, but, as has already been said, from one skilful singer to another. In fact, the chanting of the *scolia* was a kind of contest which took place when all the other songs were concluded.⁴ The person who occupied the seat of honour chanted to the *Cithara* a song containing the praises of some mortal or immortal, or the developement of some moral precept or erotic subject, which was comprehended in a small number of verses. When he had finished, he handed the *Cithara* and myrtle, at his own discretion, to some other among the guests, and the

¹ Schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 1367.

³ Ilgen, *De Scol. Poes.* p.

² *Dresig. de Rhapsodis.* p. 7. 159.

sqq. ap. Ilgen, De Scol. Poes.
p. 157. *Pind. Isthm.* iv. 63.

⁴ *Athen.* xv. 49.

person thus challenged, who could not refuse without passing for an illiterate clown, must at once take up the same subject, and, without delay or premeditation, break forth into a song in the same metre and number of verses, if possible; and if unfamiliar with the Cithara, he could sing to the myrtle. The second singer now exercised his privilege and called upon a third, who was expected to do as he had done; so that very often the same idea underwent five or six transformations in the course of the evening. When the first argument had thus made the circle of the company, he who concluded had the right to start a new theme, which received the same treatment as the first; so that sometimes, when people were in a singing humour, air followed air, until eight or ten subjects had received all the poetical ornaments which the invention of those present could bestow upon them.

But to sing without wine would have been insipid. I have said the chanting of the *scolia* was a sort of contest, and, as he who contends and obtains the victory looks naturally for a reward, so the successful performer aspired to his, which, it must be owned, was not inappropriate, consisting of a brimming bowl, called *odos*, or the "cup of song," at once a mark of honour and a reward of skill.¹ All these particulars are inferable from the examples of the *scolion*, which still remain; and Aristophanes in the "Wasps," presents something like an outline, though dim and obscure, both of the argument and the mode of execution. He imagines a company of jolly fellows,² such as Theoros, Æschines, Phanos, Cleon, Acestor, and a foreigner of the same kidney, and represents them as engaged in performing certain *scolia* for their own entertainment.

But the idea we should form of this kind of song from the very comic passage in the "Wasps" differs materially from the theoretic view of Ilgen, since Philocleon constantly interrupts his son, terminat-

¹ Athen. xi. 110. ² Vesp. 1220.

ing each sentence for him in a manner wholly unexpected, and of course calculated to excite laughter.

But though musical, the Greeks would not imitate the grasshoppers,¹ who are said to sing till they starve; but, having accomplished the circle above-mentioned, proceeded to other amusements which, though too numerous to be described at length, must not be altogether passed over. In the heroic ages the discovery had not been made that rest after meals is necessary to digestion, which in later times was a received maxim, and accordingly we find from the practice of the Phæacians,² who, if an after-dinner nap had been customary, would certainly have taken it, that the men of those times, instead of indulging in indolent repose out of compliment to their stomachs, sallied forth to leap, to run, to wrestle, and engage in other athletic sports, which by no means appear to have impaired their health or their prowess. As civilisation advances, however, excuses are found for laying aside the habits of violent exercise. Science, in too many cases, fosters indolence and pronounces what is fashionable to be wise. But to the race-course and the wrestling-ring, sedentary, or at least indoor, pastimes succeed, and, instead of overthrowing their antagonists on the palæstra-floor or the greensward, men seek to subdue them at Kottabos, or on the chess-board, or to ruin them at the card-table or in the billiard-room.

The play of Kottabos,³ invented in Sicily, soon propagated itself, as such inventions do, throughout the whole of Greece, and got into great vogue at Athens, where the lively temperament of the people inclined them to indulge immoderately in whatever was convivial and gay. The most usual form of the game was this,—a piece of wood like the upright of a balance having been fixed in the floor

¹ Plato Phædr. t. i. p. 65.

² Homer. Odyss. θ. 97, sqq. Eustath. p. 295, 43.

³ Athen. xv. 2, sqq. xi. 22, 58, 75.—Suidas, v. *κοταβίζειν*. t. i. p. 1504, b. seq. Etym. Mag. 533. 13, sqq.

or upon a stable basis, a small cross-beam was placed on the top of it with a shallow vessel like the basin of a pair of scales, at either end.

Under each of these vessels stood a broad-mouthed vase, filled with water, with a gilt bronze statue, called *Manes*, fixed upright in its centre. The persons who played at the game, standing at some little distance, cast, in turn, their wine, from a drinking-cup into one of the pensile basins, which descending with the weight, struck against the head of the statue, which resounded with the blow. The victor was he who spilled least wine during the throw, and elicited most noise from the brazen head. It was, in fact, in its origin a species of divination, the object being to discover by the greater or less success obtained, the place occupied by the player in his mistress's affections. By an onomatopœa the sound created by the wine in its projection was called *latax*, and the wine itself *latagè*. Both the act of throwing and the cup used were called *ankula*, from the word which expresses the dexterous turn of the hand with which the skilful player cast his wine into the scales.¹

Our learned Archbishop Potter, who has not unskilfully abridged the account of Athenæus, confounds the above with the *kottabos katactos*, another form of the game described both by Pollux and Athenæus.² In this the apparatus was suspended like a chandelier from the roof. It was formed of brass, and a brazen vessel, called the skiff, was placed beneath it. The player, standing at a little distance, with a long wand, struck one end of the *kottabos*, which descending came in contact with the skiff, or rather the *manes* within, and produced a hollow sound. Occasionally the small vessels at the extremity of the *kottabos* were brought down, as in the former game, by having wine cast into

¹ Potter, ii. 405, 406.

xv. 4. Cf. Flor. Christian ad

² Pollux, vi. 109, sqq. Athen. Aristoph. Pac. 343.

them. Another variety required the skiff to be filled with water, upon which floated a ball, an instrument like the tongue of a balance, a manes, three myrtle boughs, and as many phials. In this the great art consisted in striking some one of these with the kottabos, and whoever could sink most of them won the game. The prize, on these occasions, was usually one of those cakes called *pyramos*¹ or something similar; but instead of these it was sometimes agreed, when women were present, that the prize should be a kiss, as in our game of forfeits. Another kind of kottabos, chiefly practised on those occasions which resembled our christenings, when on the tenth day the child received its name, was a contention of wakefulness, when the person who longest resisted sleep, won the prize. Properly, however, kottabos was the amusement first described; and so fashionable did it become, that persons erected circular rooms expressly for the purpose, in order that the players might take their stand at equal distances from the apparatus which stood in the centre.²

It might, without any authority, be presumed that when people met together for enjoyment they would derive the greater portion of it from conversation, which would, of course, vary and slide

“ From grave to gay, from lively to severe,”

according to the character or fluctuating humour of the company. The Spartans, like all military people, were grievously addicted to jokes, which among them supplied the place of that elegant badinage, alternating with profound or impassioned discourse, familiar to the more intellectual Athenians. The latter, however, though free from the coarseness, possessed more than the mirthfulness of the Dorians, and in the midst of their habits of business and application to

¹ Pollux. vi. 101.

² Athen. xv. 7.

philosophy, knew better than any people how, amidst wine and good-eating, to unbend and enjoy the luxury of careless trifling and an unwrinkled brow. While some therefore retired to the kottabos-room, which occupied the place of our billiard-room, others still sat clustered round the table, extracting amusement from each other. Among these of course would be found all such as excelled in the art of small talk, who could tell a good story or anecdote, scatter around showers of witticisms, or give birth to a pun. Some, like the Spartans, had a Welsh passion for genealogies, and loved to run back over the history of the "Landed Gentry" of old Hellas, to the time of Deucalion or higher; others coined their wisdom and experience into fables, for which they exhibited an almost Oriental fondness; while the greater number, like the princes in the Arabian Nights, exercised their wits in propounding and resolving difficult questions, enigmas, charades, anagrams, and conundrums.

But the principal classes into which these contrivances were divided were two: *enigmas* and *griphoi*,¹ the former comprehending all those terminating in mere pleasure, the latter such questions and riddles as involved within themselves the kernel of wisdom or knowledge,² supposed to have been a dull and serious affair. Casaubon,³ however, vindicates it stoutly from this charge, affirming that in the griphos the *utile* was mingled with the *dulce* in due proportion; so that it must, according to Horace's opinion, have borne away the palm from most literary inventions. In point of antiquity, too, the riddle may justly boast; for, if to be old is to be noble, it has "more of birth and better blood" even than the hungry Dorians of the Peloponnesos, whom Mr. Mitchell

¹ Vid. Clem. Alexan. Protrep. i. 1. Diog. Laert. ii. 33.

² Pollux. vi. 107.

³ Animadv. in Athen. x. 15. Cf. Scaliger, Poet. iii. 84, where the distinction made by Pollux is explained.

prefers, on this account, before all nations of Ionic race. Like everything good also it comes from the East. The earliest mention of the riddle occurs in the book of Judges,¹ where Samson, during his marriage-feast at Timnath, perplexes his guests with the following riddle :

“ Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness ; ”

To which they, being instructed by his wife, replied :

“ What is sweeter than honey ? and what is stronger than a lion ? ”

The word *griphos*, in its original acceptation, signified a fishing-net, and hence by translation was employed to describe a captious or cunningly contrived question, in which the wits of people were entangled.² As the ancients delighted in this sort of intellectual trifling they were at the pains to be very methodical about it, dividing the riddle into several kinds, which Clearchos of Soli³ made the subject of a separate work. This writer, a sort of Greek D'Israeli, defines the *griphos* to mean “ a sportive problem proposed for solution on condition, that the discovery of the sense should be attended by a reward, and failure with punishment.” His description of the seven classes could scarcely be rendered intelligible, and certainly not interesting to the modern reader. It will be more to the purpose to introduce two or three specimens, prefacing them by a few remarks.

It has been above observed, that philosophical truths were often wrapped up in these sportive pro-

¹ Chap. xiv. vv. 14. 18. Chytræus, in his note on this passage, has several excellent and learned remarks on the subject. Vid. Seber. ad Poll. t. v. p. 141.

² Pollux. vi. 108. Scalig. Poet. iii. 84.

³ Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 20. Athen. x. 69.

blems, which purposely obscured, so as to afford but dim and distant glimpses of the forms within, necessarily exercised and sharpened the wit and induced keen and persevering habits of investigation. The reward also and the penalty had the same tendency. A crown, an extra junket, and the applause of the company, cheered the successful Œdipos, while the lackwit who beat about the bush without catching the owl, had to make wry faces over a cup of brine or pickle. Theodectes, the sophist, a man distinguished for the excellence of his memory, obtained reputation as a riddle-solver, and denominated such questions the "springs of memory."¹ But whatever the interrogatories themselves may have been, the reward, to which their solution often led, was rather a source of forgetfulness, consisting of a goblet of wine which, when no interpreter could be found, passed to the propounder.²

The riddle was of course a mine of wealth to the comic poets, who could not be supposed to forego the use of so admirable a contrivance to raise expectation and beget surprise. But it is clear, from the examples still preserved, that they oftener missed than hit. Antiphanes's griphoi on "bringing and not bringing;" on the "porridge-pot;" on a "tart," &c., are poor things; but the following from the "Dream" of Alexis is good:

- A. A thing exists which nor immortal is,
Nor mortal, but to both belongs, and lives
As neither god nor man does. Every day,
'Tis born anew and dies. No eye can see it,
And yet to all 'tis known.
- B. A plague upon you!
You bore me with your riddles.
- A. Still, all this
Is plain and easy.
- B. What then can it be?
- A. SLEEP—that puts all our cares and pains to flight.³

¹ Pollux. vi. 108.

Suidas. v. γριφος, t. i. p. 628, seq.

² Etym. Mag. 341, 35, sqq.

³ Athen. x. 71.

The following from Eubulos is not amiss :

- A. What is it that, while young, is plump and heavy,
But, being full grown, is light, and wingless mounts
Upon the courier winds, and foils the sight ?
- B. The THISTLE'S BEARD ; for this at first sticks fast
To the green seed, which, ripe and dry, falls off
Upon the cradling breeze, or, upwards puffed
By playful urchins, sails along the air.

Antiphanes, in his Sappho, introduces a very ingenious riddle, partly for the purpose of offering a sarcastic explanation directed against the orators :

There is a female which within her bosom
Carries her young, that, mute, in fact, yet speak,
And make their voice heard on the howling waves,
Or wildest continent. They will converse
Even with the absent, and inform the deaf.¹

The poet introduces the " Lesbian maid," explaining the riddle, and this passage of the Athenian comic writer may be regarded as the original of those fine lines in Ovid, which Pope has so elegantly translated :

Heaven first taught LETTERS for some wretch's aid,
Some banish'd lover, or some captive maid,
They live, they speak, they breathe what love inspires,
Warm from the soul, and faithful to its fires,
The virgin's wish without her fears impart,
Excuse the blush and pour out all the heart,
Speed the soft intercourse from soul to soul,
And waft a sigh from Indus to the pole.

By this time, however, the reader will probably be of opinion, that we have lingered long enough about the dinner-table and its attendant pastimes. We shall therefore hasten the departure of the guests, who after burning the tongues of the animals that had been sacrificed, to intimate that whatever had been uttered was to be kept secret, offered

¹ Athen. x. 73.

libations to Zeus, Hermes, and other gods, and took their leave, in ancient times before sunset; but afterwards, as luxury and extravagance increased, the morning sun often enabled them to dispense with link-boys. Examples, indeed, of similar perversions of the night occur in Homer and Virgil, but always among the reckless or effeminate in the palaces of princes, whence, in all ages, the stream of immorality has flowed downward upon society to disturb and pollute it. The company assembled at Agathon's, also, sit up all night in Plato; and Aristophanes represents drunken men reeling home through the agora by daylight.

CHAPTER VII.

THE THEATRE.

It is far from being my purpose to repeat the information which may be obtained from a hundred authors on the rise and progress of scenic representation in Greece. I shall, on the contrary, confine myself chiefly to those parts of the subject which others have either altogether neglected, or treated in a concise and unsatisfactory manner. It would, nevertheless, be beside my purpose to attempt the clearing up of all such difficulties as occur in the accounts transmitted to us of the Hellenic drama; and, in fact, notwithstanding the laborious investigations into which I have been compelled to enter, I feel that there are many points upon which I can throw no new light, and which appear likely for ever to baffle the ingenuity of architects and scholars.

Dionysos, being a deity connected with agriculture, his worship naturally took its rise, and for a long time prevailed chiefly, in the country. His festivals were celebrated with merriment; and, the power of mimicry being natural to man, the rustics, when congregated to set forth the praise of their tutelary god, easily glided into the enactment of a farcical show. And dramatic exhibitions at the outset were little superior to the feats of Punch,¹ though, so great was their suitability to the national character, that, in the course of time, every town of note had its own theatre, as it had of old its own dithyrambic bard;¹ and dramatic writers were

¹ Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1404.

multiplied incomparably beyond what they have been in any other country.

Both tragedy and comedy,¹ properly so called, took their rise in Attica, and there only, in the ancient world, flourished and grew up to perfection. The theatre, in fact, formed at length a part of the constitution, and, probably, the worst part, its tendency being to foster personal enmities, to stir the sources of malice, and, while pretending to purge off the dross of the passions by the channels of sorrow and mirth, to induce habits of idleness and political apathy, by affording in the brilliant recesses of a mock world a facile refuge from the toils and duties of the real one. Nevertheless, it may be curious to open up a view into that universe of shadows wherein the vast creations of Æschylus, of Sophocles, of Euripides, of Aristophanes, and Menander displayed themselves before the eyes of the Athenians, with a costly grandeur and magnificence never equalled save in imperial Rome.

It has been already remarked, that to the Dionysiac theatre of Athens the architectural speculations of Vitruvius on dramatic edifices apply, this building having constituted the model on which similar structures were afterwards erected.² By carefully studying its details, therefore, we shall be enabled to form a tolerably just conception of all the theatres once found in Greece, though each, perhaps, may have been slightly modified in plan, general arrange-

¹ See Bentley, *Dissert. on Phal.* i. 251.

² On the form and construction of ancient theatres, see Chandler, *Travels, &c.*, who describes the ruins of the theatre of Teos. i. 110; of Ephesos, 138; of Miletos, (457 feet in length,) 168; of Myos, 191; of Stratonica, 222; of Nysa, built with a blue-veined marble, 245; of Laodicea,

262; of Ægina, ii. 16; of Athens, 113; of Eleusis, 215; on the theatre of Syracuse, see *Antiq. of Athens, &c. Supplementary to Stuart*, by Cockerel, Donaldson, &c. p. 38.—See a plan of the theatre in the grove of Asclepios at Epidaurus, pl. 1. p. 53, and another of that of Dramysos, near Joannina, pl. 3.—(Compare on the Dionysiac Theatre, Leake, *Topog. of Athens*, p. 53, sqq.)

ment, and decorations, by the peculiarities of the site, and the science or taste of its architect.

The great theatre of Bacchos, partly scooped out of the rock on the face of the hill at the south-eastern angle of the Acropolis, stretched forth, on solid piers of masonry, a considerable distance into the plain, and was capable of containing upwards of thirty thousand people. The diameter, accordingly, if it did not exceed, could have fallen little short of five hundred feet.¹ For we are not to suppose that, while Sparta,² and Argos, and Megalopolis, cities comparatively insignificant, possessed theatres of such dimensions, Athens, incomparably the largest and most beautiful of Hellenic capitals, would have been content with one of inferior magnitude.³

To determine accurately the various parts of the theatre, and thus affix a distinct meaning to every term connected with it, has exercised the ingenuity of critics and architects for the last three hundred years, still leaving many difficulties to be overcome. I can scarcely hope in every case to succeed where they have failed. But the following explanation may, perhaps, convey of its interior an idea sufficiently exact for all practical purposes.

Supposing ourselves to be standing at the foot of the Katatomè,⁴ a smooth wall of rock, rising perpendicularly from the back of the theatre to the superimpending fortifications of the Acropolis, we

¹ Even a provincial theatre is compared by the rustic in Dion Chrysostom to a large hollow valley, i. 229; what then could the Abbé Dubos be thinking of when he wrote, "Il étoit impossible que les altérations du visage que le masque cache furent aperçues distinctment des spectateurs, dont plusieurs étoient éloignées *de plus de douze toises* du comédien qui récitoit!"—Reflex. Crit. i. 609.

² Scalig. Poet. i. 21.

³ Colonel Leake, Topog. of Ath. p. 59. Cf. Wordsworth's Athens and Attica, p. 29. The conjecture of Hemsterhuis on the passage of Dicæarchos cannot be adopted. The words must apply to the theatre; for he says the Parthenon charmed the spectators. But this could not apply to the Odeion, which was roofed.

⁴ Poll. iv. 123.

behold on either hand, surmounted by porticoes, lofty piers of masonry projecting like horns down the rocky slope into the plain and united at their extremities by a wall of equal height, running in a straight line from one point of the horseshoe to the other. The space thus enclosed is divided into three principal parts, — the amphitheatre for the spectators, the orchestra,¹ filling all the space occupied by the modern pit, for the chorus, and the stage, properly so called, for the actors. Each of these parts was again subdivided. Looking down still from the Katatomè, we behold the benches of white marble, sweeping round the whole semicircle of the theatre, descend like steps to the level of the orchestra, and intersected at intervals by narrow straight passages converging towards a point below.² A number of the upper seats, cut off, by an open space extending round the whole semicircle, from the rest, was set apart for the women. Other divisions were appropriated to other classes of the population, as the tier of seats immediately overlooking the orchestra to the senators, or dicasts, another portion to the youth, another to foreigners and the guests of the state, while the remainder was occupied by the dense mass of citizens of all ages,³ with crowns of flowers on their heads.

Above the level of the most elevated range of seats, and stretching round the whole sweep of the edifice,⁴ arose a spacious portico,⁵ designed to afford

¹ Tim. Lex. Platon. in v. ὀρχή-
στρον. p. 104. Poll. iv. 123.

² Poll. iv. 123.—The Cunei, for greater convenience, had particular marks, numbers, or names to distinguish them: the podium of the diazoma of the theatre at Syracuse has an inscription cut on the fascia of the cornice to each cuneus. — Antiq. of Ath. &c. Supplem. to Stuart, &c., by

Cockerel, Kinnaird, Donaldson, &c., p. 38.

³ For the children, see Plat. de Rep. t. vi. p. 128. Athen. xi. 13. Cf. Aristid. t. i. p. 505. Jebb.

⁴ Vitruv. v. 9. Donaldson, Theatre of the Greeks, p. 139.

⁵ Among the Romans it was customary to carry along with them, as a defence against rain,

- shelter to the spectators during the continuance of a sudden shower. Another range of porticoes extended along the small lawn or grove within the limits of the theatre, at the back of the stage, so that there was little necessity for the Athenian people to take refuge, as some have imagined, from the weather in the public buildings, sacred or civil, in the vicinity.

It would appear from an expression in Pollux,¹ that the lower seats of the theatre, appropriated to persons of distinction, were covered with wood,² notwithstanding which, it was usual, in the later ages of the commonwealth, for rich persons to have cushions brought for them to the theatre by their domestics,³ together with purple carpets for their feet. Theophrastus, accordingly, whom few striking traits of manners escaped, represents his flatterer snatching this theatrical cushion from the slave, and adjusting and obsequiously smoothing it for his patron.⁴ To render their devotion to Dionysos still less irksome, it was customary to hand round cakes and wine during the representation, though, like Ho-

thick cloaks, rockets, or mandilions. Buleng. de Theat. i. 15. —The theatre of Regilla, built by Herodes Atticus in honour of his wife, was roofed with cedar.—Philost. Vit. Sophist. ii. 1. 5.—In later ages a velarium appears to have been extended over the great Dionysiac theatre, as was the custom at Rome.—Wordsworth, Athens and Attica, p. 90. Cf. Dion. Cass. xliii. p. 226. a. Hanov. 1606.

¹ Onomast. iv. 122.—To kick the seats with the heel was called *πτερυγοκοπεῖν*, which they did when they wanted to drive away an actor, id. ibid. Cf. Diog. Laert. ii. 8. 4.

² On the old wooden theatre see Hesych. v. *ἱκρία*. Suid. v. *ἱκρία*,

t. i. p. 1234. d. Sch. Aristoph. Thesm. 395.—This theatre fell down whilst a play of Pratinas was acting.—Suid. v. *Ἰπάρκας*, t. ii. 585. d.

³ Upon this practice Dr. Chandler has an ingenious conjecture. After attentively viewing the seats of several ancient theatres, and “considering their height, “width, and manner of arrangement, I am inclined to believe “that the ancient Asiatics sate “at their plays and public spectacles, like the modern, with “their legs crossed or gathered “under them, and, it is probable, “upon carpets.” —Travels, &c. i. 269.

⁴ Charact. c. ii. p. 10. Casaub.

mer's heroes, they were careful to fortify themselves with a good meal before they ventured abroad. We are informed, moreover, that when the actors were bad there was a greater consumption of confectionary, the good people being determined to make up in one kind of enjoyment what they lost in another. Full cups, moreover, were habitually drained on the entrance and exit of the chorus.¹

The orchestra, being considerably below the level of the stage, had in the middle of it a small square platform, called the Thymele,² sometimes regarded as a bema on which the leader of the chorus mounted when engaged in dialogue with the actors; sometimes as an altar on which sacrifice was offered up to Dionysos. That part of the orchestra which lay between the Thymele and the stage was denominated the Dromos, while the name of Parodoi was bestowed on those two spacious side-passages,³ the one from the east, the other from the west, at the extremities of the tiers of seats which afforded the chorus ample room for marching in and out in rank and file, in the quadrangular form it usually affected.

At the extremity of the orchestra a pier of masonry called the Hyposcenion, adorned with columns and statues, rose to the level of the stage, where a most intricate system of machinery and decoration represented all that was tangible to sense in the creations of the poet. The stage was divided into two parts; first, the Ocribas or Logeion,⁴ floored with boards, and hollow beneath, for the purpose of reverberating the voice; second, the Proscenion,⁵ a broader parallelogram of solid stone-

¹ Philoch. Frag. Sieb. p. 85. Aristot. Ethic. Nic. 5. Athen. xi. 13.

² Etym. Mag. 653. 7. Cf. 458. 30. 743. 30. et Suid. v. σκηνη t. ii. p. 753, seq. Cf. Thom. Magist. in v. θυμέλη, p.

458, seq. Blancard. Scalig. Poet. i. 21. Poll. iv. 123.

³ Sch. Aristoph. Acharn. 8. Cf. Vesp. 270.

⁴ Plat. Conviv. t. iv. 411. Tim. Lex. v. ὀκρίβας, p. 102. Etym. Mag. 620. 52. Poll. iv. 123.

⁵ Poll. iv. 123.

work, necessary to support the vast apparatus of machinery and decoration required by the character of the Grecian drama. The descent from the stage¹ into the orchestra was by two flights of steps situated at either extremity of the Logeion, at the point where the Parodoi touched upon the Dromos. Beyond the Proscenion arose the Scene,² properly so called, the aspect of which was constantly varied, to suit the requirements of each successive piece. In most cases, however, it represented the front of three different edifices, of which the central one, communicating with the stage by a broad and lofty portal, was generally a palace. Sometimes, as in the *Philoctetes*, this portal was converted into the mouth of a cavern,³ opening upon the view, amid the rocks and solitudes of Lemnos, while in other plays it formed the entrance to the mansion of some private person of distinction, but was always appropriated to the principal actor. The building on the right assumed in comedy the appearance of an inn, through the door of which the second actor issued upon the stage, while the portal on the left led into a ruined temple, or uninhabited house. In tragedy the right hand entrance was appropriated to strangers, while on the left was that of the female apartments, or of a prison.⁴

Upon the stage, in front of the doors, stood an altar of Apollo Agueus, and a table covered with cakes and confectionary,⁵ which appears sometimes to have been regarded as the representative of that ancient table, on which, in the simplicity of Pro-

¹ It is impossible to adopt Genelli's idea on these flights of steps, by the injudicious position of which in his plan, he entirely breaks up and destroys the beauty of the Hyposcenion, especially as the Scholiast on Aristophanes positively states, that they led from the Parodoi to the Logeion.—Sch. Aristoph. Eq. 149.

² On the stage and scenery, see Casalius.—De Trag. et Com. c. i. ap. Gronov. Thesaur. t. viii. p. 1603.

³ Cf. Sch. Aristoph. Av. i.

⁴ Vid. Scalig. de Art. Poet. i. 21.

⁵ Poll. iv. 123. Vid. Spanh. ad Callim. t. ii. p. 228, seq.

thespian times, the solitary actor mounted when engaged in dialogue with the chorus.

When the stage was fitted up for the performance of comedy, there stood near the house a painted scene representing a large cattle-shed, with capacious double gates, for the admission of waggons and sumpter oxen, with herds and droves of asses, when returning from the field. In the *Akestriæ* of Antiphanes,¹ this rustic building was converted into a workshop. Beyond each of the side-doors on the right and left were two machines,² one on either hand, upon which the extremity of the *periactoi* abutted. The scene on the right represented rural landscapes, that on the left prospects in the environs of the city, particularly views of the harbour. On these *periactoi*,³ were represented the marine deities riding on the waves, and generally all such objects as could not be introduced by machinery. By turning the *periactoi* on the right, the situation was changed, but when both were turned a wholly new landscape was placed before the eye. Of the *parodoi*, or side-passages, that on the right led from the fields, from the harbour, or from the city, as the necessities of the play required, while those arriving on foot from any other part entered by the opposite passage, and, traversing a portion of the orchestra, ascended the stage by the flights of steps before mentioned.

The machinery⁴ by which the dumb economy of the play was developed consisted of numerous parts, highly complicated and curious. To avoid labour, and, perhaps, some tediousness, these might be passed over with such a remark as the above, but this would be to escape from difficulties not to diminish them. I shall descend to particulars.

First, and most remarkable, was that machine called an *Eccyclema*,⁵ much used by the ancients when

¹ Scalig. reads Antipho. De Art. Poet. i. 21.

² *Μηχαναὶ* for *μῖα*. Cf. Annot. Poll. iv. 126.

³ Poll. iv. 126, 130, seq.

⁴ Vid. Buleng. De Theat. c. 21.

⁵ Poll. iv. 127, seq.

scenes within-doors were to be brought to view. It consisted of a wooden structure, moved on wheels, and represented the interior of an apartment. In order to pass forth through the doors, it was formed less deep than broad, and rolled forth sideways, turning round afterwards, and concealing the front of the building from which it had issued. The channels in the floor, which were traversed by the wheels, doubtless concealed beneath the lofty basis, received the name of Eiscyclema.¹ Sometimes, as in the Agamemnon, it presented to view “the royal bathing apartment with the silver laver, the corpse enve-
“loped in the fatal garment, and Clytemnestra, be-
“sprinkled with blood, and holding in her hand the
“reeking weapon, still standing with haughty mien
“over her murdered victim.”² On other occasions a throne, a corpse, the interior of a tent, the summit of a building, were exhibited; and in the Clouds of Aristophanes the interior of Socrates’ house was laid open to the spectators, containing a number of masks, gaunt and pale, the natural fruit of philosophy.³ It should be remarked that the Eccyclema issued through any of the doors, as the piece required the cells of a prison, the halls of a palace, or the chambers of an inn, to be placed before the eyes of the audience.

That peculiar machine in which the gods made their appearance,⁴ or such heroes as enjoyed the privilege of travelling through the air, — Bellerophon, for example, and Perseus, — stood near the left side-entrance, and, in height, exceeded the stone skreen at the back of the stage. This, in tragedy, was denominated Mechanè, and Kradè in comedy,⁵ — in

¹ Poll. iv. 128.

² Müller, Dissert. on the Eumenid. p. 91.

³ Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 185.

⁴ Ξενοκλῆς ὁ Καρκίνου δοκεῖ μηχανὰς καὶ τερατείας εἰσάγειν ἐν τοῖς δράμασι. Πλάτων Σοφισταῖς· Ξενοκλῆς ὁ δωδεκαμήχανος ὁ Καρκίνου παῖς τοῦ Θα-

λαττίου· μηχανοδίφας δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοὺς, ἐπειδὴ πολλάκις ὡς τραγωδοὶ μηχανὰς προσέφερον, ἥνικα Θεοὺς ἐμιμοῦντο ἀνερχομένους ἢ κατερχομένους ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον. Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 769.

⁵ Poll. iv. 129. Etym. Mag. 465. 56. 534. 39.

this case resembling a fig-tree, which the Athenians called Kradè. The watch-tower, the battlements, and the turret, were constructed for the use of those watchmen, such as the old man in the *Agamemnon*, who looked out for signals, or indications of the coming foe. The Phructorion¹ was a pharos, or beacon-tower. Another portion of the stage was the Distegia, a building two stories high in palaces, from the top of which, in the *Phœnissœ* of Euripides,² Antigone beholds the army. It was roofed with tiles, (and thence called Keramos,) which they sometimes cast down upon the enemy. In comedy, libertines and old women, or ladies of equivocal character, were represented prying into the street for prey from such buildings.

The Keraunoskopeion³ was a lofty triangular column, which appears to have been hollow, and furnished with narrow fissures, extending in right lines from top to bottom. Within seem to have been a number of lamps, on stationary bases, from which, as the periactos whirled round, sheets of mimic lightning flashed upon the stage from behind the scenes.

The construction of the Bronteion,⁴ or thunder magazine, I imagine to have been nearly as follows:—a number of brazen plates, arranged one below another, like stairs, descended through a steep, vaulted passage behind the scene, into the bottom of a tower, terminating in a vast brazen caldron. From the edge of this, a series of metallic apertures,⁵ probably spiral, pierced the tower wall, and opened without in funnels, like the mouths of trumpets.

When some deity was required to descend to earth in the midst of lightning and sudden thunder, the Keraunoskopeion was instantaneously put in motion, and showers of pebbles from the sea-shore were hurled

¹ Aristoph. *Av.* 1161, et Schol. Cf. Herod. ap. Const. in v. φρυκτόριον. Poll. iv. 127.

² Phæn. 688, cum not. et Schol. Bekk. Poll. iv. 127, 129.

³ Poll. iv. 127. 130.

⁴ Idem, *Ibid.*

⁵ These were called ἡχῆια. Schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 292.

down the mouth of the Bronteion, and, rolling over the brazen receptacles, produced a terrific crash, which, with innumerable reverberations, was poured forth by the Echeia upon the theatre.¹

In a lofty gallery called the Theologeion, extending over the marble skreen at the back of the stage, appeared the gods, when the drama required their presence; and hence, I imagine, the Hebrew colony which makes its appearance nightly near the roof of our own theatres have obtained the name of gods. Here Zeus, and the other deities of Olympos, were assembled in that very extraordinary drama of Æschylus, the Psychostasia, or weighing in the balance the souls of Achilles and Hector.

They employed in the theatre the machine called a Crane,² the point of which being lowered, snatched up whatever it was designed to bear aloft into the air. By means of this contrivance, Eos, goddess of the dawn, descended and bore away the body of Memnon, slain by Achilles before Troy. At other times strong cords, so disposed as to resemble swings, were let down from the roof, to support the gods or heroes who seemed to be borne through the air.

Though by turning the Periactoi three changes of scene could be produced, many more were sometimes required, and, when this was the case, new landscapes were dropped, like hangings, or slid in frames in front of those painted columns. These usually represented views of the sea, or mountain scenery, or the course of some river winding along through solitary vales, or other prospects of similar character, according to the spirit of the drama.

The position of the Hemicycle is more difficult to comprehend. It appears to have been a retreating semicircular scene, placed facing the orchestra, and masking the marble buildings at the back of the stage, when a view was to be opened up into some distant part of the city, or shipwrecked ma-

¹ Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 292, 294.

² Poll. iv. 130.

riners were to be exhibited buffeting with the waves. Not very dissimilar was the Stropheion,¹ which brought to view heroes translated to Olympos, or on the ocean, or in battle slain, where change of position with respect to the spectator was produced by the rotatory motion of the machine.

The position of the Charonian staircase,² by which spectres and apparitions ascended from the nether world, is exceedingly difficult to be determined; but that it was somewhere on the stage appears to me certain, notwithstanding the seeming testimony of Pollux to the contrary. The hypothesis which makes the ghosts issue from a door immediately beneath the seats of the spectators, and rush along the whole depth of the orchestra, among the chorus and musicians, is, at any rate, absurd. It must have been somewhere towards the back of the stage, near the altar of Loxios, the table of shew-bread and those sacred and antique images which in certain dramas were there exhibited. Here, likewise, was the trap-door, through which river-gods issued from the earth, while the other trap-door, appropriated to the Furies, seems to have been situated in the boards of the Logeion, near one of the flights of steps leading down into the orchestra.

The above synopsis of the machinery and decorations employed by the Greeks in their theatrical shows may, possibly, from its imperfection, suggest the idea of a rude and clumsy apparatus. But, as the arts of poetry, sculpture, painting, and architecture reached in Greece the highest perfection, and, as this perfection was coëtaneous with the flourishing state of the drama, it is impossible to escape the conviction, that the art of scene-painting and the manufacturing of stage machinery, likewise, underwent all the improvements of which by their nature they are susceptible. For, in the first place, it is not easy to suppose, that a people, so fastidious

¹ Poll. iv. 131.

² Id. iv. 132.

as were the Athenians, would have tolerated in the theatre displays of ignorance and want of skill which everywhere else they are known to have overwhelmed with contempt and derision; more especially as, in the first place, the landscapes and objects represented were usually those with which they were most familiar, though the fancy of the poet sometimes ventured to transport them to the most elevated and inaccessible recesses of Mount Caucasus, to the summit of the celestial Olympus, to the palaces and harems of Persia, to the wilds of the Tauric Chersonese,¹ or even to the dim and dreary regions of the dead. The names, nevertheless, of few scene-painters, besides Agatharchos,² have come down to us, though it is known, that, in their own day, they sometimes divided with the poet the admiration of the audience, and, on other occasions, enabled poets of inferior merit to bear away the prize from their betters.

The character, however, of stage-scenery differed very widely in tragedy, comedy, and satyric pieces,³ usually consisting, in the first, of façades of palaces, with colonnades, architraves, cornices, niches, statues, &c.; in comedy, of the fronts or courts of ordinary houses, with windows, balconies, porticoes, &c.; while, in the satyric drama, the fancy of the painter and decorator was allowed to develope before the audience scenes of rural beauty remote from cities, as the hollows of mountains shaded with forests, winding valleys, plains, rivers, caverns, and sacred groves.

Of the Grecian actors,⁴ whose business and profession next require to be noticed, too little by far is known, considering the curious interest of the subject. Their art, however, would appear to have sprung from that of the rhapsodists, who chanted

¹ Cf. *Æsch. Prom.* 2.

² *Vitruv. Præfat. lib. vii. Plut. Alcib. § 16.*

³ *Vitruv. v. 8. Etym. Mag. 763. 27.*

⁴ *Vid. Casal. c. 2.*

in temples, during religious festivals, and afterwards in the theatres, the heroic lays of Greece. To a certain extent, indeed, the rhapsodist was himself an actor. His art required him to enter deeply into the spirit of the poetry he recited, to suit to the passion brought into play the modulations and inflexions of his voice, his tone, his looks, his gesture, so as vividly to paint to the imagination the picture designed by the poet, and sway the whole theatre by the powerful wand of sympathy through all the gradations of sorrow, indignation, and joy.¹ By some writers, accordingly, the rhapsodist is apparently confounded with the actor, that is, he is considered an actor of epics,² though in reality his imitations of character were partial and imperfect.

Actors formed at Athens part of a guild, or company, called the Dionysiac artificers,³ among whom were also comprehended rhapsodists, citharoedi, citharistæ, musicians, jugglers, and other individuals⁴ connected with the theatre. These persons, though for the most part held in little estimation, were yet somewhat more respectable than at Rome, where to appear on the stage was infamous.⁵ Like the rhapsodists, they generally led a wandering life, sometimes appearing at Athens,⁶ sometimes at Corinth,

¹ Plat. Ion. t. ii. p. 183, seq. Wolf. Proleg. p. 95. Cf. S. F. Dresig. Comment. Lips. 1734. Gillies, Hist. of Greece, vol. i. c. 6.

² Diod. Sic. xiv. 109. xv. 7.

³ Philost. Vit. Soph. ii. 16. Vit. Apoll. Tyan. v. 7. Vandale, Dissert. 380, seq.

⁴ Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. p. 121. Athen. v. 49. Animadv. t. viii. p. 196.

⁵ Vandale. Dissert. v. p. 383.

⁶ Plat. de Rep. viii. t. ii. p. 229, seq. Athen. xiii. 44. In Roman times we find an actor travelling from the capital to Seville in Spain, where with

his lofty cothurni, strange dress, and gaping mask, he frightened the natives out of the theatre. — Philost. Vit. Apoll. Tyan. v. 9. Cf. Luc. de Saltat. § 27. A taste for the amusements of the Grecian stage was diffused far and wide through the ancient world, so that we find the princes of Persia and Armenia not only enjoying the representation of Greek tragedies, but themselves, likewise, in some instances, aspiring to rival the dramatic poets of Hellas. Thus Artavasdes, the Armenian prince, is said to have written tragedies, as well as his-

or Sicyon, or Epidauros, or Thebes, after the fashion approved among the strollers of our own day. In the course of these wanderings they now and then fell in with rare adventures, as in the case of that company of comedians which, on returning from Messenia towards the Isthmus, was met by king Cleomenes and the Spartan army near Megalopolis.¹ To exhibit the superiority of his power and his contempt for the enemy, Cleomenes threw up, probably with turf and boards, a temporary theatre, where he and his army sat all day enjoying the jokes and wild merriment of the stage, after which, he bestowed, as a prize, upon the principal performers, the sum of forty minæ, or about one hundred and sixty pounds sterling.

About this period, however, it was usual for the armies of Greece, republican as well as royal, to be followed by companies of strollers, jugglers, dancing girls, and musicians.² Even in the army of Alexander, when proceeding on the Persian expedition, the "flatterers of Dionysos"³ were not forgotten; in fact, the son of Philip set a high value upon the performances of these gentlemen, and with truly royal munificence allowed them to enjoy their full share of the plunder of the East. Thus, when Nicocreon, king of Salamis, and Pasicrates, king of Soli,⁴ played the part of Choregi in Cyprus, in getting up certain tragedies there performed for the amusement of Alexander, and the actors, Thessalos, and Atheno-

tories and orations, some of which still existed in the age of Plutarch. The Parthian court was engaged in beholding the *Bacchæ* of Euripides, in which Jason of Tralles was the principal performer, when Sillaces brought in the head of Marcus Crassus, upon which both king and nobles delivered themselves up to immoderate joy, and the actor, seizing upon the Roman's head, ex-

changed the part of Pentheus for that of his mother, who appears upon the stage bearing a bleeding head upon her thyrsus; for this he received a present of a talent from the king.—Plut. Crass. § 33. Polyæan. vii. 41. 1.

¹ Plut. Cleom. § 12.

² Plut. ubi supra.

³ Διονυσοκόλακες. Athen. vi. 56.

⁴ Plut. Alex. § 29.

doros the Athenian, contended for the prize; he was piqued at the victory of the Athenian, and, though he commended the judges for bestowing the prize on him whom they regarded as the best performer, said, he would have given a part of his kingdom rather than have beheld Thessalos overcome by a rival.

Afterwards, when Athenodoros was fined by his countrymen for absenting himself from Athens during the Dionysiac festival, evidently contrary to the statutes in that case made and provided, Alexander paid the fine for his humble friend, though he refused to make application to the people for its remission.

An anecdote related of Lycon of Scarphe, also shows the high value set by the Macedonian prince upon the amusements of the stage, and the influence exercised over his mind by the Dionysiac artificers, though, according to Antiphanes, he wanted the taste to discriminate between a good play and a bad one. The Scarpheote being one day in want of money, as actors sometimes are, introduced into the piece he was performing a line of his own making, beseeching the conqueror to bestow on him ten talents; Alexander, amused by his extravagance, or captivated perhaps, by the flattery which accompanied it, at once granted his request, and thus upwards of two thousand four hundred pounds of the public money were expended for the momentary gratification of a prince.¹

The philosophers, almost of necessity, thought and spoke of these wandering performers with extreme contempt. Plato observes, that they went about from city to city collecting together thoughtless crowds, and, by their beautiful, sonorous, and persuasive voices, converting republics into tyrannies and aristocracies. Aristotle endeavoured to account for their evil character and agency.² They

¹ Plut. Alex. § 29.

² Prob. xxx. 10. They were likewise corrupted by their profession, since, in female parts,

were worthless, he says, because of all men they profited least by the lessons of reason and philosophy, their whole lives being consumed by the study of their professional arts, or passed in intemperance and difficulties.

Nevertheless, even among them there were different grades, some aiming at the higher walks of tragedy and comedy; while others were content to declaim rude, low songs, seated on waggons like mountebanks during the Lenæan festival.¹ Nor must this fashion be at all regarded as Prothespian, since it prevailed down to a very late period. And as in every thing the Greeks aimed at excellence and distinction, so even here we find that there was a contest between the poets who wrote the comic songs sung by these humble performers from their waggons.²

The various classes of actors known to the ancients were numerous. Among the lower grades were the Magodos, and the Lysiodos,³ who though confounded by some, appear clearly to have been distinct; the former personating both male and female characters; the latter female characters only, though disguised in male costume. But the songs, and every other characteristic of their performances, were the same. The spirit of the coarse satirical farces they acted forbids my explaining their nature fully.

There were even several authors who attained a "bad eminence" in this department of literature, which especially affected the Ionic dialect, as Alexander, the Ætolian,⁴ Pyretos of Miletos, a city noted for its dissolute characters, and Alexos, who obtained

they frequently indulged in immodest gestures, as is particularly related of Callipedes. Id. Poet. v. 2. Cf. Macrob. Saturnal. l. ii. c. 10.

¹ Occasionally, as among ourselves, jugglers were introduced upon the stage, swallowing swords

and performing other fantastic tricks.—Plut. Lycurg. § 19.

² Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 545.

³ Athen. iv. 80. v. 47. vi. 61. Cf. Eustath. ad Odyss. ψ. p. 106, sub fin.

⁴ Suid. v. φλύακες, t. ii. p. 1073. b.

on this account an opprobrious sobriquet. The most remarkable, however, of this vicious brood would appear to have been Sotades¹ the Maronite, and his son Apollonios who wrote a work on his father's poems. Sotades was probably the original imitated by Pietro Aretino, who obtained in modern times a like reputation, though timely penitence may have snatched him from a similar end. The ancient libeller, enacting the part of Thersites, fastened with peculiar delight on the vices of princes, not from aversion to their manners, but because such scandal paved the way to notoriety. Thus at Alexandria, he covered Lysimachos with obloquy, which, when at the court of Lysimachos, he heaped upon Ptolemy Philadelphos. His punishment, however, exceeded the measure of his offences. Being overtaken in the island of Caunos by Patrocles, one of Ptolemy's generals, the obsequious mercenary caused him to be enclosed in a leaden box and cast into the sea.²

The Magodos, then, was a wandering farce actor, not unlike the tumbling mountebanks one sometimes sees in France and southern Europe. He travelled about with an apparatus of drums, cymbals, and female disguises, sometimes impersonating women, sometimes adulterers or the mean servants of vice; and the style of his dancing and performances corresponded with the low walk he selected, being wholly destitute of beauty or decorum. It seems necessary, therefore, to adopt the opinion of Aristoxenos, who considered the art of the Hilarodos as a serious imitation of tragedy; that of the Magodos as a comic parody, brought down to the level of the grossly vulgar. The latter art would appear to have derived its name from the charms, spells, or magical songs chanted by the mountebanks who likewise pretended to develope the secrets of pharmaceutics.

¹ Cf. Fabric. Bib. Græc. ii. p. 495, seq.

² Athen. xiv. 13.

Superior in every way to the Magodos and Lysiodos was the Hilarodos,¹ who, though a wandering singer like the Italians and Savoyards of modern Europe, affected no little state, and was evidently treated with some respect. His costume, in conformity with the popular taste, displayed considerable magnificence, consisting of a golden crown, white stole and costly sandals, though in earlier ages he appeared in shoes. He was usually accompanied by a youth or maiden who touched the lyre as he sung. The style of his performances was decorous and manly. When a crown was given him in token of approbation by the audience, it was bestowed on the Hilarodos himself, not on the musician.

A class of actors existed, also from very remote times, among the Spartans. They were called Deike-listæ,² and their style of performing showed the little value set upon the drama at Sparta. The poetry of the piece, if poetry it could be called, was extempore and of the rudest description, and the characters were altogether conformable. Sometimes the interest of the play turned upon a man robbing an orchard, or on the broken Greek of an outlandish physician, whom people respected for his gibberish. This weakness, prevalent of course at Athens also, is wittily satirised by Alexis in his *Female Opium Eater*.

“ Now if a native
 Doctor prescribe, ‘ Give him a porringer
 Of ptisan in the morning,’ we despise him.
 But in some *brogue* disguised ’tis admirable.
 Thus he who speaks of *Beet* is slighted, while
 We prick our ears if he but mention *Bate*,
 As if *Bate* knew some virtue not in *Beet*.”³

¹ Cf. Athen. iv. 57. Salm. Exercit. Plin. p. 76. Voss. Institut. Poet. ii. 21. Rhinthon was the inventor of the Hilaro-tragedi. i. e. Tragi-comedy. Suid. v. 'Πίνθων, t. ii. p. 685. b.

² Schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 746.

Plut. Ages. 21. Athen. xiv. 15. Etym. Mag. 260. 42.

³ I have substituted this joke, à la Smollett, “for the miserable joke in the original.” Beet, Atticé σευτλίον, became τεύτλιον in the Doric brogue. Athen. xiv. 15.

The Deikelistæ, however, were not confined to Laconia, but, under various names were known in most other parts of Greece. Thus, at Sicyon, they obtained the appellation of Phallophori, elsewhere they were called Autocabdali, or Improvisatori; while in Italy, (that is, among the Greek colonists,¹) they were known by the name of Phlyakes.² By the common people they were called the wise men (*σοφίσται*), upon the same principle that actors in France are known by the name of *artistes*. The Thebans, renowned for the havoc they made in the language of Greece, denominated them the Voluntaries, alluding proleptically perhaps to the "voluntary principle." Semos, the Delian, draws an amusing picture of these Improvisatori. Those performers, he says, who are called Autocabdali made their appearance on the stage, crowned with ivy, and poured forth their verse extempore. The name of Iambi was afterwards bestowed, both on them and their poems. Another class who were called Ithyphalli,³ wore those masks, which on the stage were appropriated to drunkards, with crowns of ivy and flowered gloves upon their hands. Their chitons were striped with white, and over these, bound by a girdle at the loins, they wore a Tarentine pelisse descending to the ankle. They entered upon the stage by the great door appropriated to royal personages, and, advancing in silence across the stage, turned towards the audience and exclaimed,—

"Make way there, a wide space
Yield to the god;
For Dionysos has a mind to walk
Bolt upright through your midst."

¹ Among the mimics of this part of Italy, the most celebrated was Cleon, surnamed the Mimaulos, who dispensed with the use of a mask.—Athen. x. 78.

² Athen. xiv. 15. Cf. Suid. in *φλύακες*, t. ii. p. 1073. b.

³ Vid. Harpocrat. in v. *ιθύφαλλοι*. Mauss. p. 152.

The Phallophori made their appearance unmasked, shading their face with a drooping garland of wild thyme, intermingled with acanthus-leaves, and surmounted by an ample crown of ivy, with violets appearing between its glossy dark foliage. Their costume was the caunacè. Of these actors, some entered through the side-passages, others through the central door, advancing with measured tread, and saying,—

“ Bacchos, to thee our muse belongs,
Of simple chant, and varied lays ;
Nor fit for virgin ears our songs,
Nor handed down from ancient days :
Fresh flows the strain we pour to thee,
Patron of joy and minstrelsy ! ”

After which, skipping forward, they made a halt and showered their sarcasms indiscriminately on whomsoever they pleased, while the leader of the troop moved slowly about, his face bedaubed with soot.¹

The superior classes of performers, whether actors or musicians, seem to have been held in much estimation, and to have been still more extravagantly paid than in our own day. Thus Amœbæos, the Citharœdos, who lived near the Odeion at Athens, received, but at what period of the republic is not known, an Attic talent a day, as often as he played in public.² Music, however, was always in high estimation in Greece, where the greatest men, though they did not seek to rival regular professors in skill, yet learned to amuse their leisure with it. Thus the Homeric Achilles plays on the lyre, the sounds of which could not only cure diseases of the mind but of the body. A similar belief existed among the Israelites, as we learn from the example of Saul.

Though talent must have been always respected in an actor, it appears to me that anciently they

¹ Athen. xiv. 16.

² Athen. xiv. 17.

made comparatively little figure, while there were great poets to excite admiration. But, afterwards, when dramatic literature had sunk very low, the actor usurped the consideration due to the poet, as has long been the case in this country. They then contended for the prize in the tragic contests,¹ and began to entertain a high opinion of their own merits. In fact, the ignorant being better calculated to feel than to judge, the actors often obtained the first prizes in the games, and were held in higher estimation than the poets themselves.²

Thus persuaded of their own importance, they gradually exercised over the poor devils who composed plays for them, much the same tyranny as that in our own age complained of by the poetical servants of the theatre. That is, they despotically interfered with the framing of the plot, with the succession of the scenes, and procured episodes to be introduced, in order that they might show off their peculiar abilities. This is evident from a passage in Aristotle's *Politics*,³ where he observes that the celebrated actor Theodoros would allow no inferior performer to appear before him on the stage, knowing the force of first impressions; from which it is evident that the author was compelled to yield to his caprice.

Antiquity has preserved the names of many celebrated actors, of whom several played a conspicuous though sometimes a dishonourable part in the great theatre of the world. Thus Aristodemos, who performed the first character alternately with Theodoros, became afterwards a traitor and betrayed the state to Philip. Such too was the case with Philocrates and Æschines, both actors,⁴ and both rogues. Satyros, a comedian of the same period, appears to have been a man of high character and honour, who in consequence obtained the friendship of Demos-

¹ Aristot. *Ethic. Nicom.* iii. 4.

² Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 1.

³ *Polit.* vii. 17.

⁴ *Dem. de Fal. Leg.* § 58.

thenes. But the Garrick of that age seems to have been Theocrines,¹ who by many, however, is supposed to have afterwards degenerated into a sycophant. Callipedes is chiefly known to us from the anecdote which describes the check his vanity received from Agesilaos. Having acquired great reputation as a tragic actor, he appears to have considered himself as equal at least to any king, and therefore, meeting one day with Agesilaos, he ostentatiously put himself forward, mingled with the courtiers and took much pains to attract his notice. Finding all these efforts useless, his pride was wounded, and going up directly to the Spartan, he said,

“Dost thou not know me, king?”

“Why,” replied Agesilaos, “art thou not Callipedes, the stage-buffoon?”²

The account transmitted to us of Æsopos is somewhat puzzling; he is described as one of the actors³ who performed in the tragedies of Æschylus, but is said to have been at the same time a fellow of infinite merriment who turned everything into a jest, a sort I suppose of comic Macbeth. Cæagros obtained celebrity in the part of Niobe,⁴ in the tragedy of Æschylus or Sophocles; and Aristophanes enumerates among the pleasures of Dicasts the power, should such an actor appear before them in a court of justice, of requiring him by way of pleading his own cause, to give them a few choice speeches of his favourite tragic queen.

Among the most celebrated actors of antiquity was Polos, a native of Ægina, who studied the art of stage-declamation under Archias, known in his own age by the infamous surname of Phugadotheras, or the “Exile Hunter.”⁵ This miscreant it was, who,

¹ Dem. de Coron. § 97.

² Δεικηλίκτας. Plut. Ages. § 21. Apothegm. Lac. Ages. 57.

³ Sch. Aristoph. Vesp. 566. Flor. Christ. ad loc. In Plato's time there were few or no actors who excelled at the same time in

tragedy and comedy. Plat. de Rep. t. vi. p. 123.

⁴ Sch. Aristoph. Vesp. 579.

⁵ Plut. Dem. § 28. Vit. x. Orat. 8. Another actor obtained the name of the Partridge. Athen. iii. 82.

under the orders of Antipater, pursued Demosthenes to the temple of Poseidon in Calauria, where, to escape the cruelty of the Macedonians, the orator put a period to his own life.

Polos appears to have risen speedily to that eminence which he maintained to the last. A striking anecdote is related of the means by which he worked upon his own feelings, in order the more vehemently to stir those of his audience. On one occasion,¹ having to perform the part of Electra, he took along with him to the theatre an urn containing the ashes of a beloved son, whom he had recently lost, and thus, instead of shedding, under the mask of the heroic princess, feigned tears over the supposed remains of Orestes, he sprinkled the urn which he bore upon the stage with the dews of genuine and deep sorrow. He eclipsed in reputation all the actors of his time, and was in tragedy what Theocritus, in the preceding age, had been in comedy. His salary, accordingly, was very great, amounting at one time to half a talent per day, out of which, to be sure, he was required to pay the third actor.

He must have led, moreover, a life of much temperance, otherwise he would scarcely have been able to accomplish what is related of him by Philochorus, who says, that, at seventy years of age, a little before his death, he performed the principal parts of eight tragedies in four days. His devotion to his art did not, however, carry him so far as that of the comic poets, Philemon and Alexis, who breathed their last upon the stage at the moment that the crown of victory was placed upon their heads, and so were literally dismissed for the last time from the scene amidst the shouts and acclamations of the admiring multitude.² But the passion of the Greeks for the arts of imitation did not confine itself to the enacting of human character and human feelings. Every species of mimicry found its patrons among them.

¹ Aulus Gellius, vii. 5.

² Plut. An. Seni. § 3.

There were, for example, persons who, by whistling, could imitate the notes of the nightingale; and Agesilaos, being once invited to witness the performances of one of these artists, replied somewhat contemptuously, "I have heard the nightingale herself."¹ Others, as Parmenion, could counterfeit to perfection the grunt of a pig,² though it is probable, that actors of smaller dimensions were called upon to perform in the comedy of Aristophanes, where the Megarean³ brings on the stage his daughters in a sack, and disposes of them as porkers, having first carefully instructed them in the proper style of squeaking. Other actors obtained celebrity⁴ through their power of imitating by their voice the grating or rumbling of wheels, the creaking of axletrees, the whistling of winds, the blasts of trumpets, the modulations of flutes, or pipes, or the sounds of other instruments. It was customary, too, among this class of performers, to mimic, doubtless, in pastoral scenes, the bleating of sheep, and the bark of the shepherd's dog, the neighing of horses, and the deep bellowing of bulls. They could imitate, moreover, but by what means is uncertain, the pattering of hail-storms, the dash and breaking of water in rivers or seas, with other natural phenomena. It was customary, likewise, as in modern times, to introduce boats and galleys rowed along the mimic waters of the stage, an example of which occurs on an Etruscan Chalcidone, where we behold a little vessel of extraordinary form, with a mariner at bow and stern, paddled along a bank adorned with flowers, while on a platform, occupying the

¹ Plut. Ages. § 21.

² Etym. Mag. 607. 25.

³ Acharn. 834.

⁴ Plut. de Aud. Poet. § 3. Plat. de Rep. t. vi. pp. 125—127. This philosopher, it is clear, entertained a less elevated idea of art than some modern

writers, who define it as follows: "Art is a representation (*μίμησις*), i. e. an energy by means of which a subject becomes an object,"—(Müller, cited by Mr. Donaldson, Theatre of the Greeks, p. 4,)—in other words, by which a nominative becomes an accusative.

boat's waist, two naked dancers are exhibiting their saltatorial powers.¹

Very singular figures were also introduced upon the stage, as wasps, frogs, and birds, of sufficiently large dimensions to be enacted by men; and still stranger personages occasionally made their appearance, as where, in a kind of practical parody of the story of Andromeda,² a whale emerges on the sea beach to snap off an old woman. In another drama the transformation of Argos was represented, after which this luckless male duenna strutted like a peacock before the audience. Io, moreover, was changed into a cow, and Euippe, in Euripides, into a mare. What there was peculiar in the appearance of Amy-mone it is not easy to conjecture; but she was, possibly, represented in the act of withdrawing the trident of Poseidon from the rock, from which gushed forth three fountains. The rivers, and mountains, and cities introduced³ were, doubtless, personifications, such as we still find in many works of art. The giants were simply, in all probability, huge figures of men, made to stalk about the stage, like elephants, with an actor in each leg; and the Indians, Tritons, Gorgons, Centaurs, with other personages of terrible or fantastic aspect, owed their existence, perhaps, to masks, if we may so speak, representing the whole figures.

In what form the Seasons, the Pleiades,⁴ or the nymphs of Mithakos, made their appearance on the stage, we are, I believe, nowhere told, though we possess some information respecting the costume and figure of those other strange persons of the drama, the Clouds,⁵ which came floating in through the Paro-doi, enveloped, some in masses of white fleecy gauze, like vapour, others in azure, or many-tinted robes,

¹ Mus. Cortonens. tab. 60.

in the Gemme Antiche Figurate of Agostini.

² Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 548.

⁴ Poll. iv. 142.

³ See the figure of Alexandria

⁵ Vid. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 289. 343. 442.

or in drapery like piled-up flocks of wool, to represent the various aspects of the skies; while a hazy atmosphere was probably diffused around them, as around the other gods, by the smoke of styrax or frankincense, burnt in profusion on the altars of the theatre. Here and there, through these piles of drapery, a mask with ruddy pendant nose, like the tail of a lobster, peered forth, and a human voice was heard chanting in richest cadence and modulation the lively anapæsts of the chorus.

In the tragedy of *Alcestis*, the grim, spectral figure of Death was beheld gliding to and fro through the darkness, in front of the palace of Admetos, while personifications still, if possible, more strange and wild, made their appearance in other dramas,—as Justice, Madness, Frenzy, Strength, Violence, Deceit, Drunkenness, Laziness, Envy.¹

Plato, who entertained peculiar notions² respecting the dignity of human nature, banished the theatre from his Republic, because he thought it unbecoming a brave man, who had political rights to watch over and defend, to demean himself by low stage impersonations; and, from his account of what he would not have his citizens do, we learn what by others was done. Sometimes, he observes, the actor was required to imitate a woman, (though this task often devolved upon eunuchs,) whether young or old, reviling her husband, railing at and expressing contempt for the gods, either puffed up by the supposed stability of her felicity, or stung to desperation by the severity of her misfortunes and sorrows. Other female characters were to be represented, toiling, or in love, or in the pangs of labour; which shows that there was scarcely an act or passage in human life not occasionally imitated on the stage.

Slaves of course performed an important part in the mimic world of the theatre; and with these, Plato, by some unaccountable association of ideas,

¹ Poll. iv. 141, seq.

² De Rep. t. vi. p. 125.

classes smiths, and madmen, and vagabonds, and low artificers of every kind, and the rowers of galleys, and rogues, and cowards, below which his imagination could discover nothing in human nature.

But it was these very characters, with their low wit, buffoonery, and appropriate actions, that constituted the most effective materials of the comic poet, whose creed was, that

Les fous sont ici-bas pour nos menus plaisirs.

They accordingly hesitated at no degree of grotesque buffoonery and extravagance, introducing not only low sausage-sellers with their trays of black-puddings and chitterlings suspended on their paunches,¹ and drunkards lispig, hiccuping, and reeling about the stage,² but even libertines and profligates carrying on their intrigues in the view of the spectators. An example of this kind of scene occurs on an Etruscan bronze seal dug up near Cortona, which represents an adulterer in conference with his mistress, together with the Leno who brought them together.³

¹ Sch. Aristoph. Eq. 150.

² Athen. x. 33.

³ Mus. Cortonens. tabb. 18, 19.
Cf. p. 26, seq. 1750. Rom.

CHAPTER VIII.

THEATRE (*continued*).

INTO the various questions which have been raised respecting the origin and constitution of the chorus it is not my intention to enter. It undoubtedly appears, however, to have arisen amid the festivities of the vintage, when, after the grapes were brought home and pressed and the principal labours of the season concluded,¹ the rustics delivered themselves up to wild joy and merriment, chanting hymns and performing dances in honour of Dionysos, the protecting god of the vine. At first the number of the persons engaged in these dances could not have been fixed, since it is probable that all the vintagers, both male and female, joined in the sports, as they had previously joined in the labour. And this free and unformal character the Dithyrambic or Dionysiac chorus must have preserved, as long as it remained a mere village pastime. But when afterwards, advancing from one step to another, it assumed something of an artificial form and several chorusses arose which contended with each other for a prize, the performers must have undergone some kind of training,² both in singing and dancing, and then the number of the individuals constituting the chorus was possibly fixed. There appears to be some reason for thinking, that these exhibitions were more ancient than the congregation of the Athenians in one city, and that originally every tribe had its own

¹ Cf. Ficorini, *Degli Masch. Scen.* p. 15.

² On the importance afterwards

attached to the training of the chorus, see the substance of an inscription in Chandler, ii. 72.

chorus,¹ since we find that afterwards, when all the inhabitants of Attica came to regard themselves as one people, the Choreutæ were chosen from every tribe five.

By what gradations, however, the village chorus was transformed into the Dithyrambic, the Dithyrambic into the Satyric, and the Satyric again into the Tragic, it now appears impossible to ascertain; but it seems to be quite clear,² that in many ancient tragedies the number of the chorus was fifty,³ as, for example, in the "Judgment of the Arms," by Æschylus, in which silver-footed Thetis appeared upon the stage accompanied by a train of fifty Nereids.⁴ Again, according to certain ancient authors,⁵ in the Eumenides of Æschylus, the chorus of Furies at first amounted to fifty, which, rushing tumultuously, with frightful gestures and horrid masks,⁶ into the orchestra, struck so great a terror into the people, particularly the women⁷ and children, that their number was afterwards reduced by

¹ Sch. Aristoph. Av. 1404. Schneid. de Orig. Trag. Græc. c. i. p. 2. The Dithyrambic ode was said to have been invented by Arion at Corinth. Schol. Pind. Olymp. xiii. 25, seq. The first choral songs were improvisations. Max. Tyr. Dissert. xxi. p. 249.

² Poll. iv. 108. Sch. Aristoph. Acharn. 210.

³ Cf. Schol. ad Æschin. Tim. Orator. Att. t. xii. p. 376. Tzetz. ad Lycoph. p. 251, sqq. See also Müller, Dissert. on the Eumenides of Æschylus, p. 54. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 587.—"Nous savons que sur les Théâtres Grecs les femmes dansaient dans les chœurs."—Winkel. Mon. Ined. iii. p. 86. I have found no proof in any ancient author that this was the practice among the Greeks.

⁴ Sch. Aristoph. Acharn. 348.

⁵ Vit. Æschyl. p. vi.

⁶ Boettiger, Furies, p. 2. Poll. iv. 110. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 298. Eq. 586.

⁷ According to Mr. Boettiger, however, 'chez les anciens Athéniens les femmes n'ont jamais assisté aux représentations théâtrales.'—Furies, p. 3, note. But, in addition to the proofs of the contrary, accumulated in the preceding book, the reader may consult the testimony of Aristides, who severely blames his countrymen for allowing their wives and children to frequent the theatres, t. i. p. 518, cf. p. 507.—Jebb. He speaks, indeed, more particularly of the Smyrniotes; but Smyrna was an Ionian colony.—Herod. i. 149.

law. I am aware that several distinguished scholars think very differently on this subject; some maintaining, that the chorus of Furies always consisted of fifteen, while others reduce their number to three. But, though both these opinions have been supported with much learning and ingenuity, it seems difficult to admit either the one or the other. In the first place, since every thing connected with the stage was in a state of perpetual fluctuation, since the masks and costume were repeatedly altered, since the number of the actors was augmented, since almost every arrangement of the theatre, and every characteristic of the poetry, underwent numerous modifications; the chorus, also, it is probable, submitted to the same alterations or reforms till it settled in that tetragonal figure¹ and determinate number which it afterwards preserved, as long as the legitimate drama existed in Greece.

In one point of view the history of the chorus is extremely remarkable. At first, and for some time, it constituted in itself the whole of the spectacle exhibited at the Dionysiac festivals, where its songs and dances, accompanied by such rude music as the times afforded, satisfied the demands of the popular taste, and were consequently supposed to be everything that the god required. By degrees, as experience suggested improvements either in the music, in the manner of dancing, or in the materials and composition of the odes, the movements, singing, and appearance of the Chorus, assumed a more artificial form, which was necessarily carried forward many steps in the career of amelioration by the institution of rival bodies of Choreutæ, who, from the natural principle of emulation, endeavoured to excel each other. Next, a detached member of its own body, mounted on a table, enacted the part of a stranger or messenger come to announce something which it imported the servants of Dio-

¹ Cf. Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 209.

nysos to know. This table was doubtless placed directly in front of the altar of Bacchos, on the steps of which the leader of the chorus was probably mounted in after ages, to hold communication with the stranger; and, as this altar ripened through many gradations into the Thymele, so the aforesaid table rose through innumerable changes into the Logeion. It may be remarked, moreover, that the slope of a hill,¹ when any such existed near the village, would naturally be chosen on such occasions to afford the peasants an opportunity of standing behind each other on ascending levels, and thus, without inconvenience, beholding the show; and where such natural aid did not present itself, they probably threw up embankments of turf in the semicircular form, which experience proved to be most convenient, and, out of this rude contrivance, grew those vast and magnificent structures, which afterwards constituted one of the noblest ornaments of Greece.

The single actor, detached in the manner we have said from the Chorus, speedily acquired greater importance, and the aid of poetry was called in to frame and adorn his recitals; and as, during the songs and dances of the Chorus, he necessarily remained idle, the idea soon suggested itself that a second actor² would be an improvement, upon which dialogue and the regular drama sprang into existence.

Among the principal duties of the Chorus was the performance of certain dances, simple enough at the outset, but, in process of time, refined and rendered so intricate by art, that it required no little learning and ability to execute all their varied movements with dignity and grace. Somewhat to assist the eye and memory, the whole pattern, as it were, of the dance seems to have been chalked out on the floor

¹ Cf. Scalig. Poet, i. 21. Le-roy, Ruines des plus beaux Monumens de la Grèce, p. 14.

² Cf. Hesych. v. *ρέμσεις ὑποκριτῶν*.

of the orchestra;¹ while the greatest possible pains were taken in drilling the Choreutæ to open, file off, and wheel through their labyrinthine evolutions, without confusion. The manner in which these persons usually entered the orchestra, that is to say, ranged in a square body, three in front and five deep, or five in front and three deep, has suggested to some the notion that they represented a military Lochos;² but besides that this is inconsistent with their Dionysiac origin, they did not always preserve this arrangement, but, on some occasions, came rushing in confusedly, while on others they traversed the Parodos in Indian file.

The musicians,³ in the Greek theatre, took their station upon and about the steps of the Thymele, which answers as nearly as possible to the position of the orchestra in our own theatres. Here, also, stood the Rhabduchi,⁴ or vergers of the theatre, whose business it was to see that order was preserved among the spectators.

With respect to the dances⁵ performed by the Chorus, they were so numerous, long, and intricate, that it would be here impossible to enumerate and describe the whole. They appear to have conceived the idea of representing almost every passion and action in human life by that combination of movements and gestures which the term pantomime, borrowed from their own language, expresses much better than our word dancing.⁶ A taste, in some re-

¹ This, however; I merely conjecture from the practice of marking with lines the station of the chorus. Hesych. v. *γραμμαί*.

² When making their exit, it is said they were preceded by a flute-player. Sch. Aristoph. Vesp. 582. These musicians wore, while playing, straps of leather called *φορβείαι*, bound over their mouth in order to regulate the quantity of air transmitted into the pipe.

Id. *ibid.* See Burney, Hist. of Music, i. 279.

³ Cf. Torrent. in Suet. Domit. Com. p. 390. a. The best auletæ were those of Thebes. Dion Chrysost. i. 263.

⁴ Suidas, v. *ῥαβδούχοι*, t. ii. p. 672. f. Scalig. Poet. i. 21.

⁵ See Cahusac, Traité Historique de la Dance, ii. i. t. i. p. 61, sqq.

⁶ It is said that certain ancient

spects similar, still prevails among the Orientals, whose Ghawazi and Bayadères, though relying rather upon routine and impulse than on the resources of art, perform at festivals and marriages, and before the ladies of the harem, little love-pieces and pastoral scenes, which evidently belong to the class of mimetic dances described by ancient authors.

In tragedy, such as it existed in the polished ages of Greece, the movements were slow and solemn, and, no doubt, full of dignity. The spirit of comedy required brisk and lively, and frequently tolerated, audaciously wanton dances; while the Chorus of the Satyric Drama would appear to have been rude and clownish rather than indecent, indulging in grotesque movements, ludicrous and extravagant gestures, and that rustic and farcical style of mimicry which may be supposed to have prevailed among the rough peasantry of Hellas.

In classing the various dances, it will, perhaps, be sufficient if we divide them into lively and serious,¹ joining with the latter all such as attempted to embody a symbol or an allegory.

In certain dramas of Phrynichos the Chorus represented a company of wrestlers,² who contrived by the quick, flexible, and varied movements of the dance, to imitate all the accidents of the palæstra. Sometimes they personated a party of scouts in the active look-out for the enemy, each with his right hand curved above the brow: this was one form of the Scops.³ On other occasions the dancer mimicked the habits of the

poets were called orchestric, — as Thespis, Phrynichos, Pratinas, Carcinos, — not only because they adapted the subjects of their pieces to the dances of the chorusses, but, also, because they instructed in dancing the chorusses of other dramatic writers. Athen. i. 39. The above poet, Carcinos, was likewise celebrated for being the father of three sons who danced in the tragic chorusses, and, from their

extremely diminutive stature, obtained the name of Quails. Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 761.

¹ Hesych. v. ἐμμέλεια. Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 532. Poll. iv. 99. Athen. xiv. 27, seq. Luc. de Saltat. § 22. 26. Plut. Sympotic. ix. 15. 1.

² Suid. v. Φρυνίχου πάλαισμα, t. ii. p. 1092. b. c. d.

³ Poll. iv. 103. Athen. xiv. 27.

Scops, or mocking-owl, twirling about the head, and appearing to be absorbed in an ecstasy of imitation, until taken by the fowler. The performance of a piece like this, by a numerous Chorus, sometimes breaking off into a brisk gallopade, sometimes maintaining the same position, jigging, pirouetting, and ducking the crest, must, no doubt, have appeared infinitely comic; and yet it could have been nothing in comparison with the *Morphasmos*,¹ in which, not the characteristic peculiarities of a single owl, but those of the whole animal creation were "taken off." Thus we may suppose that the Hegemon of the Chorus started as a baboon, his next-door neighbour as a hog, a third as a lion, a fourth as an ass, and so on, each man accommodating his voice to the character he had, *pro tempore*, assumed, and gibbering, grunting, roaring, braying, as he leaped, or gamboled, or bounded, or scampered about the orchestra. Anon the frisky foresters were transformed into slaves, who would seem to have been introduced to the audience pounding something, perhaps onions and garlick, in a mortar.

The *Oclasma*,² a dance borrowed from the Persians, reminds one strongly of the performances of the negroes in the interior of Africa, the whole Chorus alternately crouching upon its heels, and springing aloft, like the frogs of Aristophanes about the fens of Acheron. Not, perhaps, un-akin to this, were those three frenzied dances, alluded to rather than described by the ancients, — that is to say, the *Thermaustria*,³ which seems to have consisted of a series of violent bounds, like the performances of the Hurons and Iroquois;⁴ the *Mongas*, which, from the name, probably represented the friskings and carollings of a jackass; and the *Kernophoros*,⁵ or dance of the first-fruits, wherein the Chorus appeared upon

¹ Poll. iv. 103. Cf. Xenoph. Conviv. vi. 4.

² Poll. vi. 99.

³ Pfeiffer. *Antiq. Græc.* ii. 58. p. 382.

⁴ Cf. Dodwell, *Classical Tour in Greece*, vol. i. p. 133, seq.

⁵ Athen. xiv. 27. Poll. iv. 104.

the stage, some bearing censers, others fruit-baskets, evidently in a character resembling that of Bacchanals.

To this species of dance belonged, also, the Hecaterides, in which the performer interpreted his desires or passion by furious gestures of the hands. The Eclactisma was a female dance,¹ requiring the exertion of great force and agility, its characteristics consisting in flinging the heels backwards above the level of the shoulders. Corresponding, in some measure, to the Eclactisma, was the Skistas,² in which the dancer bounded aloft, crossing his legs several times while in the air. There was a dance, evidently of a very extraordinary description, which they performed to an air called Thyrocopicon,³ or "knocking at doors," possibly representing the frolics of such wild youths as anticipated the scape-graces of our own day. The Mothon was a loose dance, common among sailors; the Bankismos, Bactriasmos, Apokinos, Aposeisis, and Sobas,⁴ were laughable, but lewd dances,⁵ resembling the Bolero and Fandango of the Spaniards.⁶

The Heducomos was a dance expressive of the outbreaks of joy, and the Knismos,⁷ represented the pinching, struggling, and quarrels of lovers. The Deimalea was a Laconian dance performed by Satyrs and Seileni, skipping and jumping about in a circle.⁸ Another Spartan dance⁹ was the Bryallika, of a ludicrous and licentious character, performed by women in grotesque masks, whence a courtesan at Sparta was denominated, Bryallika. The name of Hypogypones,¹⁰ was bestowed on certain performers who imitated old men, flourishing their sticks about

¹ Poll. iv. 10. 2. Aristoph. Vesp. 1492. 1495, et Schol.

² Poll. iv. 105. See, in the Mus. Cortonens. tab. 60, the representation of a group of dancers on a platform in a boat, on the margin of the sea.

³ Athen. xiv. 9.

⁴ Athen. xiv. 27.

⁵ On the character of the old comedy, which tolerated these dances, see Plut. Lucull. § 39. Demet. § 12. Pericl. § 5.

⁶ Poll. iv. 99.

⁷ Id. ib.

⁸ Poll. iv. 104.

⁹ See Müller. ii. 354.

¹⁰ Poll. iv. 104.

the stage, as we are informed they did in the play of *Simermnos*.¹ Akin in spirit to these were the *Gypones*,² who made their appearance in transparent Tarentine robes, and mounted on stilts probably in the form of goats' feet, to give them a resemblance to the *Ægipanes*, worshipped as gods of the woods. A peculiar dance in honour of *Artemis* took its rise in the village of *Carya* in *Laconia*, where its invention was attributed to *Castor* and *Polydeukes*. No description of it, so far as I know, has come down to us; but the maidens by whom it was performed probably bore, and steadied with one hand, a basket of flowers on their heads, thus forming the model of those architectural figures, still from them called *Caryatides*.³ The representation of this performance was, doubtless, a favourite subject among Spartan artists or such as were employed by the Spartans, as may perhaps be fairly inferred from the circumstance, that the device on the ring, which, in return for a comb, was presented by *Clearchus* to *Ctesias* to be shown to his friends at *Lacedæmon*, was a dance of *Caryatides*.⁴

Amid the laxity of morals which prevailed in the later ages of Greece, the *Pyrrhic*,⁵ once supposed to be peculiar to warriors, degenerated into a dance of *Bacchanals*, with *thyrsi* instead of spears, or carrying torches in one hand, while with the other they sportively cast light reeds at one another. The story told in this mimetic performance referred to remote antiquity, and was both curiously and elaborately intricate, comprehending all the adventures of *Bacchos* and his merry crew during the Indian expedition, and assuming towards the conclusion a tragical form, developing the sad story of *Pentheus*.⁶

Among the dances of a grave character are enu-

¹ Schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 534.

² Poll. iv. 104.

³ Vitruv. i. 1.—Poll. iv. 104.

⁴ Plut. *Artaxerx.* § 18.

⁵ Duport. ad Theoph. *Char.* c.

6. p. 305, sqq. Poll. iv. 99. —

Athen. xiv. 29. On the Cretan

warlike dances *Orsites* and *Epicre-*

dios, id. xiv. 26.—Luc. de *Saltat.*

§ 9.

⁶ Athen xiv. 29.

merated the Gingra performed like the Podismos to slow and solemn music, the Lion and the Tetracomos,¹ a warlike measure performed in honour of Heracles and supposed in its origin to have had some connexion with the Tetracomoi of Attica, that is, the Peiræus, Phaleron, Oxypeteones, and Thymotadæ.² We read, moreover, of dances in which the performers represented certain historic or mythological personages, such as Rhodope, Phædra, or Parthenope.³

The Anthema,⁴ or Flower-dance, appears to have been chiefly performed in private parties by women, who acted certain characters and chanted, as they moved, the following verses :

Where is my lovely parsley, say ?
My violets, roses, where are they ?
My parsley, roses, violets fair,
Where are my flowers ? Tell me where.

The Athenians, however, seem to have imagined that there was nothing in nature which might not be imitated in the dance, by the turns and mazes of which they accordingly sought to represent the movements of the stars.⁵ A similar fancy, if Lucian may be credited, possessed the Indian Yoghis, who every morning and evening before their doors saluted the sun, at his rising and setting, with a dance resembling his own,⁶ which, as that luminary no otherwise dances than by turning on its axis, must have been a performance resembling that of the whirling derwishes, whose broad symbolical petticoats are meant, I presume, to represent the disk of the sun. But the dance most difficult of comprehension is that upon which they bestowed the name of

¹ Poll. iv. 99.

² Poll. iv. 105.

³ Luc. de Saltat. § 2.

⁴ Athen. xiv. 27.

⁵ It may possibly have been in this dance that Eumelos or Arc-

tinos, an old Corinthian poet, introduced Zeus himself sporting the toe :—

Μέσσοισιν δ' ὠρχεῖτο πατήρ
ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε. Athen. i. 40.

Cf. Plut. Sympos. ix. 15.

⁶ Luc. de Saltat. § 17.

κόσμου εκύρωσις,¹ or the "Conflagration of the World." Of the figure and character of this performance antiquity, I believe, has left us no account, though it probably represented, by a train of allegorical personages and movements, the principal events which, according to the Stoics, are to precede the delivering up of the Universe to fire.² Scaliger,³ who does not attempt to explain this strange exhibition, observes, however, pertinently, that it was a dance in which Nero might have figured, his burning of Rome deserving in some sort to be regarded as a rehearsal of this piece.

There existed among the Spartans⁴ an elegant dance denominated Hormos, or the Necklace, performed by a chorus of youths and virgins who moved through the requisite evolutions in a row. The line was headed by a young man who executed his part in the firm and vigorous steps proper to his age, and which he would afterwards be expected to preserve in the field of battle. A maiden immediately followed, but, instead of imitating his masculine manner, confined herself to the modest graceful paces and gestures of her sex, and this alternation and interweaving, as it were, of force and beauty, suggesting the idea of a necklace composed of many coloured gems, gave rise to the appellation.

The dance of the Crane,⁵ among the Athenians, in some respects resembled the above. It was, according to tradition, first invented by Theseus, who

¹ Athen. xiv. 27.

² Cf. Lips. Physiolog. Stoic. ii. 22. t. iv. p. 955.

³ De Poet. i. 18.

⁴ Luc. de Saltat. § 12.

⁵ Poll. iv. 101. Spanh. ad Callim. t. ii. p. 513. Plut. Thes. § 21. Cf. Douglas, Essay on some points of Resemblance, &c., p. 128.

"One of the dances still performed by the Athenians has been supposed that which was called the Crane, and was said to have been invented by The-

seus, after his escape from the labyrinth of Crete. The peasants perform it yearly in the street of the Frank convent at the conclusion of the vintage; joining hands and preceding their mules and asses, which are laden with grapes in panniers, in a very curved and intricate figure; the leader waving a handkerchief, which has been imagined to denote the clue given by Ariadne." Chandler, ii. 151.

landing at Delos on his return from Crete, offered sacrifice to Apollo and dedicated the statue of Aphrodite which he had received from Ariadne, after which he joined the young men and women whom he had delivered, in performing a joyous dance¹ about the altar of Horns erected by Apollo, from the spoils of his sister's bow. The Choreutæ, engaged in executing the Geranos, or Crane, formed themselves into one long line with a leader in van and rear, and then, guided by the design on the floor of the orchestra, described by their movements the various mazes and involutions of the Cretan labyrinth, until, having traversed all its intricate passages, they emerged at once, like their great countryman and his companions, into light and safety. Other dances there were, which, however curious they may have been, cannot now be described from the scanty materials left us: such were the dance of Herald, or Messengers, the dance of the Lily,² the Chitonea, the Pinakides, the dance of the Graces,³ and that of the Hœura, in which the performers floated about with a circle of light drapery held over the head by both hands.⁴

If from the dances we now pass to the Choreutæ,⁵ by whom they were performed, we shall find that they generally made their appearance in the orchestra with golden crowns upon their heads, and habited in gorgeous raiment, frequently interwoven or embroidered with gold.⁶ The Chorus, however, like the actors, must have constantly varied its costume, to suit the exigencies of the drama; sometimes to perform the part of senators, sometimes of Nereids, sometimes of female suppli-

¹ Like the Cyclic Chorus. Vid. Izetzes ad Lycoph. i. p. 251, sqq. Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 311.

² Athen. iii. 82. xiv. 27.

³ Poll. iv. 93. Xenoph. Conviv. vii. 5. Plat. De Legg. vii. t. viii. p. 55. Cf. Herm. Comment. ad

Arist. Poet. xxvii. 3. p. 190, sqq.

⁴ Scalig. Poet. i. 18.

⁵ Cf. Buleng. de Theat. c. 55.

⁶ Dem. cont. Mid. § 7, seq. Athen. iii. 62. Animadv. t. vii. p. 215.

ants, sometimes of urn-bearers, sometimes of clouds, or wasps, or birds. When in the tragedy of *Æschylus* they were required to personate the Furies, their exterior was the most frightful that can well be imagined,—their long but scanty robes consisting, as has been conjectured, of black lamb-skins, slit up below and exposing their tawny withered limbs to sight, while their blood-stained eyes, livid tongue hanging out, and hair like a mass of knotted serpents, easily accredited the belief of their being infernal existences. Thus habited, with fingers terminating in black claws,¹ and grasping a burning torch, they burst upon the view of the spectators, like so many hideous phantoms conjured up by an imagination diseased with terror.

The costume of the actors,² which some modern writers suppose to have been extremely monotonous,³ was in reality, however, as rich, varied, and characteristic as the masks of which we shall presently have to speak. Gods, heroes, kings, chiefs, soothsayers, heralds, rustics, the *hetairæ*, and their mothers; gay youths, flatterers, libertines, procurers, cooks, satyrs, slaves, &c., had each and all their appropriate dresses and ornaments, modified, no doubt, from time to time by the change in public taste, and the fancy of the poets. The divinities had almost to be wholly framed by the Dionysiac artificers. Conceived to be of superhuman stature, it was necessary that the actors who represented them should, in the first place, be lifted up on *Cothurni*,⁴ or half-boots, the soles of which were many inches high,⁵ their limbs and bodies were enlarged

¹ Boettiger, *Furies*, p. 28, sqq. and pl. ii. Casaub. ad *Athen.* xii. 2. Aristoph. *Plut.* 423.

² On the actors' wardrobe, see Poll. iv. 113, sqq.

³ Müller, *Dissert. on the Eumenides*, p. 100. Mr. Donaldson, *Theatre of the Greeks*, p. 132, adopts this opinion.

⁴ Luc. *Jup. Tragœd.* § 41. Cf. Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 8, 17. Poll. ii. 151. vii. 62.

⁵ See Winkel. *Monum. Ined.* t. iii. p. 84. c. ix. § 1. Les extrémités des *Cothurnes* étoient ronds et quelquefois un peu aigues; mais on n'en vit jamais de carrés, comme aux gravés sur

by padding, their arms lengthened by gloves, while their countenances, which might be ignoble or even ugly, were concealed by masks of exquisite ideal beauty, rising above the stately forehead in a mass of curls, which at once corresponded with the nobleness of their features and augmented their colossal height: add to all this robes of purple, or scarlet, or azure, or saffron, or cloth of gold, floating about the person in graceful folds, and training along the floor, and we have some faint idea of the celestial personages who with gemmed sceptres and glittering crowns made their appearance on the Grecian stage.

The queens and heroes,¹ who were constantly beheld grouped in converse, or in action, with these sublime dwellers of Olympus, were clad in a costume scarcely less majestic; the former, for example, in times of prosperity, issued forth from their palaces in white garments, with loose sleeves reaching to the elbow, and closed on the upper part of the arm by a succession of jewelled agraffes,² their tresses confined in front by a golden sphendone, or fillet, crusted with gems, while their robes terminated below in long sweeping trains of purple.³ But when their houses were visited by misfortune, the

l'estampe, de Vasali. p. 85. Cf. Luc. de Saltat. § 27. Their height depended first upon the stature of the actor, second, upon that of the character represented. Sometimes they were satisfied with attributing four cubits even to the heroes.—Aristoph. Ran. 1046. Cf. Athen. v. 27. But the ghost of Achilles when it appeared to Apollonios of Tyana, rose five cubits in height, and, no doubt, the spectre was careful to accommodate itself to public opinion.—Philost. Vit. Apoll. Tyan. iv. 16. Aul. Gell. iii. 10. See, also, Scalig. Poet. i. 13. Scaliger

relates *à propos* of the Cothurnus a facetious remark of his father: “Italas mulieres altissimis soccis usas vidimus; quamvis diminutiva dicant voce Socculos. Patris mei perfacetum dictum memini. Ejusmodi uxorum dimidio tantum in lectis frui maritos, alter dimidio cum soccis deposito,” p. 53.

¹ Poll. iv. 119.

² Cf. Mus. Chiaramont. tavv. 3. 7. 16.

³ Poll. vii. 60. Boettiger, Furies, p. 32. Luc. Jup. Tragœd. § 41.

milk-white pelisse was exchanged for one quince-coloured or blue, while the purple train was converted into black. The costume of the kings,¹ likewise varied by circumstances, consisted usually of an ample robe of purple, or scarlet, or dark green, descending to the feet, a rich cloak of cloth of gold, or of some delicate colour, adorned with gold embroidery, and a lofty mitre on the head.² When any of these characters, as Tydeus or Meleager, was engaged in hunting or war, he wore the scarlet or purple mantle called Ephaptis,³ which in action was wrapped about the left arm. Athenæus, in describing the horsemen of Antiochos, observes, that these Ephaptides⁴ were embroidered with gold and adorned with the figures of animals. Bacchanals and sooth-sayers, like Teiresias, generally appeared upon the stage in an extraordinary garment, denominated Agrenon,⁵ formed of a reticular fabric of wool of various colours. Dionysos himself,⁶ in whose honour the theatre with all its shows was created, descended from Olympos in a saffron-coloured robe compressed below the bosom by a broad flowered belt, and bearing a thyrsus in his hand.⁷ This girdle, in the case of other gods, or heroes, was sometimes

¹ On voit parmi les plus belles peintures d'Herculaneum un de ces premiers acteurs, ou protagonistes, avec une large ceinture de couleur d'or, une sceptre dans une main, et l'épée au côté.—Winkermann. Monum. Ined. t. iii. p. 84. Pitt. Ercol. i. 4. i. 41.—Plutarch observes, that, together with their royal garments, actors assumed the very strut of kings.—Vit. Demet. § 18.—Demetrius moreover, is said to have resembled a tragic actor, because he went clad in cloth of purple and gold, and wore sandals of purple and gold tissue. § 41.

² Aristoph. Av. 512, et Schol.

Nub. 70. Poll. iv. 115. Suid. v. *Ἐφᾶπτις*. t. ii. p. 264. e.—The actor who personated Heracles made his appearance with club and lion's skin.—Luc. de Saltat. § 27.

³ Poll. iv. 116, 117. Aristoph. Nub. 71, et Schol. Lysist. 1189.

⁴ Deipnosoph. v. 22.

⁵ Poll. iv. 117. Hesych. v. *ἀγρηνόν*.

⁶ Poll. iv. 118.

⁷ It behoved the actors, however, to take care of their gold and jewels, since it would appear that thieves found their way even to the stage.—Aristoph. Acharn. 258.

replaced by one of gold.¹ Persons overtaken by calamity, especially exiles, wore garments dirty-white, or sad-coloured, or black, or quince-coloured, or bluish. The costume of Philoctetes, Telephos, Æneus, Phoenix, Bellerophontes, was ragged. The Seileni appeared in a shaggy Chiton, and the other personages of the Satyric drama in the skins of fawns, or goats, or sheep, or pards, and, sometimes, in the Theraion or Dionysiac garment, and a flowered cloak and a scarlet Himation. Old men were distinguished by the Exomis,² a white Chiton of mean appearance, having no seam or arm-hole on the left side—young men by the Campulè,³ a scarlet or deep purple Himation, — the parasites by bearing the Stlengis and flask (as country people by the Lagobalon) and by black or sad-coloured robes, except in the play of the Sicyonians, where a person of this class, being about to be married, sported a white garment,—the cook by an Himation double and unfulled, — priestesses by white robes, — comic old women by such as were quince-coloured or dusky, like a cloudy morning sky in autumn,—the mothers of the hetairæ wore a purple fillet about the head, —the dresses of young women were white and delicate,—of heiresses the same with fringes. Pornoboski wore garments of various colours, with flowered cloaks, and carried a straight wand, called ἀρέσκος.⁴ There were, likewise, female characters which wore the Parapechu and the Symmetria, a chiton reaching to the feet, with a border of marine purple.

We now come to the masks,⁵ a subject upon which

¹ Poll. iv. 118.

² Dion. Chrysost. i. 231. Scalig. Poet. i. 13.

³ Poll. iv. 119, sqq.

⁴ Scalig. Poet. i. 13.

⁵ When actors displeased the audience they were sometimes compelled to take off their masks and face those who hissed them,

which was regarded as a serious punishment. Duport. ad Theoph. Char. p. 308. We ought, perhaps, to understand Lucian *cum grano*, when he informs us that actors who performed their parts ill were scourged. Piscator, § 33. On the derivation of the word *persona*, Aul. Gell. v. 7. Cf.

much has been written, though very little has been explained. The primary difficulty connected with them is, to determine whether they were so constructed as to resemble a speaking-trumpet,¹ which, by narrowing the stream, and compressing, as it were, the particles of the voice, cast it forth condensed and corroborated upon the theatre,² which it was thus enabled to penetrate and fill, even to its utmost extremities. My own opinion, after bestowing much attention upon the subject, is, that the mask was in reality so constructed as to communicate additional force and intensity to the voice; but whether by roofing or encircling the artificial mouth by metallic plates, or thin laminæ of the stone called Chalco-phonos,³ it is now scarcely possible to determine. Be this, however, as it may, there existed in some theatres other contrivances for conveying and augmenting the volume of the actor's voice; these were the Echeia,⁴ vases generally of metal, finely toned, and arranged according to the musical scale, in a succession of domed cells,⁵ running in diverging lines up the hollow face of the theatre. They rested with one edge upon a smooth and polished pavement, the mouth outward, and the external edge reposing on the summit of a small, blunt obelisk,⁶ while a low opening in each cell enabled the resonances, or echoes, thus created, to issue forth, and fill the air with

Aristoph. Poet. c. 5. Scalig. Poet. i. 13, on the derivation of *πρόσ-ωπον*. Etym. Mag. 691. 1.

¹ Vid. Cassiod. iv. 51. Plin. xlvii. 10. Solin. cxxxvii. Lucian. de Saltat. § 27. De Gymnast. § 23. A tragic poet, Hieronymos, exposed himself to ridicule by introducing into one of his pieces a mask of frightful aspect. Aristoph. Acharn. 390.

² Cf. Suid. v. *φλοιός*. t. ii. p. 1073. Diog. Laert. iv. p. 27.

³ Plin. xxxvii. 56.

⁴ See Burney's Hist. of Music,

i. 153. sqq. Scalig. Poet. i. 21. Antiq. of Athens, &c., Supplementary to Stuart, by Cockerell, Kinnaird, Donaldson, &c. p. 39.

⁵ Vitruv. v. 6. Antiq. of Ath. by Cockerell, Donaldson, &c. p. 39. Tectum porticus quod est in summa gradatione, respondet Sienæ altitudinem, ut vox crescens æqualiter ad summas gradationes et tectum perveniat. Buleng. de Theat. c. 17.

⁶ Marinus's edition of Vitruv. t. iv. tab. 81.

sound,¹ which, however the fact may be accounted for, produced no isolated reverberations, no confusion.

The materials wherewith the masks were constructed varied, no doubt, considerably in different ages;² but that they were ever manufactured of bronze or copper is scarcely credible, if we reflect upon the weight of so voluminous an apparatus, covering the entire head and neck, composed of either of those metals. Such metallic specimens as have come down to us are to be regarded simply as model-masks, or as works of art, designed by the statuary as ornaments. The intention, at first, of this disguise being to give additional boldness and self-confidence to the actor, by concealing from his neighbours the shamefacedness which a raw performer would sometimes naturally feel while strutting about in imperial robes, and pouring forth the *sesquipedalia verba* of Pelias and Telephos, they were contented to cover the face with a piece of linen, having openings for the eyes and a breathing-place.³ To this appears to have succeeded a mask manufactured from the flexible bark of certain trees,⁴ shaped, of course, and coloured to resemble the human countenance. The next step was to employ wood, some kinds of which, while possessing the advantage of extreme lightness, might be wrought with all the delicacy and fineness of a statue, while, better than any other material, it would receive that smooth and polished enamel by which were represented the texture⁵ and complexion of the skin. Specimens of masks of this kind have been found among nations in a very rude state; among the

¹ Empty pots were built into the walls of certain public edifices to augment the sound of the voice. Aristot. Prob. xi. 8. i. 1. v. 5. The orchestra was sometimes strewed with chaff, which was found to deaden the voice. 25. Plin. ii. 51.

² Scalig. Poet. i. 14. Poll. iv. 143.

³ Suid. in *θέσεις*, p. 1315. d. Poll. x. 167.

⁴ Virg. Georg. ii. 387.

⁵ Vid. Horat. de Art. Poet. 278. Athen. xiv. 77. Suid. v. *χοιρίλλος*, t. ii. p. 1160. f. Etym. Mag. 376. 47. Poll. iv. 133, sqq. Schol. Soph. Œdip. Tyr. 80.

inhabitants, for example, of Nootka Sound, whose dress, we are told,¹ “is accompanied by a mask representing the head of some animal: it is made of wood, with the eyes, teeth, &c., and is a work of considerable ingenuity. Of these masks they have a great variety, which are applicable to certain circumstances and occasions. Those, for example, which represent the head of the otter or any other marine animals, are used only when they go to hunt them. In their war expeditions, but at no other time, they cover the whole of their dress with large bear-skins.”

But while the above improvements were going on in the national theatre,² the rustic drama continued to preserve its original simplicity, the actors to prevent their being recognised, shading their brows with thick projecting crowns of leaves, and daubing their faces³ with lees of wine. Thus disguised they chanted their songs upon the public roads, sitting in a waggon,⁴ whence the proverb, “he speaks as from the waggon,” *i. e.* he is shamelessly abusive, which was in fact the case with the comic poets.

The masks were divided into three kinds, the Tragic, the Comic, and the Satyric. Those belonging to Tragedy were again subdivided into numerous classes, representing every marked variety of character, and every stage of human life from childhood to extreme old age. In the highly varied range of countenances thus brought into play, the mask-maker enjoyed abundant opportunities of exhibiting his skill. The hair, of course, was real and adjusted on the mask like a wig,⁵ differently fa-

¹ Meare's Voyage, p. 254.

² On the Roman Stage the actors appeared in hats up to the age of Livius Andronicus. Roscius Gallus was the first who put on a mask, which he did on account of his squinting. Ficorini, *Masch. Scen.* p. 15. On the origin of the Mask see Paccichelli

De Larvis, Capillamentis, et Chirothecia. Neap. 1693.

³ Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 29. Scalig. Poet. i. 13.

⁴ Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 545. Nub. 29.—Demosth. De Coron. § 37. Ulp. in. § 5.

⁵ Scalig. Poet. i. 13.—Poll. iv. 133, sqq.

shioned and coloured according to the age, habits, and complexion of the wearer. In some cases it was gathered together and piled up on the forehead,¹ in a triangular figure,² adding many inches to the actor's stature; at other times it was combed smoothly downwards, from the crown, twisted round a fillet and disposed like a wreath about the head as we sometimes find it in the figures of Asclepios and the philosopher Archytas. Some characters were represented wholly bald, with a garland of vine-leaves or ivy wreathed about the brow,³ others were simply bald in front, while a third class exhibited a bushy fell of hair, something like a lion's mane. Young ladies displayed a profusion of pendant curls, kept in order by the fillet or sphendone, or gathered up in nets, or twisted about the head in braided tresses. In representing certain characters the eye-sockets were left open, so that the actor's eyes could be seen moving and flashing within;⁴ but on other occasions, when the part of a squinter was to be acted by a performer who did not squint or vice versa, as in the case of Roscius Gallus, the mask-maker must have represented the eyes by glass or some other transparent substance, through which the actor could see his way. This was ne-

¹ Cf. Thucyd. i. 6, et Schol. Ælian. Var. Hist. iv. 22.

² See a beautiful head of Aphrodite with a pole of curls. (ὄγκος) Mus. Chiaramont. tav. 27. Cf. a tragic female mask, with the hair bound by a fillet, in the Cabinet d' Orleans. pl. 52.

³ It may be remarked that persons ridiculed upon the stage were introduced with masks exactly resembling their countenances. They seized, however, upon the ludicrous features, which any one happened to possess, as the eyebrows of Chærephon, and the baldness of Socrates. Sch.

Aristoph. Nub. 147, 224. This applies to living characters. The dead were protected from ridicule by the laws. Sch. Pac. 631. The Comic mask was said to have been invented by Mason. Athen. xiv. 77. The Comte de Caylus, however, attributes the invention of masks to the Etruscans. Recueil d' Antiq. i. 147, seq.

⁴ Cic. de Orat. ii. 46. See in Agostini Gemme Antiche, pl. 17, a representation of one of these masks. For examples of hideous masks see Mus. Florent. t. i. pp. 45—51.

cessarily the case in the part of the poet *Thamyris*,¹ who, like our own *Chatterton*, had eyes of different colours, one blue, the other black, which, as *Aristotle* informs us, was common among the horses of Greece.

The time of acting, as is well-known, was during the *Dionysiac* and *Lenæan* festivals, in the spring and autumn.² The theatres being national establishments, in the proper sense of the word, were therefore open, free of expense, to all the citizens, who were not called together as with us by play-bills,³ but for the most part knew nothing of what they were going to see till they were seated in the theatre, and the herald⁴ commanded the chorus of such and such a poet to advance. Previously to the commencement of the performance the theatre was purified by the sacrifice of a young hog, the blood of which was sprinkled on the earth.⁵

¹ Poll. iv. 141. Dubos, *Reflex. Crit. sur la Poés. et sur la Peint.* i. 603.

² Schol. *Aristoph. Eq.* 545. *Acharn.* 336. Cf. *Dem. cont. Mid.* § 4, et annot. *Plut. Vit. x.* *Rhet. Lycurg.*

³ Winkelmann, however, supposes they had a kind of play-

bill, *Monum. Ined.* iii. p. 86, founding his opinion upon a misinterpretation of *Pollux*, iv. 131.

⁴ *Aristoph. Acharn.* 10, sqq.

⁵ Sch. *Æschin. Tim.* p. 17. *Orator. Att. t. xiii.* p. 377. *Vales. ad Harpoc.* 99, 296. *Suid. v. καθάρσιον*, t. i. p. 1346. a. *Poll.* viii. 104.

BOOK V.

RURAL LIFE.

CHAPTER I.

THE VILLA AND THE FARMYARD.

IF we now, for a moment, quit the city and its amusements, and observe the tone and character of Hellenic rural life, we shall find, perhaps, that there existed in antiquity a still greater contrast between town and country than in modern times. From the poetry of Athens, rife with sylvan imagery, we, no less than from its history, discover how deeply they loved the sunshine and calm and quiet of their fields. The rustic population confined to the city during the Peleponnesian war almost perished of nostalgia within sight of their village homes. Half the metaphors in their language are of country growth. The bee murmurs, the partridge whirrs, the lark, the nightingale, the thrush, pour their music through the channels of verse and prose. The odours of ripe fruit, of new wine "purple and gushing," the fresh invigorating morning breeze from harvest fields, from clover meadows dotted with kine, the scent of milk-pails, of honey, and the honey-comb, still breathe sweetly over the Attic page, and prove how smitten with home delights the Athenian people were,

"With plesaunce of the breathing fields yfed."

This their manly and healthful taste, however,

constantly, in time of war, exposed them to the malice of their enemies. For the valleys and grassy uplands of Attica, being thickly covered with villas and farmhouses,¹ the first act of an invading army was to lay all those beautiful homesteads in ashes. Thus the Persians, in their two invasions, destroyed the whole with fire and sword. But the gentlemen, immediately on their return, rebuilt their dwellings² with greater taste and magnificence, so that, before the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, it is probable that, as a scene of unambitious affluence, taste, high cultivation, and rustic contentment, nothing was ever beheld to compare with Attica. Here and there, throughout the land, perched on rocks, or shaded by trees, were small rustic chapels dedicated to the nymphs, or rural gods.³ On the mountains, and in solitary glens, and wherever springs gushed from the cliffs, caverns were scooped out by the hands of the leisurely shepherds,⁴ and consecrated by association with mythology. Fountains, also, and water-courses, altars, statues,⁵ and sacred groves,⁶ protected at once by religion and the laws,⁷ imprinted on the landscape features of poetry and elegance.

Another cause which, in the eyes of the Athenians, imparted sanctity to their lands, was the practice of burying in them their dead. The spot selected for this sacred purpose seems usually to have been the orchard, where, amid fig-trees and trailing vines,⁸ often near the boundaries of the estate, might be seen the ancient and venerable monuments of the dead. All Attica, therefore, in their eyes, ap-

¹ Demosth. in Ev. et Mnes. § 15.

² Thucyd. ii. 65.

³ In the neighbourhood of the Isthmus the shepherds of the present day often pass the winter months in mountain caverns.—Chandler, ii. p. 261.

⁴ Theocrit. i. 143, seq.

⁵ Cf. Iliad. ε. 305, seq.

⁶ On the wild olive and other trees, of which these groves were composed, the eye of the passenger usually beheld suspended a number of votive offerings.—Sch. Aristoph. Ran. 943.

⁷ Cf. Plat. Phæd. t. i. p. 9.

⁸ Eurip. Bacch. 10, seq. Cf. Kirch. de Funer. Rom. iii. 17.

peared holy as a sepulchre ; and, as every one guarded his own ancestral ashes, to sell a farm cost a man's feelings more than in countries where people inter those they love in public cemeteries ; and this circumstance with many would operate like a law of entail.¹

But it is easy thus to present to the imagination a general picture of the country. What we want is to thrust aside the impediments, to dissipate the obscurity of two thousand years, and lift the latch of a Greek farmhouse, such as it existed in the days of Pericles.

In the first place it was common in Attica to erect country-houses in the midst of a grove of silver firs,² which in winter protect from cold, and in summer attract the breezes that imitate in their branches the sound of trickling runnels, or the distant murmur of the sea. Towards the centre of the grove, with a spacious court in front and a garden behind, stood the house,³ sometimes with flat, sometimes with pointed roof, ornamented with a picturesque porch, and surrounded with verandahs or colonnades. Occasionally opulent persons had on the south front of their houses large citron trees,⁴ growing in pots, on either side the door, where they were well watered and carefully covered during winter.⁵ In the plainer class of dwellings, numerous outhouses, as stables, sheds for cattle,⁶ henroosts, pigstyes, &c., extended round the court, while the

¹ Demosth. in Callicl. § 4.

² Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 406. On the music of the pine-groves, the Schol. on Theocritus, i. 1, has an amusing passage : ἡ πίτυς ἐκείνη, ἥδ' ὃν τι μελουργεῖ, κατὰ τὸ ψιθύρισμα. κ. τ. λ.

³ Called in Latin pagus from πηγή, a fountain. Serv. ad Virg. Georg. 182. See also the note of Gibbon, t. iii. p. 410.

⁴ Geop. x. 7. 11. These pots,

like those in which the palm-tree was cultivated, were pierced at the bottom like our own. Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 4. 3.

⁵ As the orange-tree is still in Lemnos. Walp. Mem. i. 280.

⁶ The stalls for cattle were built as often as convenient, near the kitchen and facing the east, because when exposed to light and heat they became smooth-coated. Vitruv. vi. 9. Cf. Varro. i. 13.

back-front, generally in the East the principal, opened upon the garden or orchard.

Much pains was usually taken in selecting the site of a farmhouse,¹ though opinions of course varied according to the peculiar range of experience on which they were based. In general such positions were considered most favourable as neighboured the sea, or occupied the summits or the slopes of mountains,² more especially if looking towards the north.³ The vicinity of swamps and marshes, and as much as possible of rivers, was avoided, together with coombs, or hollow valleys, and declivities facing the south or the setting sun. If necessitated by the nature of the ground to build near the banks of a stream, the front of the dwelling was carefully turned away from it, inasmuch as its waters communicated an additional rigour to the winds in winter, and in summer filled the atmosphere with unwholesome vapours. The favourite exposure was towards the east whence the most salubrious breezes were supposed to blow, while the cheerful beams of the sun, as soon as they streamed above the horizon, dissipated the dank fogs and murkiness of the air. Notwithstanding the warmth of the climate, moreover, they loved such situations as were all day long illuminated by the sun, whilst every care was taken to fence out the sirocco, a moist and pestilential wind, blowing across the Mediterranean from the deserts of Africa. In Italy, nevertheless, the farmer often selected for the site of his mansion the southern roots of mountains, further defended from Alpine blasts by a sweep of lofty woods.

According to the fashion prevailing in antiquity,

¹ Geop. ii. 3. Cf. Vitruv. i. 4.

² Petatur igitur aer calore et frigore temperatus, quem fere medius obtinet collis, quod neque depressus hieme pruinis torpet, aut torret æstute vaporibus, neque elatus in summa montium perexiguus ventorum motibus, aut

pluvius omni tempore anni sævit. Columell. De Re Rust. i. 4.

³ The same opinion is held by Hippocrates, De Morbo Sacro. cap. 7. p. 308, ed. Foes. Ὁ Βορέης ὑγιεινότερος ἐστὶ τῶν ἀνέμων. Cf. Plin. ii. 48. Varro. i. 12.

farmhouses were built high, large, and roomy, though Cato¹ shrewdly advises, that their magnitude should bear some relation to that of the domain, lest the villa should have to seek for the farm, or the farm for the villa.

Much, however, would depend upon the taste of the individual; but in a plain farmhouse more attention appears to have been paid to substantial comfort, and something like rough John-Bullism, than to that cold finical elegance which certain persons are fond of associating with whatever is classical. An Attic farmer of the true old republican school was anything but a fine gentleman. He scorned none of the occupations or productions by which he lived. On entering his dwelling you found no small difficulty in steering between bags of corn,² piles of cheeses, hurdles of dried figs³ or raisins, while the racks groaned with hams⁴ and bacon flitches. If they resembled their descendants,⁵ too, even their bedchambers were invaded by some species of provisions, for there in the present day you often behold long strings of melons suspended like festoons from the rafters. In one corner of the ground-floor stood a corbel filled with olive-dregs, recently pressed, in another a wool-sack or a pile of dressed skins.⁶ Yonder in the room looking into the garden, with the honey-suckle twining about the open lattice, were madam's loom and spinning-wheel, and carding apparatus, and work-baskets; and there with the lark⁷ might you see her, serene and happy, suckling her young democrat, and rocking the cradle of a

¹ De Re Rust. 3. "Ita ædifices, ne villa fundum quærat, neve fundus villam. Cf. Colum. De Re Rust. i. 4. It may here by the way be observed that, during the flourishing periods of Roman agriculture, farms were generally rather small than large. Plin. Hist. Nat. viii. 21. Schulz. Antiq. Rustic. § vii.

² Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 45.

³ Philost. Icon. ii. 26. p. 851.

⁴ Cf. Athen. iv. 38.

⁵ Walp. Mem. i. 281.

⁶ Aristoph. Nub. 45, seq. et Schol.—Schol. Eq. 803.

⁷ Plat. De Legg. vii. t. viii. p. 40. Aristoph. Lysist. 18, sqq.

second with her foot, thriftily giving directions the while to Thratta, Xanthia or "the neat-handed" Phillis.¹

The kitchen must sometimes have been in fine disorder; geese and ducks waddling across the floor, picking up the spilled grain, or snatching away the piece of bread and honey which my young master had just put down on the stool to play at a game of romps with Thratta. Up in the dusky corner there, behind a huge armchair or settle, you may discern a very suspicious looking enclosure, from which, at intervals, issues a suppressed grunt; it is the pigsty.² But be not offended; the practice is classical; and pigs, in my apprehension, are as pleasant company as geese and many other animals. Now, that geese were fed even about palaces, we have the testimony of Homer, whose Penelope, the *beau idéal* of a good housewife, says—

"Full twenty geese have we at home, that feed
On wheat in water steeped."³

But the whole economy of geese-feeding⁴ has been transmitted to us; in the first place, the birds usually preferred were those most remarkable for their size and whiteness.⁵ The ancients esteemed the variegated, or spotted, as of inferior value. The same rule applied to fowls. The *chenoboscion*,⁶ or enclosure in which the geese were kept, was commonly situated near ponds or freshes,⁷ abounding with rich grass and aquatic plants. Geese, it was observed, are not nice in the article of food, but devour eagerly nearly all kinds of plants, though the chick-pea, and the couch-grass, the laurel and

¹ Aristoph. Acharn. 272. Vesp. 824. Pac. 1138. Thesm. 286, seq. Suid. v. Θράττα. t. p. 1330. a.

² Ἐπὶ τῆς ἐστίας τρέφουσι χοίρους. — Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 844. Lysist. 1073, Poll. ix. 16.

³ Odyss. τ. 536.

⁴ Cf. Vict. Var. Lect. p. 891.

⁵ Geop. xiv. 22. Varro. iii. 10. Colum. viii. 14.

⁶ Poll. ix. 16. Heresbach. De Re Rust. lib. iv. p. 285. a.

⁷ Cf. Pallad. i. 30. Plin. x. 79. Plaut. Trucul. ii. 1. 41.

the laurel-rose,¹ were by the ancients supposed to be hurtful to them. Of their eggs some were hatched by hens, but such as were designed to be sitten on by the goose herself, (who, during the period of incubation² was fed on barley steeped in water,) were marked by writing or otherwise, to distinguish them from the eggs of their neighbours, which it was thought she would not be at the pains to hatch. For the first ten days after they had broken the shell the young goslings were kept within-doors, where they were fed on wheat steeped in water, *polenta* a preparation of barley-meal dried at the fire, and chopped cresses. This period over, they were driven out to feed and afterwards to water; they who tended them taking great care that they should not be stung by nettles, or pricked by thorns, or swallow the hair³ of pigs or kids, which they imagined to be fatal to them.

When full-grown geese were intended to be fattened, the custom was, to confine them in dark and extremely warm cells.⁴ Their food was scientifically varied and regulated, proceeding from less to more nutritious, until they were judged fit for the table.

¹ Ælian. De Nat. Anim. v. 29. This ingenious writer, anxious to remove from geese the reputation of folly, relates that, when traversing Mount Taurus, conscious of their disposition to cackling, they carry stones in their bills, and thus frequently escape the eagles which inhabit that lofty ridge of mountains. This the poet Phile undertakes to confirm in verse :—

Λίθον δὲ τῇ στόματι μὴ κλάγῃ
στέγων
Ὅν περ καλοῦσι Ταῦρον, ἀμείβει
πάγον
Τοὺς αἰτοὺς γὰρ φασὶ τοὺς χηνο-
σκόπους,
Εκείσε δεινῶς ἐλλοχᾶν πρὸ τοῦ
ψύχους.

Iamb. De Animal. Proprietat. c. 15. p. 62.

² Which according to Aristotle was thirty days.—Hist. Anim. vii. 6.

³ Pallad. i. 30. Cavendum est etiam, ne pulli eorum setas glutiant.

⁴ The Quintilian Brothers, ap. Geop. xiv. 22. For the fate of these illustrious authors, Maximus and Condianus, see Gibbon, i. 142. "Sint calido et tenebroso loco: quæres ad creandas adipes multum conferunt." Colum. viii. 14.

At first their diet consisted of a preparation composed of two parts *polenta*, and four parts bran boiled in water. Of this they were permitted to eat as much as they pleased three times a day, and once again at midnight, while water was furnished them in abundance. When they had continued on this regimen for some time, they were indulged with a more luxurious table,—nothing less than the most exquisite dried figs, which, being chopped small, and dissolved in water, were served up as a sort of jelly for twenty days, after which the pampered animal itself was ready for the spit.

Occasionally that delicate and humane device, for the practice of which Germany has, in modern times, obtained so enviable a celebrity, of enlarging preternaturally the dimensions of the liver, was resorted to by the ancients,¹ whose mode of proceeding was as follows: during five-and-twenty days, being cooped up as before in a place of high temperature, the geese were fed with wheat and barley steeped in water, the former of which fattened, while the latter rendered their flesh delicately white. For the next five days certain cakes or balls, denominated *collyria*,² the composition of which is not exactly known, were given them at the rate of seven per day, after which the number was gradually augmented to fifteen, which constituted their whole allowance for other twenty days. To this succeeded the most extraordinary dish of all, consisting of bolusses of leavened dough, steeped in a warm decoction of mallows, by which they were puffed up for four days. Their drink, meanwhile, was still more delicious than their food, being nothing less than hydromel,³ or water mingled with honey. During the last six days dried figs, chopped fine, were added to their leaven, and the process being thus brought to a conclusion, the gourmands for whom they were intended, feasted on

¹ Eupolis, ap. Athen. ix. 32.

Mag. 526. 26. Schol. Aristoph.

² Cf. Suid. v. κολλύρα. t. i. p. 1489. a. Poll. i. 248. Etym.

Pac. 122.

³ Cf. Dioscor. v. 30.

the tenderest geese and the largest livers in the world. It should be added, however, that before being cooked the liver was thrown into a basin of warm water, which the *artistes* several times changed. Geese, adds the ingenious gastronomer to whom we are indebted for these details, are, both for flesh and liver, much inferior to ganders. The Greeks did not, however, like the Romans and the moderns, select young geese for this species of culinary apotheosis, but birds of a mature age and of the largest size, from two to four years old, which only proves the superior strength and keenness of their teeth.

Ducks were kept in ponds, carefully enclosed, and, perhaps, covered over that they might not fly away. In the centre were certain green islets,¹ planted with couch-grass, which the ancients considered as beneficial to ducks as it was hurtful to geese. Their usual food, which was cast in the water encircling the islets, consisted of wheat, millet, barley, sometimes mixed with grape-stones and grape-skins. Occasionally they were indulged with locusts, prawns, shrimps,² and whatever else aquatic birds habitually feed on. Persons desirous of possessing tame ducks were accustomed to beat about the lakes and marshes³ for the nest of the wild bird. Giving the eggs to a hen to sit on, they obtained a brood of ducklings perfectly domesticated.⁴ Wild ducks were sometimes caught by pouring red wine, or the lees of wine, into the springs whither they came to drink.

With respect to barn-door fowl, originally introduced from India and Media into Greece, the greatest care appears to have been taken to vary and improve the breeds. For this purpose cocks

¹ Geop. xiv. 23. Varro, iii. 11. Ælian. De Nat. Anim. v. 33. Aristot. De Hist. Anim. viii. 3. Athen. ix. 52. Phile, De Anim. Proprietat. c. 14. p. 59.

² Athen. iii. 64. Κουρίδες.

καρίδες, ἢ τὰς μικρὰς ἐγγλῶρας, τὰς δὲ ἐρυθρὰς καμμίρους. Hesy.

³ Cf. Philost. Icon. i. 9. p. 776.

⁴ Colum. viii. 15. Heresbach. De Re Rust. lib. iv. p. 288. a.

and hens were imported¹ from the shores of the Adriatic, from Italy, Sicily, Numidia, and Egypt, while those of Attica were occasionally exported to other countries. There appears to have been a prejudice against keeping more than fifty fowls² about one farmyard, some traces of which may also be discovered in the practice of the Arabs.³ The fowl-house furnished with roosts,⁴ as with us, was so contrived and situated as to receive from the kitchen a tolerable supply of smoke, which was supposed to be agreeable to these Median strangers. The food of fowls⁵ being much the same all the world over, it is unnecessary to observe more than that the green leaves of the *Cytisus* were supposed to render them prolific. To preserve them from vermin, the juice of rue, by way I suppose of charm, was sprinkled over their feathers.⁶ The proportion of male birds was one to six. Hens were usually put to sit about the vernal equinox, during the first quarter of the moon, in nests carefully constructed of boards, and strewed with fresh clean straw, into which, as a sort of talisman against thunder, they threw an iron nail, heads of garlic, and sprigs of laurel.⁷ During the period of incubation, the eggs which had previously been kept in bran were turned every day.

The other inhabitants of the farmyard were peacocks,⁸ commonly confined in beautiful artificial islands

¹ Athen. vii. 23. Of these birds the black were esteemed less than the white. ix. 15. On the fighting cocks. Plin. x. 24. Æsch. Eum. 864, 869. Schol. ad Æsch. Tim. Orat. Attic. t. xii. p. 379. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 492.

² Geop. xiv. 7, 9.

³ Arabian Nights, Story of the Ass, the Ox, and the Labourer, vol. 1. p. 23.

⁴ Ταῖροι. Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 227.

⁵ Beans, however, were es-

chewed as they were supposed to prevent them from laying.—Geoponic. ii. 35. But cocks were suffered to feed on them, at least when they belonged to poor men.—Luc. Mycill. § 4. ⁶ Dioscor. iii. 52.

⁷ Geop. xiv. 7. 11. Colum. viii. 5.

⁸ Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 63. Petit. Leg. Att. p. 277. Geop. xiv. 18. 1. Athen. xiv. 70. See the poetical description of this bird by Phile: De Animal. Proprietat. c. 8. p. 32, sqq.

provided with elegant sheds; pheasants¹ from the shores of the Black Sea;² guinea-fowls from Numidia,³ though according to other authors they were originally found in Ætolia;⁴ partridges, quails, and the attagas. Thrushes were bred in warm rooms with slight perches projecting from the walls, and laurel boughs or other evergreens fixed in the corners.⁵ Over the clean floor was strewed their food, dried figs, which had been steeped in water, and mixed with flour or barley meal, together with the berries of the myrtle; the lentiscus, the ivy, the laurel, and the olive. They were fattened with millet, panic, and pure water.⁶ Other still smaller birds were reared, and fattened in like manner. Every farmhouse had, moreover, its columbary and dove-cotes,⁷ sometimes so large as to contain five thousand birds. They usually consisted of spacious buildings,⁸ roofed over and furnished with windows closed by lattice work, made so close that neither a lizard nor a mouse could creep through them. In the floor were channels and basins of water, in which these delicate birds⁹ might wash and plume them-

¹ Geop. xiv. 19. Colum. viii. 12. Pallad. i. 28. Athen. ix. 37, seq. Suid. v. φασιανολ. t. i. p. 1033. a. b. Aristoph. Nub. 109.

² According to Diogenes Laertius, (i. iv. 51) both pheasants and peacocks were familiar to the Greeks in the days of Solon.

³ Athen. xiv. 71. Ælian. De Nat. Anim. v. 27. Aristot. Hist. Anim. vi. 2. A number of these birds were kept on the Acropolis of Athens.—Suid. v. μελεαγρίδες. t. ii. p. 122. a.

⁴ Within the enclosure for these birds pellitory of the wall was probably planted, as they loved to roll in and pluck it up.—Theoph. Hist. Plant. i. 6. 11.

⁵ Cf. Pollux. ii. 24.

⁶ Geop. xiv. 24. 5, seq.

⁷ The king of Tuban, in Java, had formerly his bed surrounded by cages of turtle-doves, which roosted on perches of various coloured glass.—Voyage de La Compagnie des Indes, i. 533.

⁸ Varro. iii. 7. Columell. viii. 8. Pallad. i. 24.

⁹ For the food with which they were supplied, see Geopon. xiv. 1. 5. Occasionally when the birds were permitted to fly abroad, their owners sprinkled them with unguents, or gave them cumin seed to eat, in order that they might attract and bring back with them flights of doves or wild pigeons to their cells.—Id. xiv. 3. 1. So also Palladius: Inducunt alias, si

selves, and adjoining was a chamber into which such as were required for sale, or the table, were enticed. Even jackdaws were kept about farmyards, and like common fowls had perches set up for them.¹

Much pains was taken by the ancients to improve the breed of animals.² Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, introduced into that island the Molossian and Spartan dogs, goats from Scyros and Naxos, and sheep from Attica and Miletos.³ The fineness and beauty of Merinos were also known to the ancients, who purchased from Spain rams for breeding at a talent each, that is, about two hundred and forty-one pounds sterling.⁴

Horses were at all times few, and, consequently, dear in Greece; they were, therefore, seldom employed in agriculture, but bred and kept chiefly for the army, for religious pomps and processions, and for the chariot races at Olympia. Originally, no doubt, the horse was introduced from Asia, and, up to a very late period, chargers of great beauty and spirit, continued to be imported from the shores of the Black Sea.⁵ Princes, in the Homeric age, appear to have obtained celebrity for the beauty of their steeds, as Laomedon, Tros, and Rhesos; and it was customary for them to possess studs of brood mares in the rich pasture lands on the sea-shore. That of Priam, for example, lay at Abydos, on the Hellespont.⁶

The high estimation in which horses⁷ were held in remote antiquity, may be gathered from the nu-

cumino pascantur assidue, vel hirci alarum balsami liquore tangantur, i. 24. Cf. Plin. x. 52.

¹ Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 129.

² Cf. Arist. Hist. Anim. vii. 6. 5.

³ Athen. xii. 57.

⁴ Strab. iii. 2. t. i. p. 231.

⁵ Aristoph. Nub. 109. Suid. v. φασιανοί. t. ii. p. 1033. b. Thom. Magist. v. φασιανοί.

p. 885. Blancard. Of the commentators on Aristophanes, however, some by the word φασιανοί understand horses, and some pheasants. The probability is, that they imported both, and that the poet means to play upon the word.

⁶ Iliad. δ. 500.

⁷ See also Iliad. ε. 358. Wolf. Proleg. 80, seq.

merous fables invented respecting them,—as that of the centaurs in Thessaly, of the winged courser of Bellerophontes, and the Muses, and of the marvellous steeds presented by Poseidon to Peleus on his marriage with Thetis. They were reckoned, likewise, among the most precious victims offered in sacrifice to the gods. Thus we find the Trojans plunging live horses into the whirlpool of the Scamander¹ to deprecate the anger of that divinity. The Romans, likewise, in later times, sacrificed horses to the ocean;² and, in many parts of Asia, it appears to have been customary in nearly all ages, to offer up, as anciently in Laconia,³ this magnificent animal on the altars of the sun.⁴ Thus, among the Armenians, whose breed, though smaller than that of the Persians, was far more spirited, this practice prevailed as it still does in Northern India, and Xenophon,⁵ a religious man, observes in the *Anabasis*, that he gave his steed, worn down with the fatigues of the march, to be fed and offered up by the Komarch, with whom he had been for some days a guest. From Homer's account of Pandarus we may infer, that the possessors of fine horses often submitted to great personal inconvenience rather than hazard the well-being of their favourites. For this wealthy prince,⁶ who possessed eleven car-

¹ *Iliad* φ. 132.

² *Fest.* v. October, t. ii. p. 521, seq. v. Panibus, p. 555. Lomeier, de Lustrat. cap. 23. p. 292, seq. Propert. iv. i. 20, with the note of Frid. Jacob, in whose edition it is, v. i. 20.

³ Pausan. iii. 20. 4. *Fest.* v. October, t. ii. p. 520, tells us that this horse was sacrificed to the winds.

⁴ Herod. i. 216. Brisson. de Regn. Pers. ii. 5. The reason why the horse was selected as a victim to the sun, was that its swiftness appeared to resemble that of the

god:—ὡς ταχύτατον τῷ ταχύτατῳ. Bochart. Hierozoic. pt. i. l. ii. c. 10. Olear. in Philost. Vit. Apoll. Tyan. i. 31. p. 29. Justin. i. 10. Suid. v. μίθρον. t. ii. p. 162, f. This practice is likewise mentioned by Ovid, (*Fast.* i. 385, seq.)

Placat equo Persis radiis Hyperiona cinctum,

Ne detur celeri victima tarda deo.

Cf. Vigenere, *Images des Philostates*, p. 773. Par. 1627.

⁵ *Anab.* iv. 5. 35.

⁶ *Iliad.* ε. 192, seq.

riages and twenty-two steeds, came on foot to the assistance of Priam, lest they should not find a plentiful supply of provender at Troy.

Several countries were famous¹ for their breed of horses, as Cyrene, Egypt, Syria, Phrygia, and the Phasis.² Thessaly, too, particularly the neighbourhood of Triccæ, abounded in barbs, as did likewise Bœotia. But one of the most remarkable races was that produced in Nisæon,³ a district of Media, which seems to have been white, or of a bright cream colour,⁴ and of extraordinary size and swift-ness. On one of these Masistios⁵ was mounted during the expedition into Greece. Apollo, in an oracle is said to have spoken of the beauty of mares, alluding, perhaps, to those of Elis, which were remarkable for their lightness and elegance of form; and Aristotle celebrates a particular mare of Pharsatis, called Dicæa, which was famous for bringing colts resembling their sires.⁶ Among the Homeric chiefs, Achilles and Eumelos boasted the noblest coursers, as we learn from a picturesque and striking passage in the Catalogue:⁷ “And now, O Muse, declare, which of the leaders and their horses were most illustrious. Excepting those of Achilles, the finest steeds before Troy were those of Eumelos from Pheræ, swift as birds, alike in mane, in age, and so equal in size, that a rule would stand level on their backs. They were both bred by Apollo in Pieria, both mares, and they bore with them the dread of battle. Noblest of all, how-

¹ Sch. Pind. Pyth. iv. 1.

² Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 110.

³ Strab. xi. 13. p. 453. Τούς δὲ Νησαίους ἵππους, οἷς ἐχρῶντο οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀρίστοις οὔσι καὶ μεγίστοις. Cf. Herod. i. 189, on the sacred horses of Persia.

⁴ Suid. v. ἵππος Νισαῖος. t. i. p. 1271. d. who relates that, according to some, the breed was found near the Erythrean Sea.

⁵ Herod. ix. 20. Cf. Il. ε. 583. δ. 142, seq. In Philostratus we find mention made of a black Nisæan mare with white feet, large patch of white on the breast, and white nostrils.—Icon. ii. 5. p. 816.

⁶ Hist. Anim. vii. 6.

⁷ Il. ε. 760, sqq.

“ ever, were the coursers of Achilles. But he, in
 “ his lunar-prowed, sea-passing ships remains in-
 “ censed against Atreides, the shepherd of his
 “ people; his myrmidons amuse themselves on the
 “ sea-shore with pitching the quoit, launching the
 “ javelin, and drawing the bow; their horses, stand-
 “ ing beside the chariots, feed upon lotus, trefoil and
 “ marsh parsley; and the chariots themselves, well
 “ covered with hangings, are drawn up in the tents
 “ of the chiefs, while the soldiers, sighing for the
 “ leading of their impetuous general, stroll carelessly
 “ through the camp without joining in the war.”

The food of the Homeric horses,¹ was little inferior to that of their masters, since, besides the natural delicacies of the meadows, they were indulged with sifted barley and the finest wheat.² The halter with which, while feeding, they were tied to the manger seems usually to have been of leather. Aristotle,³ remarks, that horses are fattened less by their food than by what they drink, and that, like the camel,⁴ they delight in muddy water, on which account they usually trouble the stream before they taste it.

The Greek conception of equine beauty⁵ differed

¹ *Iliad*. θ. 560. Cf. ι. 123, seq. 265, 407. κ 565, seq.

² *Il.* ε 196. On an ancient crystal engraved in Buonarroti a man with cap and short breeches is represented feeding an ass with corn. *Osserv. Istoric. sop. alc. Medagl. Antich.* p. 345.

³ *Hist. Anim.* viii. 10.

⁴ Phile applies the same observation to the elephant :

“Υδωρ δὲ πίνει πλῆθος ἄφθονον
 πάνν

Πλὴν οὐ καθαρὸν, καὶ διειδὲς οὐ
 θέλει,

Ἄλλ’ οὖν ῥυπαρὸν καὶ κατεσπι-
 λωμένον.

Iamb. de Animal. Proprietat. c. 39. p. 56, 165, seq.

⁵ *Geop.* xvi. 2. *Philost. Icon.* i. 28. p. 804. Notwithstanding the admiration of the Greeks for horses we do not find that they made any attempt to naturalize among them those Shetlands of the ancient world which, according to a very grave naturalist, were no larger than rams. These diminutive steeds were found in India:—Παρά γε τοῖς ψύλλοις καλουμένοις τῶν Ἰνδῶν, εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ Λιβύων ἕτεροι, ἵπποι γίνονται τῶν κριῶν οὐ μείζους. *Ælian. de Animal.* xvi. 37. Modern writers relate the same thing of a certain breed of oxen in India: “Naturalists speak of “a diminutive breed of oxen in

but little from our own, since they chiefly loved horses of those colours which are still the objects of admiration: as snow-white, with black eyes like those of Rhesos, which Plato thought the most beautiful; cream-coloured, light bay, chestnut, and smoky grey. They judged of the breeding of a horse by the shortness of its coat and the dusky prominence of its veins. As a fine large mane greatly augments the magnificent appearance of this animal, they were careful after washing to comb and oil it¹ while they gathered up the forelock in a band of gilded leather.² The floors of their stables were commonly pitched with round pebbles bound tight together by curbs of iron.³

Horses were usually broken⁴ by professed grooms, who entered into a written agreement with the owners implicitly to follow their directions.⁵ The process was sufficiently simple. They began with the year-and-a-half colts,⁶ on which they put a halter when feeding, while a bridle was hung up close to the manger, that they might be accustomed to the touch of it, and not take fright at the jingling of the bit.⁷ The next step was to lead them into the midst of noisy and tumultuous crowds in order to discover whether or not they were bold enough to be employed in war.⁸ The operation was not completely finished till they were three years old. When, on the course or elsewhere, horses had been well sweated,⁹ they were led into a place set apart for

"Ceylon, and the neighbourhood
"of Surat, no larger than a New-
"foundland dog, which, though
"fierce of aspect, are trained to
"draw children in their little
"carts." Hindoos, i. 23.

¹ Iliad, χ 281, seq.

² Il. ε 358.

³ Xenoph. de Re Equest. iv. 4.

⁴ Plat. de Rep. t. vi. p. 158.

⁵ Xenoph. de Re Equest. ii. 2.

Cf. Oeconom. iii. 11. xiii. 7.

⁶ Geop. xvi. i. 11.

⁷ Xen. de Re Equest. 10. 6.
Poll. viii. 184.

⁸ The swimming powers of the war-horse were probably augmented by exercise, since we find them passing by swimming from Rhegium to Sicily. Plut. Timol. § 19. This feat, however, was nothing to that of the stags which swam from Syria to Cyprus! Ælian. De Nat. Anim. v. 56.

⁹ Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 32. Cf. 25, 28.

the purpose, and, in order to dry themselves, made to roll in the sand. It was customary for owners to mark their horses with the Koppa,¹ or other letter of the alphabet, whence they were sometimes called Koppatias, Samphoras, &c.

The mule and the ass were much employed in rural labours, the former both at the cart and the plough, the latter in drawing small tumbrils, and in bearing wood² or other produce of the farm to the city.³ The wild ass⁴ was sometimes resorted to for improving the breed of mules, which, in the Homeric age, were found in a state of nature among the mountains of Paphlagonia.⁵

But their cares extended even to swine, which, if King Ptolemy may be credited, were sometimes distinguished in Greece for their great size and beauty. He, in fact, observes in his Memoirs, that in the city of Assos he saw a milk-white hog two cubits and a half in length, and of equal height; and adds, that King Eumenes had given four thousand drachmæ, or nearly two hundred pounds sterling, for a boar of this enormous size, to improve the breed of pigs in his country.⁶ So that we perceive those great generals, whom posterity usually contemplates only in the cabinet or in the battle-field, were, at the same time, in their domestic policy, the rivals of the Earls Spencer and Leicester. Superstition, among the Cretans, prevented the improvement of bacon; for as a sow was said to have suckled the

¹ Aristoph. Eq. 601. Nub. 25. Spanh. in loc. Athen. xi. 30.

² In carting wood from Mount Ida in the Troad oxen are at present substituted for asses, and the bodies of the vehicles they draw, in form resembling ancient cars, are constructed of wicker-work. Chandler. i. 47.

³ Lucian. Luc. siv. Asin. §

43. Cf. Artemid. Oneirocrit. ii. 12. p. 97.

⁴ Geop. xvi. 21. Varro ii. 6. 3. To account for this care it may be observed, that rich men sometimes rode, as they still do in the East, on asses superbly caparisoned and adorned with bells. Lucian. Luc. sive Asin. § 48.

⁵ Il. 6. 852.

⁶ Athen. ix. 17. Cf. Steph. De Urb. 184. e.

infant Jupiter, and defended his helpless infancy, they, in gratitude,¹ abstained from hog's flesh.

In all farms the care of cattle necessarily formed a principal employment. The oxen² were used in ploughing, treading out the corn, drawing manure to the fields, and bringing home the produce of the harvest. To prevent their being overcome by fatigue while engaged in their labours, the husbandmen of Greece had recourse to certain expedients, one of which was, to smear their hoofs with a composition of oil and terebinth, or wax, or warm pitch;³ while, to protect them from flies, their coats were anointed with their own saliva, or with a decoction of bruised laurel berries and oil.⁴ Their milch cows, in the selection of which much judgment was displayed,⁵ were commonly fed on cytissus and clover; and, still further to increase their milk, bunches of the herb dittany were sometimes tied about their flanks. The usual milking-times⁶ were, in the morning immediately after the breaking-up of the dawn, and in the evening about the close of twilight; though, occasionally, both cows, sheep, and goats were milked several times during the day. In weaning calves they made use of a species of muzzle,⁷ as the Arabs do in the case of young camels. Their pails, like our own, were of wood,⁸ but somewhat differently shaped, being narrow above, and spreading towards the bottom. When conveyed into the dairy the milk

¹ Athen. ix. 18.

² Scheffer, *De Re Vehic.* p. 80; et vid. Dickenson, *Delph. Phœnicizant.* c. 10. p. 116, seq. Heresbach, *De Re Rust.* p. 236, sqq.

³ Geop. xvii. 9, with the note of Niclas. Aristoph. *Hist. Anim.* viii. 7. 23. Cato. *De Re Rust.* 72. Plin. xxviii. 81.

⁴ African. ap. Geop. xvii. 11.

⁵ Geop. xvii. 2. 8.

⁶ Buttm. *Lexil.* p. 86.

⁷ Hesych. v. πύσσαχος.

⁸ Eustath. ad *Odysa.* ε. p. 219. Their milk-cups were sometimes of ivy. Eurip. *Fragm. Androm.* 27. Athen. xi. 53. Macrobi. *Sat.* v. 21. Cf. on the milk-pans and cheese-vats, Poll. x. 130; Theocrit. *Eidyll.* v. 87. Milk-pails were sometimes called πέλλαι, ἀμολγοί, γαλακτοδόκα, and out of these they sometimes drank. Schol. i. 25.

was poured into pans,¹ on the form of which I have hitherto found no information.² That they skimmed their milk is evident (whatever they may have done with the cream), from the mention of that thin pellicle which is found on it only when skimmed, whether scalded or not. "Here, drink this!" said Glycera to Menander, when he had returned one day in exceeding ill-humour from the theatre. "I don't like the wrinkled skin," replied the poet to the lady, whose beauty, it must be remembered, was at this time on the wane. "Blow it off," replied she, immediately comprehending his meaning, "and take what is beneath."³ Milk, in those warm latitudes, grows sour more rapidly than with us; but the ancients observed that it would keep three days when it had been scalded, and stirred until cold with a reed or ferula.⁴

The Greeks of classical times appear to have made no use of butter,⁵ though so early as the age of Hippocrates they were well enough acquainted with its existence and properties.⁶ Even in the present day butter is much less used in Greece than in most European countries, its place being supplied by fine olive oil. For cheese, however, they seem to have entertained a partiality, though it is probable that the best they could manufacture would have lost very considerably in comparison with good Stilton or Cheshire, not to mention Parmesan. It was a favourite food, however, among soldiers in Attica, who during war used to supply themselves both with

¹ Cf. Il. π. 642, et Schol. Vernet. Etym. Mag. 659. 41. Athen. xi. 91.

² Even Philostratus, while mentioning these vessels, filled to the brim with milk, on which the cream lies rich and shining, omits to furnish any hint of their form: — ψυκτῆρες γάλακτος, εὐλευκοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σιλπνοῦ καὶ γὰρ στίβειν ἔοικεν, ὑπὸ

τῆς ἐπιπολαζούσης αὐτῆς πικρῆς. Icon. i. 31. p. 809.

³ Athen. xiii. 49.

⁴ Geop. xviii. 19. 4.

⁵ See Beckman. Hist. of Inv. i. 372, seq. Butter is made at present in Greece by filling a skin with cream and treading on it. Chandler, ii. 245.

⁶ Foes, Œconom. Hippoc. v. πικέριον, p. 306.

cheese and meal.¹ Their cheese-lope or rennet in most cases resembled our own, consisting of the liquid substance found in the ruen of new-born animals, as calves, kids, or hares, which was considered superior to lamb's rennet.² Occasionally they employed for the same purpose burnt salt or vinegar, fowl's crop or pepper, the flowers of bastard saffron, or the threads which grow on the head of the artichoke. For these again, was sometimes substituted the juice of the fig-tree;³ or a branch freshly cut⁴ was used in stirring the milk while warming on the fire. This cheese would seem, for the most part, to have been eaten while fresh and soft,⁵ like that of Neufchatel, though they were acquainted with various means of preserving it for a considerable space of time. Acidulated curds were kept soft by being wrapped in the leaves of the terebinth tree, or plunged in oil, or sprinkled with salt. When desirous of preserving their cheese for any length of time, they washed it in pure water, and, after drying it in the sun, laid it upon earthen jars with thyme and summer savory. Some other kinds were kept in a sort of pickle, composed of sweet vinegar or oxymel or sea-water, which was poured into the jars until it entirely penetrated and covered the whole mass. When they wished to communicate a peculiar whiteness to the cheese, they laid it up in brine. Dry cheese was rendered more solid and sharp-tasted by being placed within reach of the smoke. If from age it were hard or bitter,

¹ Sch. Aristoph. Pac. 394.

² Varro. De Re Rust. ii. 11. 4. Colum. vii. 8. Eustath ad Il. ε. p. 472. Hesych. v. ὀπός.—Mœris: ὀπός Ἀττικοί, πυρία Ἑλληνες, p. 205. Cf. Aristot. Hist. Anim. iv. 21.

³ The cheese made in this manner was called ὀπίας. Eurip. Cyclop. 136. Athen. xiv. 76. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 353.

Dioscor. i. 183. Plin. xxiii. 63. Plut. Sympos. vi. 10.

⁴ Geop. xviii. 12. These cheeses were sometimes made in box-wood moulds. Colum. vii. 8.

⁵ Philostratus describes one of these delicate little cheeses freshly made and quivering like a slice of blanc-manger:—καὶ τρυφᾶλις ἐφ' ἑτέρου φύλλον νεοπαγῆς, καὶ σαλεύουσα. Icon. i. 31. p. 809.

it was thrown into a preparation of barley-meal, then soaked in water, and what rose to the top was skimmed off.¹

That the milk-women in Greece understood all the arts of their profession may be gathered from the instructions which have been left us on the best methods of detecting the presence of water in milk. If you dip a sharp rush into milk, says Berytios, and it run off easily, there is water in it. And again, if you pour a few drops upon your thumb-nail, the pure milk will maintain its position, while the adulterated will immediately glide away!²

Their mode of fattening cattle³ was as follows: first they fed them on cabbage chopped small and steeped in vinegar, to which succeeded chaff and gurgions during five days. This diet was then exchanged for barley, of which for nearly a week they were allowed four cotylæ a-day, the quantity being then gradually augmented for six other days. As of necessity the hinds were stirring early, the cattle began even in winter to be fed at cock-crowing; a second quantity of food was given them about dawn, when they were watered, and their remaining allowance towards evening. In summer their first meal commenced at day-break, the second at mid-day, and the third about sunset. They were at this time of the year suffered to drink at noon and night of water rendered somewhat tepid; in winter it was considerably warmer.

About Mossynos, in Thrace, cattle were sometimes fed upon fish, which was likewise given to horses, and even to sheep. Herodotus, who mentions a similar fact, calls food of this description *χότρος*, "fodder,"⁴ though hay or dried straw was, doubtless, its original meaning. The provender of cattle in the district about Ænia appears to have been

¹ Geop. xviii. 19.

² Geop. xviii. 20.

³ Geop. xvii. 12. Heresbach.

⁴ Herod. v. 16. Athen. vii. 72.

Ælian. de Nat. Anim. v. 25.

Cf. Sch. Aristoph. Pac. 891.

so wholesome, that the herds which fed upon it were never afflicted by the mange.¹

Among the animals domesticated and rendered useful by the Greeks we must, doubtless, reckon bees,² which, in the heroic ages, had not yet been confined in hives. For, whenever Homer describes them, it is either where they are streaming forth from a rock,³ or settling in bands and clusters on the spring flowers. So, likewise, in Virgil, they

Hunt the golden dew ;
In summer time on tops of lilies feed,
And creep within their bells to suck the balmy seed.

In that Bœotian old savage, Hesiod,⁴ however, we undoubtedly find mention of the hive where he is uncourteously comparing women to drones—

As when within their well-roofed hives the bees
Maintain the mischief-working drones at ease,
Their task pursuing till the golden sun
Down to the western wave his course hath run,
Filling their shining combs, while snug within
Their fragrant cells, the drones, with idle din,
As princes revel o'er their unpaid bowls,
On others' labours cheer their worthless souls.

As the honey of Attica constantly, in antiquity, enjoyed the reputation of being the finest in the world,⁵ the management of bees naturally formed in

¹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 14. 3.

² Athen. iii. 59. Sch. Aristoph. Vesp. 107.

³ Il. ε. 87. μ. 67. Odyss. ν. 106.

⁴ Theogon. 594, seq.—Pro σίμβλοις, quod præbet R. S., cæteri Mss. σμήνεσι. Schæferus tamen malebat σίμβλοις ἐπηρεφέεσι. Goettling. But Goguet, who has considered this passage, does not think that “hives” are meant; because, if their use had been known in the times of Hesiod,

he would not have failed to leave us some directions on the subject. Origine des Loix, t. iii. p. 399. Wolff, following in the footsteps of Heyne, gets easily over the difficulty by pronouncing the whole passage, v. 590 — 612, spurious. Goettling, p. 55. Cf. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 937. Phile, de Animal. Proprietat. c. 28. p. 87, seq.

⁵ The pasturage of Hymettos, however, was, by Pausanias, regarded as second to that of the

that country an important branch of rural economy. The natural history, moreover, of the bee was studied with singular enthusiasm by the Greeks in general. Aristomachos of Soli, devoted to it fifty-eight years, and Philiscos, the Thasian, who passed his life among bees in a desert, obtained on that account the name of the Wild Man. Both wrote on the subject.¹

This branch of rural economy was carried to very great perfection in Attica. The vocabulary² connected with it was extensive, as every separate operation had its technical term, by the study of which, chiefly, an insight into their practice is obtained. Thus, from certain expressions employed by Aristotle³ and Pollux, it seems clear that bee-managers, whom we may occasionally call melitturgi, constituted a separate division among the industrious classes; and these, instructed by constant experience, probably anticipated most of the improvements imagined in modern times. For example, instead of destroying the valuable and industrious little insects for the purpose of obtaining possession of their spoils, they in some cases compelled them by smoke to retire temporarily from the hive, whence their treasures were to be taken; and in the mining districts about Laureion they understood the art, concerning which, however, no particulars are known, of procuring the virgin honey pure and unsmoked.⁴

The grounds of a melitturgos or bee-keeper were

Alazones on the river Halys, where the bees were tame; and worked in common in the fields. i. 32. 1.

¹ Plin. Hist. Nat. xi. 9.

² Poll. i. 254. Artemid. Oneirocrit. ii. 22. p. 109.

³ Hist. Anim. v. 22. ix. 40. Etym. Mag. 458. 44.

⁴ Τοῦ δὲ μέλιτος, ἀρίστου ὄντος τῶν πάντων τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ, πολὺ βέλτιστον φάσι τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἀργυ-

ρείοις, ὁ καὶ ἀκαπνίστον καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς σκενασίας. Strab. ix. 2. t. ii. p. 246. —

Wheler describes the modern method observed by the Athenians in taking honey without destroying the bee, but in a style so lengthy and uncouth, that I must content myself with a reference to his travels. Book vi. p. 412, seq.

chosen and laid out with peculiar care.¹ In a sheltered spot, generally on the thymy slope of a hill, the hives were arranged in the midst of flowers and odoriferous shrubs. And if the necessary kinds had not by nature been scattered there, they were planted by the gardener. Experience soon taught them what blossoms and flowers yielded the best honey,² and were most agreeable to the bees. These, in Attica, were supposed to be the wild pear-tree, the bean, clover, a pale-coloured vetch, the syria, myrtle, wild poppy, wild thyme, and the almond-tree.³ To which may be added the rose, balm gentle, the galingale or odoriferous rush, basil royal, and above all the cytisus,⁴ which begins to flower about the vernal equinox, and continues in bloom to the end of September.⁵ Of all the plants, however, affected by the bee, none is so grateful to it as the thyme, which so extensively abounds in Attica and Messenia⁶ as to perfume the whole atmosphere. In Sicily too, all the slopes and crests of its beautiful hills, from Palermo to Syracuse, are invested with a mantle of thyme,⁷ and other odoriferous shrubs, which, according to Varro, gives the superior flavour to the Sicilian honey. Box-wood abounded on mount Cytoros,

¹ On the management of bees in Circassia and other countries on the Black Sea, see Pallas, *Travels in Southern Russia*, ii. p. 204.

² On the coast of the Black Sea bees sucked honey from the grape. *Geop.* v. 2.

³ *Arist. Hist. Anim.* ix. 26, 27.

⁴ *Geop.* xv. 2. 6.

⁵ Varro, *De Re Rust.* iii. 16.

⁶ Sibthorpe in Walpole's *Memoirs*, t. ii. p. 62. *Geop.* xv. 2. 5. Speaking of Hymettos, Chandler observes, that it produces a succession of aromatic plants, herbs, and flowers, calculated to supply the bee with nourishment both in winter and summer, ii. p.

143. "Les montagnes (des îles) sont couvertes de thym et de lavande. Les abeilles, qui y volent par nuées, en tirent un miel qui est aussi transparent que notre gelée." Della Rocca, *Traité sur les Abeilles*, t. i. 6.

⁷ This plant in Greece flowers about midsummer, and those who kept bees conjectured whether honey would be plentiful or not, according as it was more or less luxuriant. *Theoph. Hist. Plant.* vi. 2, 3. The wild thyme of Greece was a creeping plant which was sometimes trained on poles or hedges, or even in pits, the sides of which it speedily covered. *Id.* vi. 7. 5.

in Galatia, and in the island of Corsica, on which account the honey of the latter country was bitter.¹

In selecting a spot for hives, the ancients observed a rule which I do not recollect to have been mentioned by modern bee-keepers, and that was to avoid the neighbourhood of an echo,² which by repeating their own buzzing and murmuring suggested the idea perhaps of invisible rivals. Place them not, says Virgil,³

Near hollow rocks that render back the sound,
And doubled images of voice rebound.

Care was taken to conduct near the hives small runnels of the purest water, not exceeding two or three inches in depth with shells or pebbles rising dry above the surface, whereon the bees might alight to drink.⁴ When of necessity the apiary was situated

¹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 15. 5. The honey of modern Crete is esteemed of a good quality. Pashley, Travels, vol. i. p. 56.

² Echo, in the mythology, is said to have been beloved of Pan, by which she seems tacitly to be connected with the generation of Panic Terrors Polyæn. Stratagem. i. 2. 1. Offensive smells are often reckoned among the aversions of bees, but I fear without good reason. At least they have sometimes been found to select strange places wherein to deposit their treasures of sweets. In the book of Judges, chap. xiv. ver. 8, seq., it is related that, when Samson, on his way to Timnath, turned aside to view the carcass of a young lion which he had a short time previously slain, "behold, there was a swarm of bees and honey in the carcass of the lion, and he took thereof in his hands and went on eating, and came to his father and mother,

"and he gave them and they did eat, but he told not them that he had taken the honey out of the carcass of the lion." Upon this passage the following may serve as a note:— "Among this pretty collection of natural curiosities, (in the cemetery of Algesiras,) one in particular attracted our attention; this was the contents of a small uncovered coffin in which lay a child, the cavity of the chest exposed and tenanted by an industrious colony of bees. The comb was rapidly progressing, and I suppose, according to the adage of the poet, they were adding sweets to the sweet, if not perfume to the violet." Napier, Excursions on the Shores of the Mediterranean, v. i. 127.

³ Georg. iv. 50, with the commentaries of Servius and Philargyrius; and Varro, De Re Rust. iii. 16.

⁴ Cf. Geop. xv. 2, 3, 4.

on the margin of lakes or larger streams other contrivances were had recourse to for the convenience of the airy labourers.

Then o'er the running stream or standing lake
A passage for thy weary people make,
With osier floats the standing water strow,
Of massy stones make bridges if it flow,
That basking in the sun thy bees may lie
And resting there their flaggy pinions dry,
When late returning home the laden host
By raging winds is wrecked upon the coast.

Their hives were of various kinds and shapes. Some, like the modern Circassians, they made with fine wicker-work, of a round form and carefully plastered on the inside with clay.¹ Other hives were constructed of bark, especially that of the cork-tree, others of fig, oxya, beech, and pine-wood,² others, as now in Spain, of the trunk of a hollow tree, others of earthenware, as is the practice in Russia; and others again of plaited cane of a square shape, three feet in length and about one in breadth, but so contrived that, should the honey materials prove scanty, they might be contracted, lest the bees should lose courage if surrounded by a large empty space. The wicker-hives were occasionally plastered both inside and outside with cow-dung to fill up the cavities and smooth the surface.³ A more beautiful species of hive was sometimes made with the lapis specularis,⁴ which, being almost as transparent as glass, enabled the curious owner to contemplate the movements and works of the bees.⁵ When finished, they were placed on projecting slabs, so as not to touch or be easily shaken. There were generally three

¹ Vir. Georg. iv. 34, seq. Varro, iii. 16. Colum. ix. 2—7. Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 295. Vesp. 241. Callim. Hymn. i. 50. Cf. Wheler, Travels into Greece. Book vi. p. 411.

² Geop. xv. 2. 7. Cf. Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 10. 1.

³ Geop. xv. 2. 8. Varro, iii. 16. Colum. ix. 14. Pallad. vii. 8. Cato. 81.

⁴ Plin. xxi. 47.

⁵ At present the hives, we are told, are set on the ground in rows enclosed within a low wall. Chandler, ii. 143.

rows of hives rising above each other like Egyptian tombs on the face of the wall, and there was a prejudice against adding a fourth.

The fences of apiaries were made high and strong to protect the inmates from the inroads of the bears,¹ which would otherwise have overthrown the hives and devoured all the combs.² Another enemy of the bee was the Merops,³ which makes its appearance about Hymettos towards the end of summer.⁴

There were, in ancient times, two entrances, one on either hand, and on the top a lid, which the Melitturgos could remove when he desired to take the honey, or inspect the condition of the bees. The best of these lids were made of bark, the worst of earthenware, which were cold in winter, and in summer exceedingly hot.⁵ It was considered necessary during spring and the succeeding season for the bee-keeper to inspect the hives thrice a month, to fumigate them slightly, and remove all filth and vermin. He was careful, likewise, to destroy the usurpers if there were more than one queen,⁶ since, in Varro's⁷ opinion, they gave rise to

¹ Phile gives a long list of the bees' foes, which begins as follows:

Ὅφεις, δὲ καὶ σφήξ, καὶ χελιδὼν,
καὶ φρύνος,
Μύρμηξ τε, καὶ σῆς, αἰγιθαλής,
καὶ φάλαγξ,
Καὶ σαῦρος ὤχρὸς, καὶ φαγεῖν
δεινὸς μέροψ,
Σμήνει μελισσῶν δυσμενεῖς ὁδοσ-
τάται.

Iamb. De Animal. Proprietat. c. 30, p. 104, seq.

² Arist. Hist. Anim. viii. 5. Plin. Nat. Hist. viii. 54.

³ Besides this enemy the bees of America have another still more audacious, that is to say, the monkey, which either carries off their combs or crushes them for the purpose of dipping his tail in

the honey, which he afterwards sucks at his leisure. Schneider, Observ. sur Ulloa, t. ii. p. 199.— See a very amusing chapter on the enemies of the bee in Della Rocca, iii. 219, sqq.

⁴ Sibthorpe in Walp. Mem. i. 75. The practice, moreover, of stealing hives was not unknown to the ancients. Plat. De Legg. t. viii. p. 104.

⁵ Colum. ix. 6. Della Rocca, however, considers this kind as equal to any other, except that it is more fragile. t. ii. p. 17.

⁶ Geop. xv. 2. 15.

⁷ De Re Rust. iii. 16, 18. Colum. ix. 9. 6. Hist. Anim. v. 19, 22. Xenoph. Œconom. vii. 32.

sedition ; but Aristotle thinks there ought to be several, lest one should die, and the hive along with it. Of the queen bees there are three kinds, the black, the ruddy, and the variegated ; though Menecrates, who is good authority, speaks only of the black and variegated.¹ Aristotle, however, describes the reddish queen bee as the best. Even among the working insects there are two kinds, the smaller, in form round, and variegated in colour, the larger, which is the tame bee, less active and beautiful. The former, or wild bee,² frequents the mountains, forests, and other solitary places, labours indefatigably, and collects honey in great quantities ; the latter, which feeds among gardens, and in man's neighbourhood, fills its hive more slowly.³ With respect to the drones, or males, which the working bees generally expel at a certain time of the year, the Attic melitturgi got rid of them in a very ingenious manner. It was observed, that these gentlemen though no way inclined to work, would yet occasionally, on very fine days, go abroad for exercise, rushing forth in squadrons, mounting aloft into the air, and there wheeling, and sporting, and manœuvring in the sun.⁴ Taking advantage of their absence, they spread a fine net over the hive-entrance, the meshes of which, large enough to admit the bee, would exclude the drone. On returning, therefore, they found themselves, according to the old saying, "on the smooth side of the door," and were compelled to seek fresh lodgings.⁵

In late springs, or when there is a drought or blight, the bees breed very little, but make a great deal of honey, whereas in wet seasons they keep more at home, and attend to breeding. Swarms in Greece⁶ appeared about the ripening of the olive.

¹ Cf. Geop. xv. 2, 6.

² On the humble bee, see Sch. Aristoph. Acharn. 831.

³ Varro, De Re Rust. iii. 16.

⁴ Arist. Hist. Anim. ix. 27.

⁵ Arist. Hist. Anim. v. 21.

Cf. Xenoph. Œcon. xvii. 14, seq.

⁶ Cf. Sch. Aristoph. Vesp. 425.

In the island of Cuba, where the tame bee was originally intro-

Aristotle is of opinion, that honey is not manufactured by the bee, but falls perfectly formed from the atmosphere, more especially at the heliacal rising or setting of certain stars, and when the rainbow appears. He observes, too, that no honey is found before the rising of the Pleiades,¹ which happens about the thirteenth of May.² This opinion is in exact conformity with the fact, that at certain seasons of the year what is called the honey dew descends, covering thick the leaves of the oak, and several other trees, which at such times literally drop with honey. On these occasions the bees find little to do beyond the labour of conveying it to their cells, and, accordingly, have been known to fill the hive in one or two days. It has been observed, moreover, that autumn flowers, which yield very little fragrance, yield, also, little or no honey. In the kingdom of Pontos there was a race of white bees which made honey twice a month; and at Themiscyra there were those which built their combs both in hives and in the earth, producing very little wax, but a great deal of honey.³

duced by the English, it has been found to swarm and multiply with incredible rapidity, each hive sometimes sending forth two swarms per month, so that the mountains are absolutely filled with them. This rapid increase seems to have taken place chiefly in the neighbourhood of the sugar plantations, which they were long since supposed to deteriorate by extracting too much honey from the cane. Don Ulloa, *Memoires Philosophiques*, &c., t. i. p. 185. In North America where bees are known among the natives by the name of the "English Flies," they betray an invariable tendency for migrating southward. Kalm. t. ii. 427. Schneider, *Observ. sur Ulloa*, ii. 198.

¹ Hist. Anim. v. 22. Orion rises on the 9th of July, Goettling ad Hesiod. Opp. et Dies, 598. Arcturus, 18th September. Id. 610.

² A similar opinion has been sometimes maintained also by the moderns:—"I have heard," observes Lord Bacon, "from one that was industrious in husbandry, that the labour of the bee is about the wax, and that he hath known in the beginning of May, honey combs empty of honey, and within a fortnight when the sweet dews fall filled like a cellar."—*Sylva Sylvarum*, 612.

³ Arist. Hist. Anim. v. 22. In the Crimea wild bees are found in great abundance in the clefts

When the time of year arrived for robbing the bee, some hives were found to produce five, others ten, others fifteen quarts of honey, still leaving sufficient for winter consumption.¹ And in determining what quantity would suffice great judgment was required; for if too much remained the labourers grew indolent, if too little they lost their spirits. However, in this latter case the bee-keepers, having ascertained that they were in need of food, introduced a number of sweet figs, and other similar fruit into the hive, as now we do moist sugar in a split cane. Elsewhere the practice was to boil a number of rich figs in water² till they were reduced to a jelly, which was then formed into cakes and set near the hive. Together with this, some bee-keepers placed honey-water, wherein they threw locks of purple wool, on which the bees might stand to drink.³ Certain melitturgi, desirous of distinguishing their own bees⁴ when spread over the meadows, sprinkled them with fine flour. Mention is made of a person

and caverns of the mountains.—Pallas, *Travels in Southern Russia*, iii. 324. Among the numerous species of wild bees found in America there is one which pre-eminently deserves to be introduced into Europe and brought under the dominion of man. This bee does not, like the ordinary kind, deposit its honey in combs but in separate waxen cells about the size and shape of a pigeon's egg. As the honey of this bee is of an excellent quality, many persons in South America have been at the pains to tame its maker, whose labours have proved extremely profitable.—Schneider, *Observ. sur Ulloa*, ii. 200.

¹ Arist. *Hist. Anim.* ix. 27. 24. In Attica, the honey was taken about the summer solstice;

at Rome about the festival of Vulcan, in the month of August.—Winkelman. *Hist. de l' Art*, i. 65. But commentators are not at all agreed respecting the meaning of Pliny, whom this writer relies upon. xi. 15. Cf. Sch. Aristoph. *Eq.* 797.

² Arist. *Hist. Anim.* ix. 27. 19. Sch. Aristoph. *Eq.* 752. Cf. Meurs. *Græc. Ludib.* p. 13.

³ Varro, *de Re Rust.* iii. 16.

⁴ A gentleman in Surrey desirous of knowing his own bees, when he should chance to meet them in the fields, touched their wings with vermilion as they were issuing from the hive. Being one fine day in summer on a visit at Hampstead, he found them thickly scattered among the wild flowers on the heath.

who obtained five thousand pounds' weight of honey annually; and Varro¹ speaks of two soldiers who, with a small country house, and an acre of ground left them by their father, realised an independent fortune.

Theophrastus, in a fragment² of one of his lost works, speaks of three different kinds of honey, one collected from flowers, another which, according to his philosophy, descended pure from heaven, and a third produced from canes. This last, which was sometimes denominated Indian honey, is the sugar of modern times. There appear, likewise, to have been other kinds of sugar manufactured from different substances, as Tamarisk and Wheat.³ The honey-dew, on the production of which the ancients⁴ held many extraordinary opinions, was supposed to be superior to the nectar of the bee.

Amyntas, in his Stations of Asia, cited by Athenæus, gives a curious account of this sort of honey which was collected in various parts of the East, particularly in Syria. In some cases they gathered the leaves of the tree, chiefly the linden and the oak, on which the dew was most abundantly⁵ found, and pressed them together like those masses of Syrian figs, which were called *palathè*. Others allowed it to drop from the leaves and harden into globules, which, when desirous of using, they broke, and, having poured water thereon in wooden bowls called *tabaitas*, drank the mixture. In the districts of Mount Lebanon⁶ the honey-dew fell plentifully

¹ De Re Rust, iii. 16.

of Agriculture, No. XLIV. p. 499, sqq.

² Preserved by Photius. Biblioth. cod. 278. p. 529. b.

⁵ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 7. 6. Cf. Hes. Opp. et Dies, 232. seq. Cf. Lord Bacon, Sylva Sylvarum. 496.

³ Herod. vii. 31. Cf. iv. 194.

⁴ On the origin of the honey-dew, see the Quarterly Journal

⁶ Schneid. Comm. ad Theoph. Frag. t. iv. p. 822.

several times during the year, and was collected by spreading skins under the trees, and shaking into them the liquid honey from the leaves; they then filled therewith numerous vessels, in which it was preserved for use. On these occasions, the peasants used to exclaim, "Zeus has been raining honey!"

CHAPTER II.

GARDEN AND ORCHARD.

LORD BACON, who loved to be surrounded by plants and trees and flowers, delivers it as his opinion, that the scientific culture of gardens affords a surer mark of the advance of civilisation than any improvement in the science of architecture, since men, he observes, enjoyed the luxury of magnificent palaces before that of picturesque and well-ordered garden-grounds. This, likewise, was the conviction of the ancient Greeks,¹ in whose literature we everywhere discover vestiges of a passion for that voluptuous solitude which men taste in artificial and secluded plantations, amid flower-beds and arbours and hanging vines and fountains and smooth shady walks. No full description, however, of an Hellenic garden has survived; even the poets have contented themselves with affording us glimpses of their “studious walks and shades.” We must, therefore, endeavour, by the aid of scattered hints, chance expressions, fragments, and a careful study of the natural and invariable productions of the country, to work out for ourselves a picture of what the gardens of Peisistratos, or Cimon, or Pericles, or Epicurus, whom Pliny² denominates the *magister hortorum*, or

¹ But see Dr. Nolan on the Grecian Rose, Trans. Roy. Soc. ii. p. 330, and Poll. i. 229.

² Hist. Nat. xix. 4. Dr. Nolan, p. 330. Nic. Caussin. De Eloquent. xi. p. 727, seq. Cic. De Senect. § 17. Ælian. De Nat. Anim. xiii. 18, has a brief but interesting description of the gar-

den of the Indian kings, with its evergreen groves, fish-ponds, and flights of peacocks, pheasants, and parrots, reckoned sacred by the Brahmins. Cf. Xénoph. Œconom. iv. 13, where he celebrates the fondness of the Persian kings for gardens.

any other Grecian gentleman, must in the best ages have been.

That portion of the ground¹ which was devoted to the culture of sweet-smelling shrubs and flowers, usually approached and projected inwards between the back wings of the house, so that from the windows the eye might alight upon the rich and variegated tints of the parterres² intermingled with verdure, while the evening and morning breeze wafted clouds of fragrance into the apartments.³ The lawns, shrubberies, bosquets, thickets, arcades, and avenues, were, in most cases, laid out in a picturesque though artificial manner, the principal object appearing to have been to combine use with magnificence, and to enjoy all the blended hues and odours which the plants and trees acclimated in Hellas could afford. Protection, in summer, from the sun's rays, is, in those southern latitudes, an almost necessary ingredient of pleasure, and, therefore, numerous trees, as the cedar,⁴ the cypress, the black and white poplar,⁵ the ash, the linden, the elm, and the platane, rose here and there in the grounds, in some places singly, elsewhere in clumps, uniting their branches above, and affording a cool and dense shade. Beneath these umbrageous arches the air was further refrigerated by splashing fountains,⁶ whose waters, through nu-

¹ Here sometimes were grown both vegetables, as lettuces, radishes, parsley, &c., and flowering shrubs, as the wild or rose-laurel, which was supposed to be a deadly poison to horses and asses. Lucian. Luc. siv. Asin. § 17.

² Luc. Piscat. § 6.

³ Geop. x. 1. 1. xii. 2.

⁴ The cedar still grows wild on the promontory of Sunium. Chandler, ii. 8.

⁵ Sibth. Flor. Græc. t. i. pl. 4.

⁶ Plato describes, though not in a garden, a fountain and a plane-tree, in language so pic-

turesque and harmonious, that it has captivated the imagination of all succeeding writers, many of whom have sought to express their admiration by imitating it in their own style:—“Ἡ τε γὰρ πλατάνος αὕτη μάλ' ἀμφιλαφής τε καὶ ὑψηλή, τοῦ τε ἄγνου τὸ ὕψος καὶ τὸ σύσκιον πάγκαλον, καὶ ὡς ἀγμὴν ἔχει τῆς ἀνθης, ὡς ἂν εὐωδέστατον παρέχου τὸν τόπον· ἥ τε αὖ πηγή χαριεστάτη ὑπο τῆς πλατάνου ῥεῖ μάλα ψυχροῦ ὕδατος, ὥς τε γε τῷ ποδὶ τεκμήρασθαι· νυμφῶν τέ τινων καὶ Ἀχελώου ἱερὸν ἀπὸ τῶν κορῶν τε

merous fair channels, straight or winding, as the use demanded of them required,¹ spread themselves over the whole garden, refreshing the eye and keeping up a perpetual verdure. Copses of myrtles, of roses, of agnus-castus,² and other odoriferous shrubs intermingled, clustering round a pomegranate-tree, were usually placed on elevated spots,³ that, being thus exposed to the winds, they might the more freely diffuse their sweetness. The spaces between trees were sometimes planted with roses,⁴ and lilies, and violets, and golden crocuses;⁵ and sometimes presented a breadth of smooth, close, green sward, sprinkled with wild-flowers, as the violet and the blue veronica,⁶ the pink, and the pale primrose, the golden motherwort, the cowslip, the daisy, the pimpernel, and the periwinkle. In many gardens the custom

καὶ ἀγαλμάτων ἔοικεν εἶναι· εἰ δ' αὖ βούλει, τὸ εὖπνουν τοῦ τόπου ὡς ἀγαπητὸν καὶ σφόδρα ἡδὺν· θερυνόν τε καὶ λιγυρόν ὑπηχεῖ τῷ τῶν τεττίγων χορῷ, πάντων δὲ κομψότατον τὸ τῆς πόας ὅτι ἐν ἡρέμα προσάντει ἱκανὴ πέφυκε κατακλινέντι τὴν κεφαλὴν παγκάλως ἔχειν. Phæd. t. i. p. 8, seq. The prevailing image in this passage is thus expressed by Cicero: "Cur non imitamur Socratem illum, qui est in Phædro Platonis; nam me hæc tuas platanus admonuit, quæ non minus ad opacandum hunc locum cum patulis est diffusa ramis, quam illa cujus umbram secutus est Socrates quæ mihi videtur non tam ipsa aquula, quæ describitur, quam Platonis oratione crevisse." De Orat. i. 7. The picture is slightly varied by Aristinætos, who introduces it into a garden:—Ἡ δὲ πηγὴ χαριεστάτη ὑπὸ τῇ πλατάνῳ ῥεῖ ὕδατος εὖ μάλα ψυχροῦ, ὥς γε τῷ ποδὶ τεκμήρασθαι, καὶ διαφανοῦς τοσοῦτον, ὥστε συν-

επινηχομένων καὶ διὰ διαυγὲς ὕδατιον διαπλεκομένων ἐπαφροδίτως ἀλλήλοις, ἅπαν ἡμῶν φανερώς ἀποκαταφαίνεσθαι μέλος. Epist. Lib. i. Epist. 3. p. 14. On the epithet ἀμφιλαφής, which Ruhnken (ad Tim. Lex. p. 24) observes was almost exclusively appropriated by the ancients to the Plane tree, see Apollon. Rhod. ii. 733. Wellauer. et schol.

¹ Where running water was not to be obtained, they constructed two gardens, the one for winter, which depended on the showers, the other on a northern exposure, where a fresh, cool air was preserved throughout the summer. Geop. xii. 5.

² Used by rustics in crowns. Athen. xv. 12. Prometheus was crowned with agnus-castus. 13.

³ Geop. xi. 7. Plin. xv. 18.

⁴ Geop. x. 1. 3.

⁵ Which delighted particularly in the edges of paths and trodden places. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vi. 6. 1.

⁶ Sibth. Flor. Græc. t. i. pl. 5, sqq.

was, to plant each kind of tree in separate groups, and each species of flower-bed also had, as now in Holland,¹ a distinct space assigned to it; so that there were beds of white violets,² of irises, of the golden cynosure,³ of hyacinths, of ranunculuses, of the blue campanula, or Canterbury bells, of white gilliflowers, carnations, and the branchy asphodel.

One of the principal causes which induced the Greeks to attend to the culture of ornamental shrubs and flowers, was the perpetual use made of them in crowns and garlands.⁴ Nearly all their ceremonies, whether civil or religious, were performed by individuals wearing certain wreaths about their brow.

¹ Laing, Notes of a Traveller, p. 6.

² Geop. xi. 21, 23, sqq.

³ Sibth. Flor. Græc. t. i. pl. 79. pl. 203. pl. 334, &c.

⁴ Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀφ' ὧν ζῶσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ταῦτα ἡ γῆ φέρει ἐργαζομένοις· καὶ ἀφ' ὧν τοίνυν ἡδύπαθοῦσι προσεπιφέρει. — Ἐπειτα δὲ ὅσα κοσμοῦσι βωμοὺς καὶ ἀγάλματα, καὶ οἷς αὐτοὶ κοσμοῦνται, καὶ ταῦτα μετὰ ἡδίστων ὀσμῶν καὶ θιαμάτων παρέχει. κ. τ. λ. Xenoph. Œconom. v. 2, seq.

Pliny has a curious passage on the use of crowns among the Romans, which Holland has thus translated: "Now when these
"garlands of flowers were taken
"up and received commonly in all
"places for a certain time, there
"came soon after into request
"those chaplets which are named
"Egyptian; and after them,
"winter coronets, to wit, when
"the earth affordeth no flowers
"to make them, and these consisted of horn shavings dyed
"into sundry colours. And so
"in process of time, by little and
"little crept into Rome, also the
"name of corolla, or as one would

"say, petty garlands; for that
"these winter chaplets at first
"were so pretty and small: and
"not long after them, the costly
"coronets and others, corollaries, namely, when they are
"made of thin leaves and plates
"and latten, either gilded or silvered over, or else set out with
"golden and silvered spangles,
"and so presented." xxi. 2. Pollux affords a list of the principal flowers used in crowns by the Greeks: τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς στεφάνοις ἄνθη, ῥόδα, ἴα, κρίνα, σισύμβρια, ἀνεμῶναι, ἔρπυλος, κρόκος, ὑάκινθος, ἐλίχρυσος, ἡμεροκαλές, ἐλένιον, θρυαλὶς, ἀνθρίσκος, νάρκισσος, μελίλωτον, ἀνθεμὶς, παρθενίς, καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τέρψιν, ἡρίσιν ἡδεῖαν ὀσφρησιν ἔχει. Cratinus enumerates among garland flowers, those of the smilax and the cosmosandalon. Onomast. vi. 106. Athen. xv. 32. Cf. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vi. 1. 2 — 6. 4. Persons returning from a voyage were sometimes crowned with flowers. Plut. Thes. § 22. Soldiers also going to battle. Ages. § 19. Cf. Philost. Icon. i. 24. p. 799. Plut. Sympos. iii. 1.

Thus the Spartans, during the Promachian festival,¹ shaded their foreheads with plaited tufts of reeds—priests and priestesses, soothsayers,² prophets, and enchanters, appeared in their several capacities before the gods in temples or sacred groves with symbolical crowns encircling their heads, as the priests of Hera, at Samos, with laurel,³ and those of Aphrodite with myrtle,⁴ while the statues of the divinities themselves were often crowned with circlets of these “earthly stars.” In the festival of Europa, at Corinth, a crown of myrtle, thirty feet in circumference, was borne in procession through the city.⁵ The actors, dancers, and spectators of the theatre usually appeared crowned with flowers,⁶ as did every guest at an entertainment, while lovers suspended a profusion of garlands on the doors of their mistresses, as did the devout on the temples and altars of the gods.⁷

Most of the flowers cultivated, moreover, suggested poetical or mythological associations; for the religion of Greece combined itself with nearly every object in nature, more particularly with the beautiful, so that the Greek, as he strolled through his garden, had perpetually before his fancy a succession of fables connected with nymphs and goddesses and the old hereditary traditions of his country. Thus the laurel recalled the tale and transformation of Daphnè,⁸ the object of Apollo’s love—the cypresses or graces of the vegetable kingdom,⁹ were the everlasting representatives of Eteocles’ daughters, visited by death because they dared to rival the goddesses in dancing—the myrtle¹⁰ was a most beautiful maiden of Attica, fairer than all her countrywomen, swifter and more patient of toil than the youth, who there-

¹ Athen. xv. 15.

² Id. xv. 16.

³ Id. xv. 13.

⁴ Id. xv. 18.

⁵ Id. xv. 22.

⁶ Id. xv. 26.

⁷ Athen. xv. 9.

⁸ Geop. xi. 2. Ovid. Metam. 550.

⁹ Geop. xi. 4.

¹⁰ Geop. xi. 6.

fore slew her through envy—the pine¹ was the tall and graceful mistress of Pan and Boreas—the mint that of Pluto—while the rose-campion sprung from the bath of Aphrodite, and the humble cabbage from the tears of Lycurgus, the enemy of Dionysos.²

It has sometimes been supposed,³ that the flower which constitutes the greatest ornament of gardens was wholly unknown in the earlier ages of Greece. But this theory, imagined for the purpose of destroying the claims of the Anacreontic fragments to be considered genuine,⁴ is entirely overthrown by the testimony of several ancient writers, more particularly Herodotus,⁵ who speaks of the rose of sixty leaves, as found in the gardens of Midas in Thrace, at the foot of the snowy Bermios. Elsewhere, too, he compares the flower of the red Niliac lotus⁶ to the rose; and Stesichoros,⁷ an older poet than Anacreon, distinctly mentions chaplets composed of this flower.

Many a yellow quince was there
Piled upon the regal chair,

¹ Geop. xi. 10. Cf. Plut. Sympos. vol. iii. 1, where he assigns the reason why the pine was sacred to Poseidon and Dionysos. The foliage of the pine-forests was so dense in Boeotia as to permit neither snow nor rain to penetrate through. Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 9. 6. The shade of such trees, therefore, would be more especially coveted.

² Sch. Aristoph. Eq. 537. Geop. xii. 17. 16.

³ By Dr. Nolan. See his paper on the Grecian Rose. Trans. Roy. Soc. of Lit. ii. 327, sqq.

⁴ Cf. Athen. xv. 11.

⁵ Οἱ δὲ, ἀπικόμενοι ἐς ἄλλην γῆν τῆς Μακεδόνιης, οἴκησαν πέλας τῶν κήπων τῶν λεγομένων εἶναι Μίδεω τοῦ Γορδῖεω. ἐν τοῖσι φύεται αὐτόματα ῥόδα, ἐν ἑκάστον

ἔχον ἐξήκοντα φύλλα ὁδοῦ δὲ ὑπερφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων· ἐν τούτοισι καὶ ὁ Σιληνὸς τοῖσι κήποισι ἦλω, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν κήπων οὖρος κέεται, Βέρμιον οὖνομα, ἄβατον ὑπὸ χειμῶνος. viii. 138. On the arts and manners of this Midas, who, together with Orpheus and Eumolpos was the founder of the Hellenic religion, see J. G. Voss. de Idololat. i. 24, and Bouhier, Dissert. sur Herod. ch. 80.

⁶ Cf. Theop. Hist. Plant. iv. 87.

⁷ Athen. iii. 21. Stesichoros lived before Christ about 632. Clint. Fast. Hellen. ii. 5. Crowns of roses are mentioned by Cratinus who was born 519 B.C. which shows that roses must have been largely cultivated in his time. Athen. xv. 27.

Many a verdant myrtle-bough,
 Many a rose-crown featly wreathed,
 With twisted violets that grow
 Where the breath of spring has breathed.

Homer,¹ too, it is evident, was familiar with the rose, to whose fragrant petals he compares the fingers of the morning, and not, as has been imagined, to the blood-red flower of the wild pomegranate tree.²

According, moreover, to a tradition preserved to later times, the seasons of the year, which in remote antiquity were but three, they symbolically represented by a rose, an ear of corn, and an apple.³ This division is thought to have been borrowed from the Egyptians, in whose country, however, the apple was never sufficiently naturalised to be taken as an emblem of one of the seasons of the year.

But, at whatever period the rose began to be cultivated, it evidently, as soon as known, shared with the violet the admiration of the Athenian people, whose extensive plantations of this most fragrant shrub recall to mind the rose gardens of the Fayoum, or Serinaghur. The secret, moreover, was early discovered of hastening or retarding their maturity, so as to obtain an abundant supply through every month in the year.⁴ Occasionally, too, numbers of

¹ Il. *α.* 477. *ι.* 708. Cf. Hesiod. *Opp. et Dies*, 610. To place the matter beyond dispute, Homer speaks of oils rendered fragrant by the perfume of the rose:—*ροδόεντι δὲ χρῖεν ἐλαίῳ*. Il. *ψ.* 186.

² Dioscor. *i.* 154.

³ “*Les Egyptiens, selon le département de leur Roy Horus, n'en mettaient que trois (saisons): le printemps, l'esté, et l'automne: leur attribuant quatre mois à chacune, et les figurant par une rose, une espy, et une pomme, ou rai-*

sin.” *Les Images de Platte Peinture des deux Philostrates, par Vigenère, Paris, fol. 1627, p. 555.*

⁴ *Geop. xi. 18.* A species of perpetual rose is said to have been recently discovered in France, where “A Parisian florist, we are told, has succeeded in producing a new hybrid rose from the Bourbon rose and Gloire de Rosomène, the flowers of which he had fertilised with the pollen of some Damask and hybrid China roses. The plant is extremely beautiful, the co-

rosebuds were laid among green barleystalks, plucked up by the roots, in unglazed amphoræ, to be brought forth and made to blow when wanted. Others deposited them between layers of the same material on the ground, or dipped them in the liquid dregs of olives. Another mode of preserving the rose was exceedingly curious,—cutting off the top of a large standing reed, and splitting it down a little way, they inserted a number of rosebuds in the hollow, and then bound it softly round and atop with papyrus in order to prevent their fragrance from exhaling.¹ How many varieties of this flower² were possessed by the ancients it is now, perhaps, impossible to determine; but they were acquainted with the common, the white, and the moss rose, the last, in Aristotle's³ opinion, the sweetest, together with the rose of a hundred leaves,⁴ celebrated by the Persian poets. Even the wild rose was not wholly inodorous in Greece.⁵ Roses were artificially blanched by being exposed while unfolding to powerful and repeated fumigations with sulphur.⁶ The roses which grew on a dry soil were supposed to be the sweetest, while their fragrance was augmented by planting garlic near the root.⁷ To cause them to bloom in January, or in early spring (for even in the most southern parts of

“lour bright crimson shaded with
“Maroon purple, and is further
“enriched with a powerful fra-
“grance.” *Times*, March 24th,
1841.

¹ Geop. xi. 18. 12.

² Plinius varia genera commemorat, Milesia ardentissimo colore, Alabandica albicantibus foliis, Spermonia vilissima, Damascenæ albæ distillandis aquis usurpantur. Differunt foliorum multitudine, asperitate, lævore, colore, odore.—Heresbachius, de Re Rustica, lib. ii. p. 121. a.

³ Problem. xii. 8. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vi. 6. 5.

⁴ Athen. xv. 29. Plin. xxi. 10. Cf. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vi. 6. 4.

⁵ As Dr. Nolan seems to suppose. On the Grecian Rose. Transact. Roy. Soc. ii. 328. Though Theophrastus states the contrary very distinctly. Hist. Plant. vi. 2. 1—6. 4—7. 5. The white rose appears at present to be commonly cultivated in Attica.—Chandler, ii. 181.

⁶ Geop. xi. 18. 13.

⁷ Geop. xi. 18. 1.

Greece the rose season only commences in April)¹ various means were resorted to; sometimes, the bushes were watered twice a-day during the whole summer; on other occasions, a shallow trench was dug at a distance of about eighteen inches round the bush, into which warm water was poured morning and evening;² while a third, and, perhaps, the surest, method was to plant them in pots, or baskets, which, during the winter months, were placed in sheltered sunny spots by day,³ and carried into the house at night; afterwards, when the season was sufficiently advanced, these portable gardens were buried in the earth.

Another favorite denizen of Hellenic gardens was the lily, which, probably, introduced from Suza or from Egypt, beheld the virginal snow of its bells compelled, by art, to put on various hues, as deep red and purple,⁴—the former, by infusing, before planting, cinnabar into the bulb,—the latter, by steeping it in the lees of purple wine. This flower naturally begins to bloom⁵ just as the roses are fading; but, to produce a succession of lilies at different seasons, some were set near the surface, which grew up and blossomed immediately, while others were buried at different depths, according to the times at which they were required to flower.

Along with these, about the dank borders of streams or fountains, grew the favourite flower of the Athenian people, purple, double, white, and gold,⁶

“ The violet dim,
But sweeter than the lids of Juno’s eyes,
Or Cytherea’s breath ; ”⁷

¹ Pashley, Trav. i. 8, who observes, that the rose is common in February at Malta.

² Geop. xi. 18. 5. Plin. xxi. 4. Pallad. iii. 21. 2.

³ Geop. xi. 18. 4. Cf. xii. 19. 3.

⁴ Geop. xi. 20. Heresbach. de Re Rust. p. 122. b. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vi. 6. 4, 8.

⁵ Plin. xxi. 13.

⁶ Colum. De Cultu Hortorum, x. 102.

⁷ Winter’s Tale, iv. 5.

the pansy,¹ “freaked with jet;” the purple cyperus, the iris, the water-mint,² and hyacinth,³ and the narcissus,⁴ and the willow-herb, and the blue speedwell, and the marsh-marigold, or, brave bassinet, and the jacinth, and early daffodil,

“That come before the swallow dares, and take
The winds of March with beauty.”

A netting of wild thyme⁵ tufted with sweet mint, and marjoram,⁶ which, when crushed by the foot, yielded the most delicious fragrance, embraced the sunny hillocks, while here and there singly, or in beds, grew a profusion of other herbs and flowers, some prized for their medicinal virtues, others for their beauty, others for their delicate odour, as the geranium, the spike-lavender, the rosemary,⁷ with its purple and white flowers, the basil,⁸ the flower-gentle, the hyssop, the white privet, the cytissus, the

¹ Sibth. Flor. Græc. t. i. tab. 222, tab. 318. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 1320. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vi. 6. 4. The finest violets, crocuses, &c., in the ancient world, were supposed to be found in Cyrene. Id. vi. 6. 5.

² Dioscor. ii. 155.

³ On the birth of the Hyacinth, see Eudocia in the Anecdota Græca, i. 408.

⁴ Theoph. Hist. Plant. vi. 6. 9. 8. 2. This flower flourishes after the setting of Arcturus, about the autumnal equinox.—

“We were ferried over a narrow
“stream fringed with Agnus-
“Castus, into a garden belonging
“to the convent. A number of
“vernal flowers now blossomed
“on its banks; the garden ane-
“mone was crimsoned with an
“extraordinary glow of colour-
“ing. The soil which was a

“sandy loam, was further enli-
“vened with the Ixia, the grass-
“leaved Iris, and the enamel-
“blue of a species of speedwell,
“not noticed by the Swedish
“Naturalist.” Sibth. Walp. Mem. i. 282, seq.

⁵ This plant was brought from Mount Hymettos, to be cultivated in the gardens of Athens. The Sicyonians, likewise, transplanted it to their gardens from the mountains of Peloponnesos.—Theoph. Hist. Plant. vi. 7. 2.

⁶ Theoph. Hist. Plant. vi. 7. 4.

⁷ Dioscor. iii. 89. Sibth. Flor. Græc. t. i. tab. 14, tab. 192, seq. tab. 310, tab. 518, tab. 549. Colum. x. De Cult. Hort. 96, sqq.

⁸ The basil-gentle was watered at noon, other plants morning and evening.—Theoph. Hist. Plant. vii. 5. 2.

sweet marjoram, the rose-campion, or columbine,¹ the yellow amaryllis, and the celandine. Here, too,

“ Their gem-like eyes
The Phrygian melilots disclose,”²

with the balm-gentle, the red, the purple, and the coronal anemone,³ the convolvulus, yellow, white, pale pink, and blue, together with our Lady's-gloves, the flower of the Trinity, southernwood,⁴ and summer-savory,⁵ œnanthe,⁶ gith, the silver sage,⁷ Saint Mary's thistle, and the amaranth, while high above all rose the dark pyramidal masses of the rhododendron,⁸ with its gigantic clusters of purple flowers.

How many of the lovely evergreens⁹ that abound in Greece were usually cultivated in a single garden, we possess no means of ascertaining, though all appear occasionally to have been called in to diversify the picture. The myrtle,¹⁰ whose deep blue berries were esteemed a delicacy,¹¹ in some places rose into a tree, while elsewhere it was planted thick, and bent

¹ Dioscor. iii. 114.

² Colum. x. 399, seq. Engl. Trans.

³ The anemone among other flowers beautifies the fields of Attica, so early as the month of February. — Chandler, ii. 211. “ Les campagnes et les collines sont rouges d'anémones.” — Della Rocca, Traité sur les Abeilles, t. i. p. 5.

⁴ Cultivated usually in pots, resembling the gardens of Adonis. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vi. 7. 3. Thickets of this shrub constitute one of the greatest beauties of the islands of the Archipelago. “ Les lauriers roses, que l'on conserve en France avec tant de soin, viennent à l'aventure dans les prairies, et le long des ruisseaux qui en sont bordés. Rien n'est plus agréable que de voir ces beaux arbres, de

“ la hauteur de douze à quinze pieds, variés de fleurs rouges et blanches, se croiser par les branches d'en haut, sur un ruisseau ou sur le lit d'une fontaine, et faire un berceau qui dure quelquefois un grand quart de lieue.” Della Rocca, Traité Complet sur les Abeilles, t. i. p. 6.

⁵ Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 253.

⁶ Theoph. Hist. Plant. vi. 8. 2.

⁷ Sibth. Flor. Græc. t. i. tab. 27.

⁸ Known also by the names of *νηπιον* and *ροδοδάφνη*. — Dioscor. iv. 82. Geop. ii. 42. 1.

⁹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. i. 9. 3.

¹⁰ Cf. Clus. Hist. Rar. Plant. i. 43. p. 65.

¹¹ Plat. De Rep. t. vi. p. 85. The berry, both of the myrtle and the laurel, assumed, we are told, a black colour in the garden

and fashioned into bowers,¹ which, when sprinkled with its snowy blossoms, combined, perhaps, with those of the jasmine, the eglantine, and the yellow tufts of the broad-leaved philyrea,² constituted some of the most beautiful objects in a Greek paradise. Thickets of the tamarisk,³ the strawberry-tree,⁴ the juniper, the box, the bay, the styrax, the andrachne, and the white-flowered laurel, in whose dark leaves the morning dew collects and glistens in the sun like so many tiny mirrors of burnished silver, varied the surface of the lawn, connecting the bowers, and the copses, and the flower beds, and the grassy slopes with those loftier piles of verdure, consisting of the pine tree, the smilax, the cedar, the carob, the maple,⁵ the ash, the elm tree, the platane,⁶ and the evergreen oak which here and there towered in the grounds. In many places the vine shot up among the ranges of elms or platanes, and stretched its long twisted arm from trunk to trunk, like so many festoons of intermingled leaves and tendrils, and massive clusters of golden or purple grapes.⁷ Alternating, perhaps, with the lovely fa-

of Antandros.—Theophrast. Hist. Plant. ii. 2. 6.

¹ Hemsterhuis, Annot. ad Poll. ix. 49. p. 943. Cf. Dion. Chrysost. i. 273.

² Sibthorp. Flor. Græc. t. i. tab. 2, tab. 367, tab. 374, seq.

³ Theoph. Hist. Plant. i. 9. 3.

⁴ The strawberry-tree is found flourishing in great beauty and perfection on Mount Helicon, and its fruit is said to be exceedingly sweet.—Chandler, ii. 290.

⁵ Sibth. Flor. Græc. tab. 361.

⁶ Ἐνθα πλάτανος μὲν ἀμφιλαφής τε καὶ σύσκιος, πνεῦμα δὲ μέτριον, καὶ πόα μαλθακή, ὥρα θέρους ἐπανθεῖν εἰωθυῖα. Aristænet. Epist. lib. i. Epist. 3. p. 13. There was, according to Varro, an evergreen platane tree

in Crete, i. 7. The same platane is mentioned by Theophrastus, who informs us, that it grew beside a fountain in the Gortynian territory where Zeus first reclined on landing from the sea with Europa, i. 9. 5. Near the city of Sybaris, there is said to have grown a common oak which enjoyed the privilege of being undeciduous. Ibid.

⁷ Ἀμπελοι δὲ παμμήκεις σφόδρα τε ὑψηλαὶ περιελίττονται κυπαρίττους ὥς ἀνακλᾶν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸν αὐχένα πρὸς θέαν τῶν κύκλῳ συναιωρουμένων βοτρώων, ὧν οἱ μὲν ὀργῶσιν, οἱ δὲ περκαῖζουσιν οἱ δὲ ὀμφακες, οἱ δὲ οἰνάνθαι δοκοῦσιν.—Aristænet. Epist. lib. i. Ep. 3. p. 13, seq.

vourite of Dionysos, the blue and yellow clematis¹ suspended their living garlands around the stems, or along the boughs of the trees, in union or contrast with the dodder, or the honeysuckle, or the delicate and slender briony. And, if perchance a silver fir, with its bright yellow flowers,² formed part of the group, large pendant clusters of mistletoe, the food sometimes of the labouring ox,³ might frequently be seen swinging thick among its branches. In some grounds was probably cultivated the *quercus suber*,⁴ or cork tree, with bark four or five inches thick, triennially stripped off,⁵ after which it grows again with renewed vigour. Occasionally, where streams and rivulets⁶ found their way through the grounds, the black and white poplar, the willow, and the lentiscus, with a variety of tufted reeds, crowded about the margin, here and there shading and concealing the waters.

Proceeding now into the orchard we find, that, instead of walls, it was, sometimes at least, if it touched on the confines of another man's grounds, surrounded by hedges⁷ of black and white thorn, brambles, and barberry bushes, as at present⁸ by impenetrable fences of the Indian cactus.⁹ On the

¹ Sibth. Flor. Græc. tab. 516.

² Theophrast. Hist. Plant. i. 13. 1.

³ Dodwell, ii. 455. Sibth. in Walp. Mem. i. 283. There was a species of mistletoe called the Cretan, which found equally congenial the climates of Achaia and Media. Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 1, 3.

⁴ That is to say at a late period, for in the time of Theophrastus it would seem not to have been common in Greece, if it had been at all introduced. Hist. Plant. iii. 17. 1.

⁵ Dodwell, ii. 455.

⁶ Even the platane, also, delights in humid places. Theoph.

Hist. Plant. i. 4. 2. The black poplar was said to bear fruit in several parts of Crete. iii. 3. 5.

⁷ Geop. v. 44. Cf. Artemid. Oneirocrit. ii. 24. p. 112.

⁸ Walp. Mem. i. 60.

⁹ The cactus, as most travellers will have remarked, flourishes luxuriantly in Sicily even among the beds of lava where little else will grow; it appears, however, to delight in a volcanic soil. Spallanzani, Travels in the Two Sicilies, "i. 209. In the Æolian Islands it "thrives so well that it usually "grows to the height of ten, "twelve, and sometimes fifteen "feet, with a stem a foot or more "in diameter. The fruits, which

banks of these hedges, both inside and out, were found, peculiar tribes of plants and wild flowers, in some places enamelling the smooth close turf, elsewhere flourishing thickly in dank masses of verdure, or climbing upwards and interlacing themselves with the lofty and projecting thorns, such as the enchanter's nightshade, the euphorbia, the iris tuberosa, the red-flowered valerian, the ground-ivy,¹ the physalis somnifera, with its coral red seeds in their inflated calyces,² the globularia, the creeping heliotrope, the penny-cress,³ the bright yellow scorpion-flower, and the broad-leaved cyclamen or our Lady's-seal, with pink flower, light green leaf, veined with white and yellow beneath. The ancient Parthians surrounded their gardens with hedges of a fragrant, creeping shrub denominated philadelphos or love-brother,⁴ whose long suckers they interwove into a kind of network forming a sufficient protection against man and beast. In mountainous districts, where rain-floods were to be guarded against, the enclosures frequently consisted of walls of loose stones,⁵ as is still the case in Savoy on the edge of mountain torrents.

It was moreover the custom, both in Greece and Italy, to plant, on the boundary line of estates, rows of olives or other trees,⁶ which not only served to

"are nearly as large as turkeys'
 "eggs, are sweet and extremely
 "agreeable to the palate. It is
 "well-known that the fruits grow
 "at the edges of the leaves, the
 "number on each leaf is not con-
 "stant, but they are frequently
 "numerous, as I have counted
 "two and twenty on a single
 "leaf." iv. 97.

¹ Sibth. Flor. Græc. t. i. tab. 29. tab. 157. tab. 185.

² Sibth. in Walp. Trav. p. 73, seq. On the seasons of these wild flowers see Theoph. Hist. Plant. vii. 9. 2.

³ Dioscor. ii. 186.

⁴ Athen. xv. 29.

⁵ Demosth. in Callicl. § 1. 3, seq.

⁶ Cf. Varro. i. 15. Magii Miscellan. lib. iv. p. 187. b. As the cotton-tree in modern times has been supposed not to thrive at a much greater distance than twenty miles from the sea; so, among the ancients, the olive was supposed not to flourish at a greater distance than three hundred stadia. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vi. 2. 4. Both opinions are probably erroneous, as the olive-tree is found in perfection in the Fayoum, and the cotton-plant in Upper Egypt.

mark the limits of a man's territory, but shed an air of beauty over the whole country. A proof of this practice prevailing in Attica, has with much ingenuity¹ been brought forward from the "Frogs," where Bacchos, addressing the poet Æschylus in the shades, observes "It will be all right provided your anger does not transport you beyond the olives." It may likewise be remarked that in olive-grounds,² the trees, excepting the sacred ones called *moriae*, were always planted in straight lines, from twenty-five to thirty feet³ apart, because, in order to ripen the fruit,⁴ it is necessary that the wind should be able freely to play upon it from all sides. And further because they delight in a warm dry air like that of Libya, Cilicia,⁵ and Attica, the best olive-grounds were generally supposed to be those which occupied the rapid slopes of hills where the soil is naturally stony and light. The oil of the plains was commonly coarse and thick.

Among these olive grounds in summer, the song of the tettix⁶ is commonly heard; for this musical insect loves the olive, which, like the sant of the Arabian desert, yields but a thin and warm shade.⁷

¹ Vict. Var. Lect. p. 874. But the Scholiast (Aristoph. Ran. 1026) gives a different though less probable interpretation to the passage.

² Cf. Sibth. Flor. Græc. t. i. tab. 3.

³ Cato. De Re Rusticâ 6. They were sometimes also grafted, we are told, on lentiscus stocks. Plut. Sympos. ii. 6. 1.

⁴ In Syria and some other warm countries the olive was said to produce fruit in clusters. Theophrast. Hist. Plant. i. 11. 4. And when this fruit was found chiefly on the upper branches, they augured a productive year. id. i. 14. 2. Geop. ix. 2. 4. The ancients entertained extraordinary ideas concerning the purity of the olive,

which they imagined bore more freely when cultivated by persons of chaste minds. Thus the olive-grounds of Anazarbos, in Cilicia, were thought to owe their extraordinary fertility to the reserved and modest manners of the youths who cultivated them. Id. ix. 2. 6.

⁵ Geop. ix. 3. 1. Virg. Georg. ii. 179. The heads of olive-stocks when freshly planted were covered with clay, which was protected from the wet by a shell. Xenoph. (Econom. xix. 14. The pits for the planting of the olive and other fruit-trees were of considerable depth and dug long beforehand.

Theoph. Hist. Plant. i. 6. 1.

⁶ Cf. Hesiod. Opp. et Dies, 582, seq.

⁷ Οὐ γίνονται δὲ τέττιγες ὅπου

The tettix, in fact, though never found in an unwooded country, as in the plains about Cyrene, equally avoids the dense shade of the woods.¹ Here likewise² are found the blackbird, the roller, and three distinct species of butcher-bird—the small grey, the ash-coloured, and the redheaded.

In an Attic orchard were most of the trees reared in England, together with many which will not stand the rigour of our climate.—The apple,³ cultivated with peculiar care in the environs of Delphi and Corinth; the pear,⁴ the cherry from Cerasos on the southern shore of the Black Sea,⁵ which sometimes grew to the height of nearly forty feet,⁶ the damascene,⁷ and the common plum. Along with these were likewise to be found the quince,⁸ the apricot, the peach, the nectarine, the walnut, the chestnut, the filbert, introduced from Pontos,⁹ the hazel nut, the medlar, and the mulberry, which, according to Menander, is the earliest fruit of the year.¹⁰ With these were intermingled the fig, white, purple, and red, the pomegranate,¹¹ from the northern shores of Africa, the orange,¹² still planted under artificial shel-

μη δένδρα ἐστίν· διὸ καὶ ἐν Κυρήνῃ οὐ γίνονται ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, περὶ δὲ τὴν πόλιν πολλοί, μόλιστα δ' οὐ ἐλαῖαι· οὐ γὰρ γίνονται παλίν σκίοι. Aristot. Hist. Anim. v. 30. Cf. Phile, de Animal. Proprietat. c. 25. p. 81.

¹ In Spain, however, these insects exhibit a somewhat different taste, being there found amid the foliage of the most leafy trees. "Every oak in the cork-wood near Gibraltar was the abode if not of harmony, at least of noise, and the concert kept up amidst the foliage by the numerous grass or rather tree-hoppers was quite deafening." Napier, Excursions on the shores of the Mediterranean, ii. p. 2.

² Sibth. in Walp. Mem. i. 75.

³ On the cultivation of the apple see Theophrast. Hist. Plant. i. 3. 3. Geop. xviii. 18.

⁴ Athen. xiv. 63. Etym. Mag. 122. 20.

⁵ Geop. x. 41. Plin. xv. 25. Athen. ii. 35.

⁶ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 13. 1.

⁷ Etym. Mag. 211. 4, sqq.

⁸ Geop. x. 3. 73.

⁹ Geop. xiii. 19. Athen. ii. 38.

¹⁰ Athen. ii. 12. Vid. Cœl. Rhodigin. vii. 15. Bochart, Geog. Sac. col. 629.

¹¹ Theophrast. Hist. Plant. i. 3. 3. The fruit of the pomegranate-tree lost much of its acidity in Egypt. Id. Hist. Plant. ii. 2. 7.

¹² In Greece the orange-tree and the lemon blossom in June, Chandler, ii. 238.

ter at Lemnos, the citron, the lemon,¹ the date-palm,² the pistachio, the almond, the service, and the cornel-tree.

As these gardens were arranged with a view no less to pleasure than to profit, the trees were planted in lines, which, when sufficiently close, formed a series of umbrageous avenues, opening here into the lawn and there into the vineyard, which generally formed part of a Greek gentleman's grounds. And such an orchard decked in its summer pride with foliage of emerald and fruit, ruddy, purple, and gold, the notes of the thrush, the nightingale,³ the tettix, with the "amorous thrill of the green-finch,"⁴ floating through its boughs, and the perfume of the agnus-castus, the myrtle, the rose, and the violet, wafting richly on all sides, was a very paradise.

Not unfrequently, common foot-paths traversed these orchards and vineyards, in which case the passers-by were customarily, if not by law, permitted to pick and eat the fruit,⁵ which seems also from the account of our Saviour to have been the practice in Judæa. The contrary is the case in modern Europe. In Burgundy and Switzerland, where pathways traverse vineyards, it is not uncommon to see the grapes smeared with something resembling white lime which children are assured

¹ Cf. Chandler, ii. 250.

² In Babylonia the palm-tree was by some thought to be propagated by off-shoots. Theophrast. Hist. Plant. ii. 2. 2. In Greece, the fruit seldom ripened completely. iii. 3. 5.

³ Ἐτι δὲ τὸ ἔμπνου τῆς αὐρας λιγυρὸν ὑπηχεῖ τῷ μουσικῷ τῶν τεττίγων χορῷ δι' ἣν καὶ τὸ πνίγος τῆς μεσημβρίας ἡπιώτερον ἐγγέγονει ἡδὺ καὶ ἀηδόνει, περὶ πετόμεναι τὰ νάματα, μελωδοῦσιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡδὺ φῶνῶν κατηκούμεν ὀρνίθων, ὥσπερ

ἐμμελῶς ὁμιλούντων ἀνθρώποις. Aristænet. Epist. lib. i. Ep. 3. p. 17.

⁴ "The amorous thrill of the green-finch was now heard distinctly. The little owl hooted frequently round the walls of the convent. In the river below, otters were frequently taken. On the sides of the banks were the holes of the river-crabs; and the green-backed lizard was sporting among the grass." Sibth. in Walp. Trav. p. 76.

⁵ Plat. De Legg. t. viii. p. 107.

is a deadly poison. This, while in the country, I regarded as a mere stratagem, intended to protect the vineyards from depredation, though there seems after all to be too much reason to believe the nefarious practice to exist in several localities. At least two children were recently killed at Foix by eating poisoned grapes on the way-side.

The Greeks placed much of their happiness in spots like those we have been describing, as may be inferred from such of their fabulous traditions,¹ as relate to the garden of the Hesperides,² the gardens of Midas, with their magnificent roses, and those of Alcinoös,³ which still shed their fragrance over the pages of the Odyssey. From the East, no doubt, they obtained, along with their noblest fruit-trees, the art of cultivating them, and, perhaps, that sacred tradition of the Garden of Eden, preserved in the Scriptures, formed the basis of many a Hellenic legend.⁴ The Syrians acquired much celebrity among the ancients for their knowledge of gardening, in which, according to modern travellers, they still excel. Of the manner of cultivating fruit-trees in the earlier ages very little is known. No doubt they soon discovered that some will thrive better in certain soils and situations than in others, and profited by the discovery; but the art of properly training and grafting trees is comparatively modern.⁵

No mention of it occurs in the Pentateuch, though Moses there gives directions how to manage an orchard. For the first three years the blossoms were not to be suffered to ripen into fruit, and even in the fourth all that came was sacred to the Lord.

¹ Eudoc. Ionia. 434.

² Plin. xix. 19. Athen. xi. 39.

³ Bœttig. *Fragm. sur les Jar. des Anciens*, in *Magaz. Encycloped.* Ann. vii. t. i. p. 337. Cardinal Quirini, *Primordia Corcyrae*, c. vii. p. 60, sqq.

⁴ See in Xenophon a brief de-

scription of the gardens of Cyrus. *Œconom.* iv. 21. Upon this passage our countryman, Sir Thomas Browne, has written an elaborate treatise.

⁵ On the various methods of propagating trees see Theophrast. *Hist. Plant.* ii. 1. 2.

From the fifth year, onward, they might do with it what they pleased. Of these regulations the intention was to prevent the early exhaustion of the trees. Homer, also, is silent on the practice of grafting, nor does any mention of it occur in the extant works of Hesiod, though Manilius¹ refers to his poems in proof of the antiquity of the practice. By degrees, however, it got into use;² and, in the age of Aristotle,³ was already common, as at present almost everywhere, save in Greece,⁴ since no fruit was esteemed excellent unless the tree had been grafted. Some few of the rules they observed in this process may be briefly noticed.⁵ Trees with a thick rind were grafted in the ordinary way, and sometimes by inserting the graft between the bark and the wood, which was called infoliation.⁶ Inoculation, also, or introducing the bud of one tree into the rind of another, was common among Greek gardeners.⁷ They were extremely particular in their choice of stocks.⁸ Thus the fig was grafted only on the platane⁹ and the mulberry; the mulberry on

¹ *Astronomicon*, ii. p. 30. l. 4. Scalig. et not. p. 67.

² Cf. *Athen.* xiv. 68.

³ *De Plantis*, ii. 6.

⁴ *Hobhouse, Travels*, i. 227. Thiersch, *Etat Actuel de la Grèce*, t. i. p. 297.

⁵ *Geop.* iii. 3. 9. - *Clem. Alexand. Stromat.* l. vi. *Opera*, t. ii. p. 800. Venet. 1657.

⁶ *Geop.* xii. 75. x. 75. 19.

⁷ *Geop.* x. 77. *Colum.* v. 11. 1. *Pallad.* vii. 5. 2. *Plin.* xvii. 26. *Cato.* 42. *Virg. Georg.* ii. 73, sqq.

⁸ *Geop.* x. 76.

⁹ Introduced by Dionysios the elder into Rhegium, where it attained, however, no great size. *Theoph. Hist. Plant.* iv. 5. 6. The same naturalist speaks of two plane trees, the one at Del-

phi, the other at Caphyæ in Arcadia, said to have been planted by the hand of Agamemnon, which were still flourishing in his own days, iv. 13. 2. This tree attains a prodigious size in Peloponnesos. *Chandler, Travels*, ii. 308. Our traveller was prevented from measuring the stem by the fear of certain Albanian soldiers who lay asleep under it; but Theophrastus gives us the dimensions of a large platane, at Antandros, whose trunk, he says, could scarcely be embraced by four men, while its height before the springing forth of the boughs was fifteen feet. Having described the dimensions of the tree, he relates a very extraordinary fact in natural history, namely, that this platane,

the chestnut,¹ the beech, the apple, the terebinth, the wild pear, the elm, and the white poplar, (whence white mulberries;) the pear on the pomegranate, the quince, the mulberry, (whence red pears,) the almond, and the terebinth; apples² on all sorts of wild pears and quinces, (whence the finest apples called by the Athenians Melimela,)³ on damascenes, also, and *vice versâ*, and on the platane, (whence red apples.)⁴ Another method of communicating a blush to this fruit was to plant rose-bushes round the root of the tree.⁵ The walnut was grafted on the strawberry-tree only;⁶ the pomegranate on the myrtle⁷ and the willow; the laurel on the cherry⁸ and the ash; the white peach on the damascene and the almond; the damascene on the wild pear, the quince, and the apple; chestnuts on the walnut, the beech, and the oak;⁹ the cherry

having been blown down by the winds and lightened of its branches by the axe, rose again spontaneously during the night, put forth fresh boughs, and flourished as before. The same thing is related of a white poplar in the museum at Stagira, and of a large willow at Philippi. In this last city a soothsayer counselled the inhabitants to offer sacrifice, and set a guard about the tree, as a thing of auspicious omen. Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 16. 2, seq. Cf. Plin. xvi. 57. In corroboration of the narrative of Theophrastus, Palmerius relates, that, during the winter of 1624-25, while Breda was besieged by Ambrosio Spinola, he himself saw in Brabant an oak twenty-five feet high, and three feet in circumference, overthrown by the wind, and recovering itself exactly in the manner described by the great naturalist. The vulgar, who regarded it as a mi-

racle, preserved portions of its bark or branches as amulets.—Excercitationes, p. 598.

¹ Plut. Sympos. ii. 6. 7.

² "It is reported," observes Lord Bacon, "that, in the low countries, they will graft an apple scion upon the stock of a colewort, and it will bear a great flaggy apple, the kernel of which, if it be set, will be a colewort and not an apple." Sylva Sylvarum, 453.

³ Geop. x. 20. 1. Varro. i. 59. Mustea (mala) a celeritate mitescendi: quæ nunc melimela dicuntur, a sapore melleo.—Plin. xv. 15. Dioscor. i. 161.

⁴ Plut. Sympos. ii. 6. 1.

⁵ Geop. x. 19. 15, cum not. Niclas.

⁶ Inseritur vero ex foetu uncis arbutus horrida. Virg. Georg. ii. 69, with the note of Servius.

⁷ Plut. Sympos. ii. 6. 1.

⁸ Plin. xvii. 14.

⁹ Castanea inseritur in se, et

on the terebinth, and the peach; the quince on the oxyacanthus; the myrtle on the willow; and the apricot on the damascene, and the Thasian almond-tree. The vine, also, was grafted on a cherry and a myrtle-stock, which produced, in the first case, grapes in spring,¹ in the second, a mixed fruit, between the myrtle-berry and the grape.² When the gardener desired to obtain black citrons, he inserted a citron-graft into an apple-stock, and, if red, into a mulberry-stock.

Citrons were likewise occasionally grafted on the pomegranate-tree. In the present day, the almond, the chestnut, the fig, the orange, and the citron, with many other species of fruit-trees, are no longer thought to require grafting.³

In illustration of the prolific virtue of the Hellenic soil it may be mentioned, that young branchless pear-trees, transplanted from Malta to the neighbourhood of Athens, in the autumn of 1830, were the next year covered thick with fruit, which hung even upon the trunk like hanks of onions.⁴

Notwithstanding the early season of the year at which Gaia distributes her gifts in Greece, numerous arts were resorted to for anticipating the productions of summer,⁵ though of most of them the nature is unknown. It is certain, however, that they

in salice, sed ex salice tardius maturat, et fit asperior in sapore. Pallad. xii. 7. 22. Cf. Virg. Georg. ii. 71. Plutarch speaks of certain gardens on the banks of the Cephissos, in Bœotia, in which he beheld pears growing on an oak-stock: ἦσαν δὲ καὶ δρύες ἀπλούς ἀγαθὰς ἐκφέρουσαι. Sympos. ii. 6. 1.

¹ Geop. x. 41. 3. iv. 12. 5.

² Geop. iv. 4.

³ Thiersch, Etat Actuel de la Grèce, t. i. p. 298.

⁴ Idem. t. i. p. 288. Speaking of

the fertility of the islands, Della Rocca remarks: "Le terroir y est si bon, et les arbres y viennent si vite, que j'ai vu à Naxie des pépins d'orange de Portugal pousser en moins de huit ans de grands orangers, dont les fruits étoient les plus délicieux du monde, et la tige de l'arbre si haute, qu'il falloit une longue échelle pour y monter." — Traité Complet des Abeilles, t. i. p. 6.

⁵ On the artificial ripening of dates, Theoph. ii. 8. 4.

possessed the means of ripening fruits throughout the winter, either by hothouses or other contrivances equally efficacious.¹ During the festival celebrated in honour of the lover of Aphrodite, the seeds of flowers were sown in those silver pots, or baskets, called the gardens of Adonis,² and with artificial heat and constant irrigation compelled to bloom in eight days. Among the modern Hindûs corn is still forced to spring up in a few days, by a similar process, during the festival of Gouri.³ To produce rather figs,⁴ a manure, composed of dove's dung and pepper and oil, was laid about the roots of the tree. Another method was that which is still employed under the name of caprification, alluded to by Sophocles.⁵ For this purpose care was taken to rear, close at hand, several wild fig-trees, from which might be obtained the flies made use of in this process,⁶ performed by cutting off bunches of wild figs and suspending them amid the branches of the cultivated species,⁷ when a fly issuing from the former

¹ Athen. iii. 19. Plut. Phoc. § 3. Xenoph. Vectigal. i. 3.

² Ὁ νοῦν ἔχων γεωργός, ὦν σπερμάτων κήδοιτο καὶ ἔγκαρπα βούλοιτο γενέσθαι, πότερα σπονδῇ ἢ ἀν θέρους εἰς Ἀδώνιδος κήπους ἀρῶν χαίροι θερῶν καλοῦς ἐν ἡμέραισιν ὀκτὼ γιγνομένους. —Plat. Phæd. t. i. p. 99. Suid. v. Ἀδώνιδ. κῆπ. t. i. p. 84. b. Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 7. 3. Caus. Plant. i. 12. 2. Eustath. ad Odys. λ. p. 459. 4.

³ Tod, Annals of Rajast'han, vol. i. p. 570.

⁴ Cf. Athen. iii. 12. Theophrast. Hist. Plant. i. 3. 3. The fruit of the Egyptian sycamore, or Pharaoh's fig-tree, was eaten in antiquity as now. Athenæus, who was a native of the Delta, says they used to rip open the skin of the fruit with an iron

claw, and leave it thus upon the tree for three days. On the fourth it was eatable, and exhaled a very agreeable odour. Deipnosoph. ii. 36. Theophrastus adds, that a little oil was likewise poured on the fruit when opened by the iron. De Caus. Plant. i. 17. 9. ii. 8. 4. In Malta figs are still sometimes ripened by introducing a little olive oil into the eye of the fruit, or by puncturing it with a straw or feather dipped in oil. Napier, Excursions along the Shores of the Mediterranean, vol. ii. p. 144. Cf. Lord Bacon, Sylva Sylvarum, 446.

⁵ Ap. Athen. iii. 10. Cf. Theoph. Hist. Plant. i. 8. 1.

⁶ Aristot. de Gen. Anim. t. i.

⁷ Suid. v. σπινεός. t. i. p. 1038. d.

pricked the slowly ripening fruit and accelerated its maturity.¹ In growing the various kinds of fig they were careful to plant the Chelidonian, the Erinean, or wild fig, the Leukerinean, and the Phibaleian² on plains. The autumn-royals would grow anywhere. Each sort has its peculiar excellence. The following were the best: the colouroi, or truncated, the formion, the diforoi, the Megaric, and the Laconian, which would bear abundantly if well-watered.³ Rhodes was famous for its excellent figs, which were even thought worthy to be compared with those of Attica.⁴ Athenæus, however, pretends that the best figs in the world were found at Rome. There were figs with a ruddy bloom in the island of Paros, the same in kind as the Lydian fig.⁵ The Leukerinean produced the white fig.⁶

The fancy of Hellenic gardeners amused itself with effecting numerous fantastic changes in the appearance and nature of fruit. Thus citrons, lemons, &c., were made, by the application of a clay mould, to assume the form of the human face, of birds and other animals.⁷ Occasionally, too, they were introduced, when small, into the neck of a bottle provided with breathing holes, the figure of which they assumed as they projected their growth into all its dimensions. We are assured, moreover, that, by a very simple process, they could produce

¹ Cf. Tournefort, t. ii. p. 23.

² Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 767

³ Athen. iii. 7. The Laconian fig-tree was not commonly planted in Attica. Frag. Aristoph. Georg. 4. Brunck. This kind of fig requires much watering, which was found to deteriorate the flavour of other kinds. Theoph. Hist. Plant. i. 7. 1.

⁴ Athen. iii. 8.

⁵ Athen. iii. 9. In the fig-tree orchards of Asia Minor the spaces between the trees are sown, as in vineyards, with corn,

and the bushes are often filled with nightingales. — Chandler, i. 244.

⁶ Athen. iii. 10. There was, also, a species which received its name from resembling the crow in colour. Sch. Aristoph. Pac. 611. Philost. Icon. i. 31. p. 809, where figs are enumerated in his elegant description of the Xenia. Cf. Pausan. i. 37. Vitruv.

⁷ Geop. x. 9. Clus. Rar. Plant. Hist. i. 4.

peaches, almonds,¹ &c., covered, as though by magic, with written characters. The mode of operation was this,—steeping the stone of the fruit in water for several days, they then carefully divided it, and taking out the kernel inscribed upon it with a brazen pen whatever words or letters they thought proper. This done, they again closed the stone over the kernel, bound it round with papyrus, and planted it; and the peaches or almonds which afterwards grew on that tree bore every one of them, *mirabile dictu!* the legend inscribed upon the kernel. By similar arts² they created stoneless peaches, walnuts without husks, figs white one side, and black the other, and converted bitter almonds into sweet.³

The rules observed in the planting of fruit-trees were numerous.⁴ Some, they were of opinion, were best propagated by seed, others by suckers wrenched from the root of the parent stock,⁵ others, again, by branches selected from among the new wood on the topmost boughs. A rude practice, too, common enough in our own rural districts, appears to have been in much favour among them,—bending some long pendant bough to the ground, they covered a part of it with heavy clods, allowing, however, the extremity to appear above the earth. When it had taken root it was severed from the tree and transplanted to some proper situation. At other times, the points of boughs were drawn down and fixed in the ground, which even thus took root, and sent the juices backwards, after which the bough was

¹ Geop. x. 14. 60. Pallad. ii. 15. 13.

² Geop. x. 16. 53. 76.

³ Geop. x. 59. Theoph. Hist. Plant. ii. 8. 1. Caus. Plant. i. 9. 1. Plin. xvii. 43. Pallad. ii. 15. 11.

⁴ Geop. x. 3. Cf. Xenoph. Œconom. xix. 3.

⁵ Plin. xvii. 13. When a tree was barren, or had lost its strength in blooming, they split it at the root, and put a stone

into the fissure to keep it open, after which it was said to bear well. Theoph. Hist. Plant. ii. 7. 6. It was customary, moreover, to wound the trunks of almond, pear, and other trees, as the service-tree in Arcadia, in order to render them fertile. Id. ii. 7. 7. The berries of the cornel and service-trees were sweeter and ripened earlier wild than when cultivated. iii. 2. 1.

cut off and a new stock produced. Trees generated by this method, as well as those planted during the waning moon,¹ were supposed to spread and grow branchy, while those set during the waxing moon attained, though weaker, to a much greater height. It ought, perhaps, to be further added, that all seeds and plants were put into the ground while the moon was below the horizon.² Those trees which it was customary to renew by seed were the pistachio, the filbert, the almond, the chestnut, the white peach, the damascene, the pine-tree, and the edible pine, the palm, the cypress, the laurel, the ash, the maple, and the fig. The apple,³ the cherry, the rhamnus jujuba, the common nut, the dwarf laurel, the myrtle, and the medlar, were propagated by suckers; while the quicker and surer mode of raising trees from boughs was frequently adopted in the case of the almond, the pear, the mulberry, the citron,⁴ the apple, the olive, the quince,⁵ the black and white poplar, the ivy, the jujube-tree, the myrtle, the chestnut, the vine, the willow, the box, and the cytissus.

But the thrifty people of Hellas seldom devoted the orchard-ground entirely to fruit-trees. The custom seems to have been to lay out the whole in beds and borders for the cultivation of vegetables, and to plant trees, at intervals, along the edges and at the corners. These beds, moreover, were often, as with us, edged with parsley and rue; whence the proverb,—"You have not proceeded beyond the rue," for "You know nothing of the matter."⁶

¹ The ancients believed that the moon ripens fruit, promotes digestion, and causes putrefaction in wood, and animal substances. Athen. vii. 3. Cf. Plut. Sympos. iii. 10.

² Geop. x. 2. 13.

³ Cf. Vigenère, Images des Philostrates, p. 48.

⁴ "Les orangers et les citronniers parfument l'air par la

"quantité prodigieuse des fleurs dont ils sont chargés, et qui s'épanouissent aux premières chaleurs."—Della Rocca, Traité sur les Abeilles, t. i. p. 5.

⁵ Originally of Crete. Pashley, i. 27. *κοδύμαλον* in the ancient dialect of the country. Athen. iii. 2.

⁶ Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 480. Geop. xii. 1. 2.

The rustics of antiquity, who put generally great faith in spells and talismans, possessed an extraordinary charm for ensuring unfailing fertility to their gardens; they buried an ass's head deep in the middle of them, and sprinkled the ground with the juice of fenugreek and lotus.¹ Somewhat greater efficacy, however, may be attributed to their laborious methods of manuring and irrigation.²

The aspect of such a garden differed very little, except perhaps in luxuriance, from a similar plot of ground in Kent or Middlesex. Here you perceived beds of turnips, or cabbages, or onions; there, lettuces, or endive, or succory,³ in the process of blanching, or the delicate heads of asparagus, or broad-beans, or lentils, or peas, or kidney-beans, or artichokes. In the most sunny spots were ranges of boxes or baskets for forcing cucumbers.⁴ Near the brooks, where such existed, were patches of water-melons,⁵ the finest in the world; and here and there, clasping round the trunks of trees,⁶ and, suspending its huge leaves and spheres from among the branches, you might behold the gourd,⁷ as I have often seen it in the palm-groves of Nubia. It may be added, that the pumpkin, or common gourd, was eaten by the Greeks,⁸ as it is still in France and Asia Minor.⁹

Lettuces¹⁰ were blanched by being tied a-top, or

¹ Geop. xii. 6. Pallad. i. 35. 16.

² Lucian. Luc. siv. Asin. § 43.

³ Geop. ii. 37. 40.

⁴ These were covered with plates of the lapis specularis, and furnished with wheels, that they might the more easily be moved in and out from under cover. Colum. De Re Rust. xi. 3. p. 461: see also Castell, Villas of the Ancients, p. 4.

⁵ These are found growing at present even in the cemeteries.

“ Des melons d'eau qui végétent
“ çà et là sur ces tombes aban-
“ données, ressemblent, par leur

“ forme et leur pâleur, à des
“ crânes humains qu'on ne s'est
“ pas donné la peine d'enseve-
“ lir.” Chateaub. Itin. i. 27.

These fruit are considered so innocent in the Levant as to be given to the sick in fevers. Chandler, i. p. 77.

⁶ Colum. De Cult. Hortor. 234.

⁷ Sch. Aristoph. Acharn. 494.

⁸ Athen. iii. 1.

⁹ Chandler, i. 317.

¹⁰ See Strattis's Invocation to the Caterpillar. Athen. ii. 79. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vii. 2. 4. 5. 4.

being buried up to a certain point in sand.¹ They were, moreover, supposed to be rendered more rich and delicate by being watered with a mixture of wine and honey, as was the practice of the gourmand Aristoxenos, who having done so over-night, used next morning to cut them, and say they were so many green cakes sent him by mother Earth.²

The Greek gardeners appear to have delighted exceedingly in the production of monstrous vegetables. Thus, in the case of the cucumber, their principal object appears to have been to produce it without seed, or of some extraordinary shape.³ In the first case they diligently watched the appearance of the plant above ground, and then covering it over with fresh earth, and repeating the same operation three times, the cucumbers it bore were found to be seedless. The same effect was produced by steeping the seeds in sesamum-oil for three days before they were sown. They were made to grow to a great length by having vessels of water⁴ placed daily within a few inches of their points, which, exciting by attraction a sort of *nisus* in the fruit, drew them forward as far as the gardener thought necessary.⁵ They were made, likewise, to assume all sorts of forms by the use of light, fictile moulds,⁶ as in the case of the citron. Another method was, to take a large reed,⁷ split it, and clear out the pith; then introducing the young cucumber into the hollow, the

¹ Geop. xii. 13. 3. Pallad. ii. 14. 2.

² Athen. i. 12.

³ Geop. xii. 19. 1, sqq. Pallad. iv. 9. 8.

⁴ Plin. xix. 23. Pallad. iv. 9. 8.

At qui sub trichila manantem
repat ad undam,

Labentemque sequens nimio te-
nuatur amore,

Candidus, effœtæ tremebundior
ubere porcæ.

Colum. x. De Cult. Hortor. 394.

⁵ Lord Bacon, having noticed this fact, adds the following sage remark: "If you set a stake or prop at a certain distance from it (the vine), it will grow that way, which is far stranger than the other: for that water may work by a sympathy of attraction; but this of the stake seemeth to be a reasonable discourse." *Sylva Sylvarum*, 462.

⁶ Theoph. Hist. Plant. vii. 3. 5. Plin. Hist. Nat. xix. 24.

⁷ Plin. xix. 23.

sections of the reed were bound together, and the fruit projected itself through the tube until it acquired an enormous length. It is observed by Theophrastus, that if you steep the seeds of cucumbers in milk, or an infusion of honey, it will improve their flavour.¹ They were, moreover, believed to expand in size at the full of the moon, like the sea-hedgehog.² A fragrant smell was supposed to be communicated to melons³ by constantly keeping the seed in dry rose-leaves. To preserve the seed for any length of time, it was sprinkled with the juice of house-leek.

The Megaréans, in whose country melons, gourds,⁴ and cucumbers were plentiful, were accustomed to heap dust about their roots during the prevalence of the Etesian winds, and found this answer instead of irrigation.⁵ It appears from the following proverb, —“The end of cucumbers and the beginning of pom-pions,” — that the former went out of season as the latter came in.⁶

To procure a plentiful crop of asparagus, they used to bury the shavings of a wild ram's horn, and well water them.⁷ By banking up the stalks, moreover, immediately after cutting the heads, they caused new shoots to spring forth, and thus enjoyed a fresh supply throughout the year. This plant was probably obtained from Libya,⁸ where it was said to attain, in its wild state, the height of twelve, and sometimes even of thirty cubits;⁹ and on the slopes of Lebanon,

¹ Cf. Athen. iii. 5.

² Athen. iii. 2.

³ The best melons at present known in Greece are those of Cephalonia, which lose their flavour if transplanted. Hobhouse, Trav. &c., i. 227. Cf. Chandler, i. p. 14.

⁴ Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 494.

⁵ Theoph. Hist. Plant. ii. 7. 5.

⁶ Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 966.

⁷ Geop. xii. 18. 2. Plin. xix. 42. Dioscor. ii. 152. The physician, however, modestly professes his unbelief: *ἐνιοι δὲ ιστόρησαν, ὅτι ἐάν τις κριοῦ κέρατα συγκόψας κατορύξῃ, φύεται ἀσπάραγος· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀπίθανον.*

⁸ The asparagus, however, has been found, in modern times, growing wild among the ruins of Epidaurus. Chandler, ii. 249.

⁹ Athen. ii. 62.

in Syria, it has in our own day been seen from twelve to fifteen feet high.

That kind of cabbage which we call savoys was supposed to flourish best in saline spots, on which account the gardeners used to sift pounded nitre¹ over the beds where it was sown, as was the practice also in Egypt. In and about Alexandria,² however, there was said to be some peculiar quality in the earth which communicated a bitter taste to the cabbage. To prevent this they imported cabbage-seed from the island of Rhodes, which produced good plants the first year, but experienced in the second the acrid influence of the soil.³ Kumè was celebrated for its fine cabbages, which, when full-grown, were of a yellowish green colour, like the new leather sole of a sandal. Broccoli and sea-kale and cauliflower would appear to have been commonly cultivated in the gardens of the ancients. There was, likewise, among them a sort of cabbage supposed to have some connexion with the gift of prophecy;⁴ and by this, probably, it was, that certain comic personages used to swear, as Socrates by the dog, and Zeno by the caper-bush.

Radishes⁵ were rendered sweet by steeping the seeds in wine and honey, or the fresh juice of grapes: Nicander speaks of preserved turnips.⁶ Parsley-seed was put into the earth in an old rag, or a wisp of straw,⁷ surrounded with manure, and well-watered, which made the plant grow large. Rue they sowed in warm and sunny spots, without manure.⁸ It was defended from the cold of winter by being surrounded with heaps of ashes,⁹ and was sometimes planted in

¹ Geop. ii. 41.

² Athen. ix. 9. Suid. v. κρᾶμ-
ἐν. t. i. p. 1518. b. Cf. Foës. Œco-
nom. Hippoc. v. κρᾶμῆων. p. 214.
Dioscorid. ii. 146.

³ Cf. Steph. Byzant. de Urb.
p. 488. b.

⁴ Cf. Casaub. Animadv. in
Athen. ix. 9. t. x. p. 24.

⁵ Theoph. Hist. Plant. vii. 1. 3.

⁶ Athen. iv. 11.

⁷ Theoph. Hist. Plant. vii. 4.
2. 6. 4. Aristoph. Concion. 355,
et schol.

⁸ Geop. xii. 1.

⁹ Geop. xii. 25. 1.

pots, probably to be kept in apartments for the sake of its bright yellow flowers,¹ and because, when smelt, it was said to cure the head-ache. The juice of wild rue, mixed with woman's milk, sharpened the sight, in the opinion of the ancients.² The juice of sweet mint, which was a garden herb, squeezed into milk,³ was supposed to prevent coagulation, even should rennet be afterwards thrown into it.

Both the root and bean of the *nymphæa nelumbo* or red lotus,⁴ were eaten in Egypt,⁵ where its crimson flowers were woven into crowns which diffused an agreeable odour, and were considered exceedingly refreshing in the heat of summer.⁶ This plant was by the Greeks of Naucratis denominated the *melilotus*, to distinguish it from the lotus with white flowers. Theophrastus⁷ observes, that it grows in the marshes to the height of four cubits, and has a striped root and stem. This lotus was also anciently found in Syria and Cilicia, but did not there ripen. In the environs of Toronè in Chalcidice,⁸ however, it was found in perfection in a small marsh.

The lupin,⁹ and the caper-bush, probably cultivated for the beauty of its delicate white flowers,¹⁰ deteriorated in gardens,¹¹ as did likewise the mallows,¹²

¹ Cf. Sibth. Flor. Græc. tab. 368.

² Dioscor. iii. 53. Geop. xii. 25. 4.

³ Geop. xii. 24.

⁴ The rose-coloured lotus was said by the poet Pancrates to have been produced from the blood of the lion slain by the Emperor Adrian. Athen. xv. 21.

⁵ Athen. iii. 1.

⁶ Nicander in Georgicis ap. Athen. iii. 1.

Σπείρειας κύαμον Αἰγύπτιον, ὄφρα
θερείης

Ἀνθεα μὲν στεφάνους ἀνύης· τὰ
δὲ πεπτηῶτα

Ἀκμαίου καρποῖο κιβώρια δαιτυ-
μένοισιν

Ἐς χέρας ἡτέροισι, πάλαι ποθέου-
σιν, ὀρέξης.

Ῥίζας δ' ἐν θοίνῃσιν ἀφελήσας
προτίθημι.

See the note of Schweigh-
æuser, t. vii. 10.

⁷ Histor. Plant. iv. 10.

⁸ It was also found in Thes-
protia. Athen. iii. 3.

⁹ Geop. ii. 39. Apuleius re-
lates that the lupin-flower turned
round with the sun, even in clou-
dy weather, so that it served as
a sort of rural clock. Cf. Plin.
xviii. 67.

¹⁰ The caper-bush blossoms in
June. Chandler, ii. 275.

¹¹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. i. 3. 6.
Cf. Sibth. Flor. Græc. tab. 488.

¹² Athen. ii. 52.

which, together with the beet, were said to acquire in gardens the height of a small tree.¹ The stem of the mallows was sometimes used as a walking stick. Its large pale red flower which

Follows with its bending head the sun,²

constituted one of the ornaments of the garden.

Besides these the ancients usually cultivated in their grounds two species of cistus, one with pale red flowers now called the long rose, the other which about midsummer has on its leaves a sort of fatty dew, of which laudanum is made;³ together with the blue eringo,⁴ rocket, cresses, (which were planted in ridges,) bastard parsley, penny-royal, anis,⁵ water-mint, sea-onions, monk's rhubarb, purslain, a leaf of which placed under the tongue quenched thirst, garden coriander, hellebore, yellow, red, and white, bush origany,⁶ with its pink cones, flame-coloured fox-glove, brank-ursine, or bear's foot, admired for its vast pyramid of white flowers, chervil, skirwort,

¹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. i. 9. 2. Cf. vii. 3, 3. Hesiod reckons the mallow and the asphodel among edible plants. Opp. et Dies, 41. Gætting, therefore, (in loc.) wonders Pythagoras should have prohibited the mallow. Cf. Aristoph. Plut. 543. Suid. v. θύμος. t. 1. p. 1336. e. Horat. Od. i. 32. 16.

² Colum. de Cult. Hortor. 253. Cardan in his treatise De Subtilitate having undertaken to assign the cause why certain flowers bend towards the sun, his antagonist, J. C. Scaliger, remarks upon his philosophy as follows:—"De floribus, qui ad Solem convertuntur non pessime ais: tenue humidum ad Solis calorem, se habere, ut corii ad ignem. Cæterum adhuc integra restat quæstio. Rosis enim tenuissimum esse humidum testantur omnia. Non

convertuntur tamen. Platonici flores quosdam etiam Lunæ dicunt esse familiares: qui sane huic Sideri, sicut illi suo canant hymnos, sed mortalibus ignotos auribus." Exercit. 170, § 2. "The cause (of the bowing of the "heliotrope) is somewhat obscure; "but I take it to be no other, but "that the part against which the "sun heateth, waxeth more faint "and flaccid in the stalk, and "thereby less able to support the flower." Bacon, Sylva Sylvarum § 493.

³ Sibth. Flor. Græc. t. 1. tab. 258, seq.

⁴ Colum. x. de Cult. Hortor. 230, sqq. Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 235.

⁵ Theoph. Hist. Plant. i. 72. 2.

⁶ Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 826, 837.

the mournful elecampane, giant fennel, dill, mustard and wake-robin, which was sown,

Soon as the punic tree, whose numerous grains,
When thoroughly ripe, a bright red covering hides,
Itself did with its bloody blossoms clothe.¹

Other garden herbs were the cumin, the seed of which was sown with abuse and curses,² the sperageberry, the dittander, or pepperwort, turnips,³ and parsnips, (found wild in Dalmatia,)⁴ with onions, garlic, and leeks.⁵ For these last Megara was famous, as Attica was for honey, which suggested to the Athenians an occasion of compliment to themselves,⁶ it having been a saying among them, that they were as superior to the Megareans as honey is to garlic and leeks.

The cultivation of that species of leek called *ge-thyllis* was carried to great perfection at Delphi,⁷ where it was an established custom, evidently with a view to the improvement of gardening, that the person who, on the day of the *Theoxenia*,⁸ presented the largest vegetable of this kind to Leto should receive a portion from the holy table.⁹ Polemo, who relates this circumstance says, that he had seen on these occasions leeks nearly as large as turnips. The cause of this ceremony was said to be, that Leto when great with Apollo longed for a leek.

Mushrooms¹⁰ were sedulously cultivated by the ancients, among whose methods of producing them were the following. They felled a poplar-tree¹¹ and

¹ Colum. x. De Cult. Hortor. 374. English Translation. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vii. 12. 1.

² Theoph. Hist. Plant. vii. 3. 3. Cf. Dioscor. iii. 68, seq.

³ Athen. iv. 11.

⁴ Athen. ix. 8.

⁵ Theoph. Hist. Plant. vii. 4. 7, 10, 11. Aristoph. Plut. 283, et schol. Eq. 675. 494. Vesp. 680. Acharn. 166, 500. Plut. 283.

⁶ Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 246. 252.

⁷ Cf. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 675.

⁸ This passage has escaped the diligence of Meursius, Græc. Fariat. p. 150.

⁹ Athen. ix. 13.

¹⁰ Dioscor. ii. 200, seq. Plin. xix. 11.

¹¹ Athen. ii. 57. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 189, 191. Eccles. 1092. Geop. xii. 36.

laying its trunk in the earth to rot, watered it assiduously, after which mushrooms, at the proper time sprung up. Another method was to irrigate the trunk of the fig-tree after having covered it all round with dung, though the best kind in the opinion of others were such as grew at the foot of elm and pine-trees.¹ Those springing from the upper roots were reckoned of no value.

On other occasions² they chose a light sandy soil accustomed to produce reeds, then burning brush-wood, &c., when the air was in a state indicating rain, this ambiguous species of vegetable started forth from the earth with the first shower. The same effect was produced by watering the ground thus prepared, though this species was supposed to be inferior. In France, the most delicate sort of mushrooms are said to proceed from the decayed root of the *Eryngium*.

This vegetable appears to have been a favourite dish among the ancients, together with the truffle,³ eaten both cooked and raw;⁴ and the *morrille*.⁵ That particular kind, called *geranion*, is the modern crane's bill. The *Misu*, another sort of truffle,⁶ grew chiefly in the sandy plains about Cyrene, and, as well as the *Iton*,⁷ found in the lofty downs of Thrace, was said to exhale an agreeable odour resembling that of animal food. These fanciful luxuries, which were produced among the rains and thunders⁸ of autumn, continued to flourish in the earth during a whole year, but were thought to be

¹ A similar observation is made in France respecting the truffles, the best of which are supposed to grow about the roots and under the shadow of the oak. Trollope's *Summer in Western France*, ii. 352.

² *Geop.* xii. 41. 2.

³ *Sch. Aristoph. Nub.* 189.

⁴ This was more particularly the case on the Tauric Cherso-

nese.—*Theoph. Hist. Plant.* vii. 13. 8.

⁵ *Theophrast. Hist. Plant.* i. 10. 7.

⁶ *Theoph. Hist. Plant.* i. 6. 13.

⁷ *Athen.* ii. 62.

⁸ *Plut. Sympos.* iv. 2. 1. who relates that the *ῥόδον* attained to a very large size in Elis.

in season in spring. Truffle-seed was usually imported from Megara, Lycia, and Getulia; but in Mytelene the inhabitants were spared this expense, their sandy shores being annually sown from the neighbouring coast by the winds and showers. It has been remarked, that neither truffles nor wild onions were found near the Hellespont.¹

What methods the ancients employed for discovering the truffle, which grows without stem or leaf in a small cell beneath the surface of the earth, I have nowhere seen explained. At present² their existence is said to be detected in Greece, not by the truffle hound, but by the divining rod. On the dry sandy downs of the Limousin, Gascogne, Angoumois, and Perigord, as well as in several parts of Italy,³ they are collected by the swineherds; for the hogs being extremely fond of them utter grunts of joy, and begin to turn up the earth as soon as they scent their odour, upon which the herdsmen beat the animals away, and carefully preserve the delicacy for the tables of the rich. At other times they are discovered in the following manner: the herdsmen stooping down, and looking horizontally along the surface of the Landes, observe here and there, on spots bare of grass and full of fissures, clouds of very diminutive flies hatched in the truffle, and still regaling themselves with its perfume. In some parts of Savoy they have been found two pounds in weight.

¹ Vid. Theoph. Hist. Plant. i. 6. 13.

² Walp. Mem. i. 284.

³ Valmont de Bomare, Dict. D'Hist. Nat. t. ii. p. 21, seq.

CHAPTER III.

VINEYARD, VINTAGE, ETC.

ONE of the principal branches of husbandry¹ in Greece was the culture of the vine, probably introduced from Phœnicia.² Long before the historical age, however, it had spread itself through the whole country, together with several parts of Asia Minor, as may be inferred from the language of Homer,³ who frequently enumerates vineyards among the possessions of his heroes. Like most things the origin of which was unknown, the vine furnished the poets and common people with the subjects of numerous fables, some of which were reckoned of sufficient importance to be treasured up and transmitted to posterity. Thus, among the Ozolian Locrians, it was said⁴ to have sprung from a small piece of wood, brought forth in lieu of whelps by a bitch. Others supposed a spot near Olympia⁵ to have given birth to the vine, in proof of which the

¹ The importance of this branch of cultivation in some countries may be perceived from the fact, that in France it is said to afford employment to 2,200,000 families, comprising a population of 6,000,000, or nearly one-fifth of the population of the entire kingdom. *Times*, Aug. 3, 1838. The quantity of land devoted to the culture of the vine was estimated in 1823, at 4,270,000 acres, the produce of which amounted to 920,721,088 gallons, 22,516,220*l.* 15*s.* sterling. Redding, *Hist. of Modern Wines*,

chap. iv. p. 56. In the Greek Budget of 1836, the tax on cattle produced 2,100,000 drachmas, on bees 35,000, olive-grounds 64,776, and on vineyards and currant-grounds 58,269.—Parish, *Diplomatic History of the Monarchy of Greece*, p. 175.

² Or according to Athenæus, from the shores of the Red Sea. *Deipnosoph.* xv. 17.

³ *Iliad.* β. 561. γ. 184. δ. 152, 294. Cf. *Pind. Isth.* viii. 108.

⁴ *Paus.* x. 38. 1.

⁵ *Athen.* i. 61.

inhabitants affirmed a miracle was wrought annually among them during the Dionysiac festival. They took three empty brazen vessels, and having closely covered and sealed them in the presence of witnesses, again opened them after some interval of time, not stated, when they were found full of wine. According to other authorities, the environs of Plinthinè, in Egypt, had the honour of being the cradle of Dionysos, on which account the ancient Egyptians were by some accused of inebriety, though in the age of Herodotus¹ there would appear to have been no vineyards in the whole valley of the Nile. In reality,² the vine appears to be a native of all temperate climates, both in the old world and the new, and will even flourish³ and produce fine grapes in various situations within the tropics, where clusters in different stages of ripeness may be observed upon its branches at all seasons of the year.

The opinions of Grecian writers respecting the soil best suited to the cultivation of the vine, having been founded on experience, generally agree with those which prevail in modern times.⁴ They preferred for their vineyards the gentle acclivities of hills,⁵ where the soil was good, though light and porous, and abounding in springs at no great depth from the surface.⁶ A considerable degree of moisture was always supposed to be indispensable, on which account, in arid situations, large hollow seashells, and fragments of sandstone⁷ were buried in the soil, these being regarded as so many reservoirs of humidity.

¹ ii. 77.

² Cf. Redding History of Modern Wines, chap. i. p. 2. An interesting and able work.

³ Nienhoff in Churchill's Collection, ii. 264. Barbot, iii. 13. Ulloa, Memoires Philoso-

phiques, t. ii. p. 15. Voyages, t. i. p. 487, 491.

⁴ Virg. Georg. ii. 276.

⁵ "Quòd colles Bacchus amat." Manil. Astronom. ii. p. 31. 6. Scalig.

⁶ Geop. v. 1.

⁷ Geop. v. 9. 8. Virg. Georg. ii. 348.

By some the vine was even thought to delight in the rich alluvial soil of plains, such as is found in Egypt,¹ where, in later times, the banks of the Nile, from Elephantinè to the sea, seem to have presented one vast succession of vineyards.² But superior vines were produced on a few spots only, as at Koptos, and in the neighbourhood of Lake Mareotis, where showers of sand, pouring in from the desert or the sea-shore, diminished the fatness of the ground. With respect to Koptos, we possess, however, no precise information,³ but are expressly told, that the Mareotic vineyards covered a series of sandy swells, stretching eastward from the lake towards Rosetta.⁴ On the southern confines of Egypt, in the rocky and picturesque island of Elephantinè, the vine was said⁵ never to shed its leaves; but as none grow there at present, the traveller has no opportunity of deciding this question. In Greece the vineyards of the plains were generally appropriated to the production of the green grape, the purple being supposed to prefer the sides of hills, or even of mountains, provided it were not exposed to the furious winds upon their summits. Several sorts of

¹ Καλλίστη δὲ γῆ καὶ ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν ρέοντων ποταμῶν χωσθεῖσα, ὤθεν καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐπαινοῦμεν.—Florent. ap. Geop. v. 1. 4.

² Jemaleddin. Maured Allatafet, p. 7. All these vines it will be remembered were cut down by order of the Caliph Beamrillah, even in the province of the Fayoum. Some vestiges, however, of vineyards were here discovered by Pococke. "I observed," says he, "about this lake (Mœris) several roots in the ground, that seemed to me to be the remains of vines, for which the country about the lake was formerly famous. Where there is little moisture in the air, and it rains so sel-

dom, wood may remain sound a great while, though it is not known how long these vineyards have been destroyed." Vol. i. p. 65.

³ Though with regard to the nature of the wine itself we are told, that it was so light as to be given to persons in fevers,—ὁ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Θηβαΐδα, καὶ μάλιστα ὁ κατὰ τὴν Κόπτον πόλιν, οὕτως ἐστὶ λεπτός, καὶ εὐανάδοτος, καὶ ταχέως πεπτικός, ὥς τοῖς πυρεταίνουσι διδόμενος μὴ βλάπτειν. Athen. i. 60.

⁴ Athen. i. 60. Horat. Od. i. 37. 14. Strab. xvii. 1. t. iii. p. 425.

⁵ Theoph. Hist. Plant. i. 3. 5. Varro, i. 7.

white grape, also, as the Psillian, Corcyrean, and the Chlorian, delighted in elevated vineyards,¹ though it was often judged necessary to reverse these rules, and compel the hill-nurslings to descend to the plains, while those of the plains were in their turn exposed to the climate of the mountains.

Much judgment was thought to be required in selecting the site of a vineyard, though almost everything depended on the climate and general configuration of the district in which it was situated. Thus in warm countries, as in the Pentapolis of Cyrene, the vineyards sloped towards the north; in Laconia, they occupied the eastern face of Mount Taygetos, while in Attica and the islands, the hills often appear to have been encircled with vines. Upon the whole, however, those were most esteemed which looked towards the rising sun and enjoyed, without obstruction, the first rays of the morning.² And this also is the case in the Côte d'Or, where the best wines, as the Chambertin, the Vin de Beaune, and that of the Clos Vougeot, are grown on eastern declivities. In some parts of Greece, the vine was strongly affected by the prevalence of certain winds, as those of the east and the west in Thessaly, which in the forty cold days of winter were attended by frost that killed its upper extremities, and sometimes the whole trunk. At Chalcis, in Eubœa likewise, the Olympias, a western wind, parched and shrivelled, or, as the Greeks express it, burnt up the leaves, sometimes completely destroying the shrub itself.³ In such situations it was accordingly found necessary to protect it by a covering⁴ during the prevalence of cold winds. At Methana, in Argolis, when

¹ Geop. v. 1. 15. Cf. Geop. iii. 2. "The shifting of ground "is a means to better the tree "and fruit, but with this caution, "that all things do prosper best "when they are advanced to the "better." Bacon, "Sylva Sylvarum," 439.

² Geop. v. 4. 1.

³ Theoph. Caus. Plant. v. 12. 5. Cf. Hist. Plant. iv. 14. 11. And yet the neighbourhood of the sea was considered propitious to the vine. Geop. v. 5.

⁴ Theoph. Caus. Plant. v. 12. 5.

the south-east in spring blew up the Saronic gulf,¹ the inhabitants, to defend them from it, spread over their vines the invisible teguments of a spell; which was effected in the following manner: taking a milk-white cock, and cutting it in halves, two men seized each a part, and then, standing back to back, started off in opposite directions, made the tour of the vineyard, and, returning whence they had set out, buried the cock's remains in the earth. After this the Libs might blow as it listed, since it possessed no power to injure any man's property within the consecrated circle.² The prevalence of the north wind during autumn was considered auspicious, as they supposed it to hasten the ripening of the fruit.

When the husbandman had resolved on the formation of a new vineyard, he first, of course, encircled the spot with a hedge³ which was made both thick and strong for the purpose of repelling the flocks and herds, which, as well as goats, foxes, and soldiers, loved to prey upon the vine.⁴ His next care was to root up the hazel bush and the oleaster, the roots of the former being supposed to be inimical to the Dionysiac tree, while the oily bark of the latter rendered it peculiarly susceptible of taking fire, by which means vineyards would often appear to have been reduced to ashes. So at least says Virgil.⁵

Root up wild olives from thy laboured lands,
For sparkling fire from hinds' unwary hands
Is often scattered o'er their unctuous rinds,
And often spread abroad by raging winds;
For first the smouldering flame the trunk receives,
Ascending thence it crackles in the leaves;

¹ On the prevalence of these winds in winter and spring, together with the causes of the phenomenon, see Aristot. Problem. xxvi. 16.

² Paus. ii. 34. 2. Chandler, Travels, ii. 248.

³ Virg. Georg. ii. 371, sqq.

⁴ Aristoph. Eq. 1073, seq. Küst.

⁵ Georg. ii. 299, sqq. Dryden's Translation.

At length victorious to the top aspires,
 Involving all the wood in smoky fires.
 But most when driven by winds the flaming storm
 Of the long files destroys the beauteous form;
 In ashes then the unhappy vineyard lies,
 Nor will the blasted plants from ruin rise,
 Nor will the withered stock be green again,
 But the wild olive shoots, and shades th' ungrateful plain.

The next operation¹ was to trench the ground and throw it into lofty ridges, which, by the operation of the summer sun, and the rain and winds and frosts of winter, were rendered mellow and genial. Occasionally a species of manure, composed² of pounded acorns, lentils, and other vegetable substances, was dug in for the purpose of giving to the soil the warmth and fertility required by the vine.

The ground having remained in this state during a whole year, its surface was levelled, and a series of shallow furrows traced for the slips by line, rather close, on rich alluvial plains, but diverging more and more³ in proportion to the elevation of the site. Generally the vine was propagated by slips of moderate length, planted sometimes upright or à l'aiguille,⁴ as the phrase is in Languedoc, sometimes obliquely,⁵ which was generally supposed to be the better fashion. Along with the slip a handful of grape-stones was usually cast into the furrow,⁶ those of the green grape with the purple vine, and those of the purple with the green, in order to cause it the sooner to take root. With some

¹ Geop. iii. 4. Cf. Virg. Georg. ii. 259, seq. et Serv. ad loc.

² Geop. v. 24.

³ Virg. Georg. ii. 274, seq.

⁴ Skippon in Churchill, Collection of Voyages, vi. 730.

⁵ Πότερα δὲ δλον τὸ κλήμα ὀρθὸν τιθεῖς πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν βλέπον ἢ γῇ μᾶλλον ἂν ῥιζοῦσθαι αὐτὸ, ἢ καὶ πλάγιόν τι ὑπὸ τῇ ὑποβεβλημένῃ γῇ θείης ἂν, ὥστε κεῖσθαι ὥσπερ γάμμα ὑπτιον;

οὕτω νῆ Δία· πλείονες γὰρ ἂν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ κατὰ γῆς εἶεν· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ ἄνω ὀρῶ βλαστάνοντα τὰ φυτόα. Xenoph. Œconom. xix. 9, seq.

⁶ Geop. v. 9. This practice is noticed by Lord Bacon who advises gardeners to extend the experiment by laying "good store" of other kernels about the roots of trees of the same kind. Sylva Sylvarum, i. 35.

the practice was always to set two slips together, so that if one missed the other might take, and when both grew, the weaker was cut off or removed. Several stones,¹ about the size of the fist, were placed round the slip above whatever manure was used, the belief being, that they would aid in preventing the root from being scorched by the sun in the heats of summer.² Some touched the lower point of the slip with cedar oil which prevented it from decaying, and likewise by its odour repelled vermin.

To produce grapes without stones the lower end of the slip was split, and the pith carefully extracted with an ear-pick.³ It was then bound round with a papyrus leaf, thrust into a sea-onion and thus planted. Vines producing medicinal grapes were created by withdrawing the pith from the lower part of the slip, but without splitting, and introducing certain drugs into the hollow,⁴ closing up the extremity with papyrus and thus setting it in the earth. The wine, the grape, the leaves, and even the ashes of such a vine were thought to be a remedy against the bite of serpents and dogs, though no security against hydrophobia. Another mode of producing stoneless grapes was to cut short all the branches of a vine already growing, extract the pith from the ends of them, and fill up the

¹ Virg. Georg. ii. 348.

² A similar remark is made by Lord Bacon: "It is an assured experience," he says, "that an heap of flint or stone laid about the bottom of a wild tree, as an oak, elm, ash, &c., upon the first planting, doth make it prosper double as much as without it. The cause is for that it retaineth the moisture which falleth at any time upon the tree and suffereth it not to be exhaled by the sun." *Sylva Sylvarum*, 422.

³ Geop. iv. 7. Mention of the stoneless grapes of Persia occurs in many travellers, and, by Mr. Fowler, one of the most recent, are enumerated under the name of *kismis*, among the choicest fruits of that country. *Three Years in Persia*, vol. i. p. 323. It may here be remarked, that certain sorts of vines, among others the Capneion, produced sometimes white clusters, sometimes purple. Theophrast. Hist. Plant. ii. 3. 2. Cf. de Caus. Plant., v. 3. 1. κ. τ. λ.

⁴ Geop. iv. 8.

cavity once a-week with the juice of sylphion,¹ binding them carefully to props that the liquor might not escape. A method was also in use of producing green and purple grapes on the same cluster.² This was to take two slips as nearly as possible of the same size, the one of the white, the other of the black grape, and, having split them down the middle, carefully to fit the halves to their opposites, so that the buds, when divided, should exactly meet. They were then bound tight together with papyrus thread, and placed in the earth in a sea-onion,³ whose glutinous juice aided the growing together of the severed parts. Sometimes instead of slips, offshoots removed from the trunk of a large vine, with roots attached to them, were used. On other occasions the vine was grafted, like any other fruit-tree, on a variety of stocks,⁴ each modifying the quality and flavour of the grape. Thus a vine grafted on a myrtle-stock,⁵ produced fruit partaking of the character of the myrtle-berry. Grafted on a cherry-tree, its grapes underwent a different change, and ripened, like cherries, in the spring. As the clay encircling the junctures of these grafts grew dry, and somewhat cracked in hot summers, it was customary for gardeners to moisten them every evening with a sponge dipped in water.⁶

The husbandmen of antiquity were often somewhat fanciful in their practices. In order, when forming a nursery,⁷ to coax the young plants to grow, the beds to which they were transferred, were formed of a stratum of earth brought from the vineyard

¹ Geop. iv. 7.

² Geop. iv. 14.

³ It has been remarked also by ancient naturalists that a fig-tree planted in a sea-onion, grows quicker and is more free from vermin. Theoph. Hist. Plant. i. 5. 5.

⁴ Colum. v. 11.

—*Adulta vitium propagine*

Altas maritat populos,

Inutilesque falce ramos amputans

Feliciores inserit.

Horat. Epod. ii. 9, seq.

⁵ Geop. iv. 4, seq.

⁶ Geop. iv. 12.

⁷ Virg. Georg. ii. 265, seq.

whence they also were taken. Another nicety was to take care, that they occupied precisely the same position with respect to the quarters of the heavens¹ as when growing on the parent stock.²

“ Besides to plant it as it was they mark
The heaven's four quarters on the tender bark,
And to the north or south restore the side
Which at their birth did heat or cold abide,
So strong is custom ; such effects can use
In tender souls of pliant plants produce.”

When desirous of extending the plantation in an old vineyard, instead of the methods above described, they had recourse to another, which was to bend down³ the vine branch, and bury it up to the point in the earth, where it would take root, and send forth a new vine, and in this way a long series of leafy arcades⁴ may sometimes have been formed. At the foot of their vines some cultivators were in the habit of burying three goats' horns⁵ with their points downwards, and the other end appearing above the soil. These they regarded as so many receptacles for receiving and gradually conveying water to the roots, and, consequently, an active cause of the vines' fertility.

¹ Lord Bacon gives this experiment a place in his philosophy, observing, that “in all trees “when they be removed (especially fruit-trees) care ought to “be taken that the sides of the “trees be coasted (north and “south) and as they stood before.” *Sylva Sylvarum*, 471.

² *Virg. Georg. ii.* 270, seq.

³ An analogous practice is observed in the pepper gardens of Sumatra :—“When the vines “originally planted to any of the “chinkareens (or props) are observed to fail or miss ; instead “of replacing them with new “plants, they frequently conduct

“one of the shoots, or suckers, “from a neighbouring vine, to “the spot, through a trench “made in the ground, and there “suffer it to rise up anew, often “at the distance of twelve or “fourteen feet from the parent “stock.” Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, p. 111.

⁴ *Virg. Georg. ii.* 26. Serv. ad loc.

⁵ *Geop. iv.* 2. The nymphs are said to have been the nurses of Bacchos, because water supplied moisture to the vine. The explanation of Athenæus is forced and cold. *ii.* 2.

Respecting the seasons of planting,¹ opinions were divided, some preferring the close of autumn, immediately after the fall of the leaf, when the sap had forsaken the branches, and descended to the roots; others chose, for the time of this operation, the early spring, just before the sap mounted; while a third class delayed it until the buds began to swell, and the tokens of spring were evident. To these varieties of practice Virgil makes allusion,—

When winter frosts constrain the field with cold,
The fainty root can take no steady hold;
But when the golden spring reveals the year,
And the white bird returns whom serpents fear,
That season deem the best to plant thy vines;
Next that, is when autumnal warmth declines,
Ere heat is quite decayed, or cold begun,
Or Capricorn admits the winter sun.

But the above were not the only rules observed; for, besides the general march of the seasons, they took note of the phases of the moon,² whose influence over vegetation all antiquity believed to be very powerful. Some planted during the four days immediately succeeding the birth of the new moon, while others extended their labours through the first two quarters. The act of pruning³ was performed when that planet was in its wane.

There were in Greece⁴ three remarkable varieties of the vine, created by difference in the mode of cultivation.⁵ The first consisted of plants always kept short, and supported on props, as in France;

¹ Geop. v. 7, seq. Virg. Georg. ii. 323, sqq.

² Geop. v. 10.

³ Geop. iii. 1.

⁴ Cf. Theoph. Caus. Plant. iv. 3. 6.

⁵ The low vines of Asia Minor are now pruned in a very particular manner. "As we approached Vourla the little valleys were all green with corn, or

" filled with naked vine-stocks in
" orderly arrangement, about a
" foot and a half high. The people were working, many in a
" row, turning the earth, or
" encircling the trunks with tar,
" to secure the buds from grubs
" and worms. The shoots which
" bear the fruit are cut down
" again in winter." Chandler, i. 98.

the second of tree-climbers, thence called Anaden-
drades; the third sort enjoyed neither of these advan-
tages,¹ but being grown chiefly in steep and stony
places, spread their branches over the earth, as is still
the fashion in Syra² and other islands of the Archi-
pelago.

Vine-props³ appear to have commonly consisted of
short reeds, which, accordingly, were extensively cul-
tivated both in Hellas and its colonies of Northern
Africa, where the musical cicada, whose excessive
multiplication betokened a sickly year, bored through
the rind, and laid its eggs in the hollow within.⁴
From an inconvenience attending the use of this kind
of support came the rustic proverb, "The prop has
defrauded the vine;"⁵ for these reeds sometimes took
root, outgrew their clients, and monopolized the mois-
ture of the soil.

In rich and level lands,⁶ particularly where the
Aminian vine⁷ was cultivated, the props often rose
to the height of five or six feet; but in hill-vine-
yards, where the soil was lighter and less nutritive,
they were not suffered to exceed that of three feet.

¹ On the cultivation of the Co-
rinth grape, see Chandler, ii. 339.

² Abbé Della Rocca, *Traité
Complet des Abeilles*, i. 203.
Lord Bacon, who had heard of
this manner of cultivating the
vine, observes, that in this state
it was supposed to produce grapes
of superior magnitude, and ad-
vises to extend the practice to
hops, ivy, woodbine, &c. *Sylva
Sylvarum*, 623.

³ Geop. v. 22. 27. Reeds de-
light in sunny spots, and are
nourished by the rain. They
were cultivated for props, and,
if thoroughly smoked, the insects
called *ἱπτεῖς* were killed, which
would otherwise breed in them,
to the great injury of the vine.
v. 53. Plin. xviii. 78. Cf.

Schol. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 1140.
983. Varro, i. 8. In the island
of Pandataria the vineyard was
filled with traps, to protect the
grapes from the mice. Id. ib.

⁴ Aristoph. *Hist. Anim.* v. 24.
3.

⁵ Sch. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1282.
Cf. Thom. Magist. v. *χάραξ*. p.
911, seq. Blancard. cum not.
Stieber. et Oudendorp. Ammon.
v. *χάραξ*. p. 145, with the note
of Valckenaer. Liban. *Epist.* 218.
p. 104 seq. Wolf.

⁶ Geop. v. 27.

⁷ Cf. Geop. iv. 1. Dioscor. v.
6. Virg. *Georg.* ii. 97. Servius,
on the authority of Aristotle, re-
lates that the Aminian vines were
transplanted from Thessaly into
Italy. Cf. Pier. ad loc.

Where reeds were not procurable, ash-props¹ were substituted, but they were always carefully barked, to prevent cantharides, and other insects hurtful to the vine, from making nests in them. Their price would appear to have been considerable, since we find a husbandman speaking of having laid out a hundred drachma in vine-props.² To prevent their speedily decaying they were smeared a-top with pitch, and carefully, after the vintage, collected and laid up within doors.³

A vineyard, consisting wholly of Anadendrades,⁴ most common in Attica, presented, in spring and summer, a very picturesque appearance, especially when situated on the sharp declivity of a hill.⁵ The trees designed for the support of the vines,⁶ planted in straight lines, and rising behind each other, terrace above terrace, at intervals of three or four and twenty feet, were beautiful in form and varied in feature, consisting generally of the black poplar, the ash, the maple, the elm,⁷ and probably, also, the platane, which is still employed for this purpose in Crete.⁸ Though kept low in some situations, where the soil was scanty, they were, in others, allowed to run to thirty or forty, and sometimes, as in Bithynia, even to sixty feet in height.

The face of the tree along which the vine climbed was cut down sheer like a wall, against which the purple or golden clusters hung thickly suspended,

¹ Sch. Aristoph. Vesp. 1116. Acharn. 1177. In the Æolian islands the vines are supported on a frame-work of poles and trees, over which they spread themselves with extraordinary luxuriance. Spallanzani, iv. 99.

² Sch. Aristoph. Pac. 1262.

³ Virg. Georg. 408, seq.

⁴ Which were pruned in January (Geop. iii. 1), and esteemed the most useful, iv. 1. The solidest and hardest vines were thought to bear the least fruit. Theoph.

Hist. Plant. v. 4. 1. Cf. Chandler, i. 98.

⁵ Dem. in Nicostrat. § 5.

⁶ "Vitem viduas ducit ad arbores."

Hor. Carm. iv. 5. 30.

⁷ Virg. Georg. ii. 361, seq. An amictâ vitibus ulmo. Hor. Epist. i. 16. 3.

⁸ Pashley, Travels, ii. 22. The oak is now used for the same purpose in Asia Minor. Chandler, i. 114.

while the young branches crept along the boughs, or over bridges of reeds,¹ uniting tree with tree, and, when touched with the rich tints of autumn, delighting the eye by an extraordinary variety of foliage. As the lower boughs of these noble trees were carefully lopped away, a series of lofty arches was created, beneath which the breezes could freely play, abundant currents of pure air being regarded as no less essential to the perfect maturing of the grape² than constant sunshine. Sometimes the vine, in its ascent, was suffered to wind round the trunk of its supporter, which, however, by the most judicious husbandmen, was considered prejudicial, since the profusion of ligatures which it threw out in its passage upwards was thought to exhaust too much of its strength, to prevent which wooden wedges³ were here and there inserted between the vine stem and the tree. In trailing the branches, moreover, along the boughs, care was taken to keep them as much as possible on the upper side, that they might enjoy a greater amount of sunshine, and be the more exposed to be agitated by the winds.

These Anadendrades,⁴ which were supposed to produce the best and most lasting wines, probably, as at present, ripened their produce much later than the other sorts of vines on account of the trees by which

¹ Goettling ad Hesiod. Scut. Heracl. 298.

² Another means of augmenting the fertility of the vine is noticed by Lord Bacon, whose diligent study of antiquity was at least as remarkable as his superior intellect. "It is strange, which is observed by some of the ancients, that dust helpeth the fruitfulness of trees and of vines by name; insomuch as they cast dust upon them of purpose. It should seem that powdring when a shower cometh maketh a kind of soiling to the

"tree, being earth and water finely laid on. And they note that countries where the fields and waies are dusty bear the best vines." Sylva Sylvarum, 666.

³ Geop. iv. 1. 16.

⁴ These vines were likewise called ἀμαμάζυες. Aristoph. Vesp. 325, et Schol. The rustics engaged in pruning them, feeling themselves secure in their lofty station, used to pour their rough raillery and invectives on the passers-by. Horace, Satir. i. 7. 29, seq.

they were shaded. In modern Crete,¹ where, however, they are never pruned, their grapes seldom ripen before November, and sometimes they furnish the bazaar of Khania with fresh supplies till Christmas. The same is the case also in Egypt.

Occasionally, too, more especially in Cypros, the *Anadendrades* grew to an enormous size. At Populonium, in Etruria, there was a statue of Jupiter carved from a single vine; the pillars of the temple of Hera, at Metapontum, consisted of so many vines; and the whole staircase leading to the roof of the fane of Artemis, at Ephesos, was constructed with the timber of a single vine from Cypros. To render these things credible, we are informed, that, at Arambys, in Africa,² there was a vine twelve feet in circumference, and modern travellers have found them of equal dimensions in other parts of the world.³ In France, for example, the celebrated Anne, Duc de Montmorenci, had a table made with a single slab of vinewood, which, two hundred years afterwards, Brotier⁴ saw preserved at the town of Ecouen.

To return, however: the wide spaces between the trees were not in this class of vineyards allowed to remain entirely idle, having been sometimes sown⁵ with corn, or planted with beans, and gourds, and cucumbers, and lentils.⁶ The cabbage⁷ was carefully excluded,⁸ as an enemy to Dionysos. In other cases these intervals were given up to the cultivation of fruit-trees, such as the pomegranate, the apple, the quince, and the olive. The fig-tree was regarded as

¹ On the vines of this island cf. Meurs. Cret. c. 9. p. 103.

² Bochart. Geog. Sac. Pars Alt. l. i. c. 37. p. 712. Cf. Plin. Hist. Nat. v. i.

³ Tozzeli, Viaggi. t. iv. p. 208.

⁴ Not. ad Plin. xiv. i. 1.

⁵ Geop. iv. l. v. 7, seq.

⁶ Barley and other grain are still in modern times sown be-

tween the vines in Asia Minor. Chandler, i. 114. The same practice has been partially introduced into the Æolian islands. Spallanzani, iv. 100.

⁷ Suid. v. κράμβη, t. i. p. 1518. b. — παρὰ ἀμπέλω οὐ φνέται. Etym. Mag. 534. 47.

⁸ So was the laurel. Theoph. Caus. Plant. ii. 18. 4.

pernicious, though often planted in rows on the outside of the vineyard.

Respecting those vines which were cultivated without the aid of props,¹ or trees, we possess little information, except that there were such. But, as they are still found in the country, it is probable, that the mode of dressing them now prevailing nearly resembles that of antiquity. They are generally, in Syria, planted along the steep sides of mountains, where they spread and rest upon the stones, and have their fruit early ripened by the heat reflected from the earth. Frequently, also, they are planted on more level ground, in which case, as soon as the grapes acquire any size, the husbandman passes through the vineyard with an armful of forked wooden props which he skilfully introduces beneath the branches and fixes firmly so as to keep the clusters from touching the mould. The reason for adopting this method is the furious winds which at certain seasons of the year prevail in many of the Grecian islands, preventing the growth of woods and prostrating the fig and every other fruit-tree to the earth. The spaces between the lines are turned up annually by a peculiar sort of plough² drawn by oxen, in front of which a man advances, lifting up the vines and holding them aside while they pass. This destroys the weeds, and, at the same time, all the upper roots of the vine, which compels it to descend deeper into the earth, where it finds a cooler and more abundant nourishment. In this respect the practice of the Syrotes closely resembles that of their ancestors. Some husbandmen were careful, likewise, while weeding,³ to remove the larger stones, though they are often supposed, by preserving moisture, to do more good than harm.

¹ This creeping vine, cultivated *sine ridicis*, was common in Spain. Varro, i. 8.

sur les Abeilles, t. i. p. 203, sqq. Cf. Thiersch, *Etat Actuel de la Grèce*, t. i. p. 288. 296. Damm. Nov. Lex. Græc. Etym. 1122.

² Della Rocca, *Traité Complet*

³ Geop. v. 19.

It is a peculiar feature in the character of the ancients that they loved to attribute to the inferior animals the first hints of various useful practices. Thus they maintained it was the ass that, by browsing on the extremities of the vine, which only made it bear the more luxuriantly, taught them the art of pruning as well perhaps as that of feeding on the tendrils and tender branches,¹ which among them were esteemed a delicacy. To manifest their gratitude for this piece of instruction they erected at Nauplia,² a marble statue in honour of this ill-used quadruped, who has seldom, I fear, from that day to this, been so well treated. The rules observed in pruning³ resembling those still in use, it is unnecessary to repeat them, though it may be worth mentioning, that the husbandman, who coveted an abundant vintage, was careful to lop his vines⁴ with his brows shaded by an ivy crown. They esteemed it a sign of a fruitful year when the fig-tree and the white vine put forth luxuriantly in spring,⁵ after which they had only to petition the gods against too much rain, or too much drought,⁶ and those terrible hailstorms which sometimes devastate whole districts. Against this calamity, however, they had a preservative, which was to bind an amulet in the shape of a thong of seal-hide or eagle's wing, about one of the stocks,⁷ after which the whole vineyard was supposed to be secure from injury. The same

¹ Theoph. Caus. Plant. vi. 12. 9. After the vintage the goat and the camel, among the modern Asiatics, are sometimes let into the vineyard to browse upon the vine. Chandler, i. 163.

² Paus. ii. 38. 3. See, however, another interpretation of the passage in the Tale of a Tub, where the author gravely insists, that, by Ass, we are to understand a critic. Sect. iii. p. 96.

³ Cf. Plat. De Rep. t. vi. p. 53.

Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 166. See an exact representation of the pruninghook in the hand of Vertumnus. Mus. Cortonens. pl. 36. This instrument was usually put into requisition about the vespertinal rising of Arcturus. Hesiod. Opp. et Dies, 566, sqq.

⁴ Geop. v. 24.

⁵ Theoph. Caus. Plant. i. 20. 5.

⁶ Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 1117. Küst.

⁷ Geop. i. 14. Cf. Sch. Aris-

effect was produced by striking a chalezite stone with a piece of iron on the approach of a storm, and by hanging up in the vineyard a picture of a bunch of grapes at the setting of the constellation of the Lyre.¹ To repel the ascent of vermin along the trunk it was smeared with a thick coat of bitumen,² imported from Cilicia, while to preserve the branches from wasps a little olive-oil was blown over them.³

While the grapes were growing, the ancients, following in the track of nature, supposed them to need shade, since the leaves at that time put forth most abundantly, to screen the young fruit from the scorching sun; but when they began to don their gold or purple hues, observing the foliage shrivel and shrink from about them, in order to admit the warm rays to penetrate and pervade the fruit they then stripped the branches and hastened the vintage,⁴ plucking moreover the clusters as they ripened, lest they should drop off and be lost. But this partial gathering of the grapes could only take place in their gardens, or where the vine was trained about the house; for in the regular vineyards the season of the vintage was regulated by law,⁵ as in Burgundy and the south of France, in order to protect the public against the pernicious frauds which would otherwise be practised. This, in Attica, usually coincided with the heliacal rising of the constellation Arcturus.⁶

When the magistrate had declared that the season of the vintage⁷ was come, the servants of Bac-

toph. Nub. 1109. Husbandmen were accustomed to nail the heads and feet of animals to the trunks of trees to prevent their being withered by the operation of the evil eye. Sch. Ran. 943.

¹ Geop. ii. 14.

² Theoph. De Lapid. § 49. Schneid. Cf. Sir John Hill, notes,

p. 200. It was likewise obtained from Seleucia Pieria in Syria. Strab. vii. 5. t. ii. p. 106.

³ Geop. iv. 10.

⁴ Xenoph. Œcon. xix. 9.

⁵ Plat. De Legg. t. viii. 106. Geop. v. 45.

⁶ Cf. Geop. i. 9. 9.

⁷ Cf. Plut. Thes. § 22.

chos hurried forth to the vine-clad hills, converting their labours into a pretext for superabundant mirth and revelry. The troops of vintagers, composed of youths and maidens, with crowns of ivy on their heads, and accompanied by rural performers on the flute or phorminx, moved forward with shout, and dance, and song, to the sacred enclosures of Dionysos, surrounded with plaited hedgerows, and blue streamlets.¹ Here, where

“ ————— the showering grapes
In Bacchanal profusion reel to earth
Purple and gushing,”

they at once commenced their joyous task. With sharp pruning-hooks² they separated the luxuriant clusters, gold or purple, from the vine, and piling them in plaited baskets of osier or reed, bore them on their shoulders to the wine-press. In this operation, as I have said, both men and women joined; but the press was trodden by men only,³ who, half intoxicated by pleasure,⁴ and the fumes of the young wine, chanted loudly their ancient national lays in praise of Bacchos.

The wine-press, which stood under cover, sometimes consisted of two upright, and many cross beams,⁵ which descending with great weight upon the grapes squeezed forth all their juices, and these falling through a species of strainer,⁶ upon an in-

¹ Il. σ. 561, sqq.

² Scut. Heracl. 291, seq. On the modern modes of gathering the grapes, see Redding Hist. of Modern Wines, chap. ii. 26, et seq.

³ The practice is still the same in the Levant:—“The vintage
“was now begun, the black
“grapes being spread on the
“ground in beds exposed to the
“sun to dry for raisins; while
“in another part, the juice was
“expressed for wine, a man with
“feet and legs bare, treading the

“fruit in a kind of cistern, with
“a hole or vent near the bottom,
“and a vessel beneath it to re-
“ceive the liquor.” Chandler, ii. p. 2.

⁴ Anacreon, Od. 52. See a representation of the whole process in the Mus. Cortonens, pl. 9, where the vintagers are clad in skins; and Cf. Zoëga, Bassi Rilievi, tav. 26.

⁵ Antich. di Ercol. t. i. tav. 35, p. 187.

⁶ Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 527.

clined slab, were poured through a small channel formed for the purpose, into a broad open vessel communicating with the vat. Into the process of wine-making¹ it is unnecessary to enter. It will be sufficient, perhaps, to say that, when made, it was laid up in skins or large earthen jars until required for use. The wines of modern Attica and the Morea² are preserved from becoming acid by a large infusion of resin.³

The sports,⁴ which took place during the vintage, were loud and frolicsome, and distinguished sometimes for their excessive licence. They brought forth a number of wine skins, filled tight, to the village green, and there smearing them liberally with oil the staggering rustics sought, each in his turn, to leap and stand upon one of them with his naked foot.⁵ The missing, slipping, and falling, the awkward figure they sometimes made upon the ground, the jokes, and shouts, and laughter of the bystanders, mingled with the twanging of rustic instruments, and the roar of Bacchanalian songs, constituted the charm of the rural Dionysia, out of which, through many changes and gradations, arose, as we have seen, the Greek drama. In order without shame to give the freer licence to their tongues, they sometimes covered their faces with masks, formed with the bark of trees, which, there can be no doubt, led to those afterwards employed in the theatre. Sometimes a sort of farce⁶ was acted,

¹ For the making of the sweet wine (*βίβλινος οἶνος*) which resembled, perhaps, our Constantia or Malaga, and enjoyed extraordinary favour among the ancients Hesiod gives particular directions. Opp. et Dies, 611, sqq. Colum. xii. 39. Plin. Hist. Nat. xiv. 8. Pallad. xi. 19.

² Sibth. in Walp. Mem. ii. 235. Chandler, ii. 251.

³ A few drops of the oil which

ran from olives without pressing were supposed by the ancients to render the wine stronger and more lasting.—Geop. vii. 12. 20. On the boiled wine, *σίραιον*. Cf. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 878.

⁴ Virg. Georg. ii. 580, sqq. Hes. Scut. Heracl. 291, sqq. Cf. Schol. Theocrit. i. 48.

⁵ See Book ii. chapter 3.

⁶ Serv. ad Virg. Georg. ii. 389

representing the search of the Athenians for the bodies of Icaros and Erygone. The former, according to tradition, was the person who taught the inhabitants of Attica the use of wine, with which on a certain occasion he regaled a number of shepherds. These demi-savages, observing their strength and their reason fail, imagined themselves to have been poisoned, and falling, in revenge, upon the donor, put him to death. His dog Moera escaped, and leading Erygone to the spot where her father had been murdered, she immediately hung herself on the discovery of the corpse. Upon this they were all transported to the skies, and changed into so many constellations, namely Boötes,¹ the Dog, and the Virgin, by whose brilliancy we are still rejoiced nightly. Soon afterwards the maidens of Attica were seized with madness and hung themselves in great numbers, upon which the oracle being consulted, commanded the Athenians to make search for the bodies of Icaros and Erygone. Being able to discover them nowhere on earth, they suspended ropes from the branches of lofty trees, by swinging to and fro on which they appeared to be conducting their search in the air; but many of these adventurous explorers receiving severe falls, they were afterwards contented with suspending to the ropes little images after their own likeness, which they sent hither and thither in the air as their substitutes.

But all the produce of the vineyards was not appropriated to the making of wine, great quantities of grapes² being preserved for the table, or converted into raisins.³ The latter were sometimes made by being carefully gathered after the full moon, and put out to dry in the sun, about ten o'clock in the morning, when all the dew was eva-

¹ *Æl. de Anim.* vi. 25.

² *Geop.* iv. 15. *Cato*, 7. *Column.* xii. 39. *Pallad.* 11. 22.

³ In the warm climate of Asia Minor grapes were sometimes turned into raisins, on the stalk, by the sun.—*Chandler*, i. 77.

porated. For this purpose, there was in every vineyard, garden, and orchard, a place called Thei-
lopedon,¹ which would seem to have been a smooth
raised terrace, where not grapes only, but myrtle-
berries, and every other kind of fruit, were ex-
posed to the sun on fine hurdles. Here, likewise,
the berries of the Palma Christi² were prepared
for the making of castor oil. Another method was
to twist the stem of the cluster³ and allow the

¹ Eustath. ad Odyss. η. p. 276.
Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 51. κρε-
μάθρα, fruit-baskets, 219.

² Dioscor. i. 38.

³ Geop. v. 52. This we find
is still the practice in the islands
of the Archipelago, for the pur-
pose of making sweet wine. M. l'
Abbé della Rocca, who mentions
it, enumerates at the same time
the most delicious sorts of grapes
now cultivated in Greece—"On
"peut juger si les vins y sont
"exquis, et si les anciens eurent
"raison d'appeller Naxie l'île de
"Bacchus. Les raisins y sont
"monstrueux, et il arrive sou-
"vent que dans un repas, on n'en
"sert qu'un seul pour le fruit ;
"mais aussi couvre-t-il toute la
"profondeur d'un grand bassin :
"les grains en sont gros comme
"nos damas noirs. Il y a dans
"les îles des raisins de plus de
"vingt sortes : les muscats de
"Ténédos et de Samos l'empor-
"tent sur tous les autres ; ceux
"de Ténédos sont plus ambrés ;
"ceux de Samos, plus délicats.
"Les Sentorinois, pour donner
"une saveur plus exquise à leurs
"raisins, leur tordent la queue
"lorsqu'ils commencent à mûrir ;
"après quelques jours d'un soleil
"ardent, les raisins deviennent
"à demi flétris, ce qui fait un
"vin dont ceux de la Cieutat et

"de Saint-Laurent n'approchent
"pas. Les autres sortes de rai-
"sins sont l'*aïdhoni*, petit raisin
"blanc qu'on mange vers la mi-
"juillet ; le *samia* gros raisin
"blanc qu'on fait sécher ; le
"*siriqui*, ainsi nommé parce qu'il
"a le goût de la cerise ; l'*ætony-*
"*chi*, qui a la figure de l'ongle
"d'un aigle, et qui est très sa-
"voureux ; le malvoisie, le mus-
"cat violet, le corinthe, et plu-
"sieurs autres dont les noms
"me sont échappés." Traité
sur les Abeilles, t. i. p. 6, seq.
Speaking of the prodigious pro-
ductiveness of vines, Columella
mentions one which bore upwards
of two thousand clusters, De Re
Rust. iii. 3. A vine producing
a fifth of this quantity has been
thought extraordinary in modern
Egypt : "Il n'est pas croyable
"combien rapporte un seul pied
"de vigne. Il y en a un dans
"la maison Consulaire de France,
"qui a porté 436 grosses grappes
"de raisin, et qui en donne or-
"dinairement 300."—De Mail-
let, Description de l'Egypte, p.
17.* In the Grecian Archi-
pelago, however, the vine has
been known to yield still more
abundantly than in Egypt : "On
"a compté pendant trois ans
"consécutifs, cent trente-quatre
"grappes de raisin sur une

grapes to dry on the vine. They were then laid up in vessels among vine leaves, dried also in the sun, covered close with a stopper, and deposited in a cold room free from smoke.

To preserve the grapes fresh some cut off with a sharp pruninghook the clusters separately, others the branches on which they grew, after which, dipping the stem into pitch and removing the damaged grapes with a pair of scissors, they spread them in cool and shady rooms, on layers of pulse-halm, or hay, or straw.¹ The halm of lentils was usually preferred, because it is hard and dry, and repels mice. On other occasions, the branches were kept suspended, having sometimes been previously dipped in sweet wine. Grapes were likewise preserved in pitched coffers, immersed in dry saw-dust of the pitch tree, or the silver fir, or the black poplar, or even in millet flour. Others plunged the bunches in boiling sea-water, or if this were not at hand, into a preparation of wine, salt, and water, and then laid them up in barley straw. Others boiled the ashes of the fig-tree, or the vine, with which they sprinkled the bunches. Others preserved grapes by suspending them in granaries, where the grain beneath was occasionally moved, for the dust rising from the corn settled on the outside of the clusters, and protected them from the air. Another method was to boil rain-water to a third, and then, after cooling it in the open air, and pouring it into a pitched vessel, to fill it with clusters perfectly cleansed. The vessel was then covered, luted with gypsum, and laid by in a cold place. The grapes in this way remained quite fresh, and the water

“souche ; et sur un autre cep
 “de vigne planté dans un terrain
 “très-gras, on a compté jusqu’à
 “quatre cent quatre-vingts
 “grappes ; et l’intendant de
 “l’évêché de notre île m’a plus

“d’une fois assuré qu’on avoit
 “fait soixante-quinze bouteilles
 “de vin, avec le raisin d’un seul
 “cep.” Della Rocca, t. i. p. 65.

¹ Geop. iv. 15. 4.

itself acquiring a vinous taste was administered to sick persons in lieu of wine. Occasionally, also, grapes as well as apples were kept in honey.

The most extraordinary, and perhaps the most effectual contrivance,¹ however, was to dig near the vine a pit three feet deep, the bottom of which was covered with a layer of sand. A few short stakes were then fixed upright in it, and to these a number of vine branches laden with clusters were bent down and made fast. The whole was then closely roofed over so as completely to keep out the rain, and in this way the grapes would remain fresh till spring.

The labours of the vintage being concluded, the husbandman next turned his attention to olive gathering and the making of oil. This, in Greece, was a matter of great importance. The olives, therefore,² for all the better sorts of oil, were picked by hand, and not, as in Italy, suffered to fall. When as many were gathered as could conveniently be pressed during the following night and day, they were spread loosely on fine hurdles, and not heaped up lest they should heat and lose the delicacy of their flavour. They were, likewise, cleansed carefully from leaves and every particle of wood, these substances, it was supposed, impairing the quality and durability of the oil. Towards evening a little salt was sprinkled over the olives, which were then put into a clean mill,³ and so arranged that they could be bruised without crushing the stones, from the juice of which the oil contracted a bad taste. Having been sufficiently bruised, they were conveyed in small vessels to the press, where they were covered with hurdles of green willows, upon which, at first, was placed a moderate weight, — for that which flows from slight pressure is the

¹ Geop. iv. 11. Pallad. xii.
12.

² Geop. ix. 19. 2.

³ The fruit of the terebinth

was ground, like the olive, in a mill, for the making of oil. The kernels were used in feeding pigs, or for fuel. Geop. ix. 18.

sweetest and purest oil, on which account it. was drawn off in clean leaden vessels,¹ and preserved apart. Greater weight was then added, and the mass having been well writhen, the second runnings were laid up in separate vessels. The next step was to cause the precipitation of the lees, which was effected by mingling with the crude oil a little salt and nitre. It was then stirred with a piece of olive-wood, and left to settle, when the amurca or watery part sank to the bottom. The pure oil was then skimmed off with a shell, and laid up in glass vases, this substance having been preferred on account of its cold nature. In default of these, pickle-jars, glazed with gypsum, were used, which were deposited in cool cellars facing the north.²

The Greeks had a variety of other oils besides that procured from the olive,³ as walnut-oil, oil of terebinth, oil of sesamum, oil of violets, oil of almonds, oil of Palma Christi, or castor-oil, oil of saffron, oil of Cnidian laurel, oil of datura, oil of lentisk, oil of mastic, oil of myrtle, and oil of mustard. They had, likewise,⁴ the green and wild-olive oil, and the double-refined oil of Sicyon, together with imitations of the Spanish and Italian oils.

As fruit of all kinds was in great request among the Greeks, they had recourse to numerous contrivances⁵ for ensuring an unfailing supply throughout the year. At many of these our gardeners may, perhaps, smile, but they were, nevertheless, most of them ingenious, and, probably, effectual, though the fruit thus preserved may have been dear when brought to market. Into the details of all their methods it will be unnecessary to enter: the following were the

¹ Cf. Cato, *De Re Rust.* 66. This clear pure oil, sometimes rendered odoriferous by perfumes, (*Il. ψ.* 186,) was chiefly employed in lubricating the body. Thus we find the virgin in Hesiod anointing her limbs with olive-oil to defend herself from

the winter's cold. *Opp. et Dies*, 519, sqq.

² *Vitruv.* vi. 9.

³ *Geop.* ix. 18.

⁴ *Geop.* ix. 19, seq. iii. 13. *Dioscor.* i. 140.

⁵ *Geop.* x. 10—70. Cf. *Mazois, Pal. de Scaurus*, p. 182, seq.

principal and most curious. Walnuts, chestnuts, filberts, &c., were gathered and kept in the ordinary way. They understood the art of blanching almonds, which were afterwards dried in the sun. Medlars, service-berries, winter-apples, and the like, having been gathered carefully, were simply laid up in straw, whether on the loft-floor or in baskets. This, likewise, was sometimes the case with quinces, which, together with apples and pears, were, on other occasions, deposited in dry fig-leaves. For these, in the case of pears and apples, walnut-leaves were often substituted, sometimes piled under and over them in heaps, at other times wrapped and tied about the fruit, the hues and odours of which they were supposed greatly to improve.

Citrons,¹ pomegranates,² apples, quinces, and pears, were preserved in heaps of sand, grapestones, oak, poplar, deal, or cedar sawdust, sometimes sprinkled with vinegar, chopped straw, wheat, or barley, or the seeds of plants, all of which sufficed equally to exclude the external air. Another method with apples³ was to lay them up surrounded with seaweed in unbaked jars, which were then deposited in an upper room free from smoke and all bad smells. When sea-weed was not procurable they put each apple into a small separate jar closely covered up and luted. These apple-jars were often lined with a coating of wax. Figs were, in like manner, preserved green⁴ by being enclosed in so many small gourds. Citrons and pomegranates were often suffered to remain throughout the winter

¹ Palladius, iv. 10.

² We find mention in modern times of a species of pomegranate, the kernels of which are without stones, peculiar apparently to the island of Scio. "It is usual to bring them to table, in a plate, sprinkled with rose-water." Chandler, i. 58.

³ Cf. Philost. Icon. t. 31. p. 809. ii. 2. p. 812.

⁴ *Ficus virides servari possunt vel in melle ordinatæ, ne se invicem tangant, vel singulæ intra viridem cucurbitam clausæ, locis unicuique cavatis, et item tessera, quæ secatur, inclusis, suspensa ea cucurbita, ubi non sit ignis vel fumus.* Pallad. iv. 10.

on the tree, defended from wet and wind by being capped with little fictile vases bound tightly to the branches to keep them steady. Others enclosed these fruits, as well as apples, in a thick coating of gypsum, preventing their falling off by binding the stem to the branches with packthread. Nor was it unusual, even when gathered, to envelope apples, quinces, and citrons, in a covering of the same material, or potter's clay, or argillaceous earth, mixed with hair, sometimes interposing between the fruit and this crust a layer of fig-leaves, after which they were dried in the sun. When at the end, perhaps, of a whole year the above crust was broken and removed the fruit came forth perfect as when plucked from the bough. It is possible, therefore, that, in a similar manner, mangoes, mangusteens, and other frail and delicate fruit of the tropics, might be brought fresh to Europe, and that, too, in such abundance as to make them accessible to most persons. To render pears and pomegranates durable, their stems were dipped in pitch, after which they were hung up. In the case of the latter the fruit itself was sometimes thus dipped; and, at other times, immersed in hot sea-water, after which it was dried in the sun. One mode of preserving figs was to plunge them in honey so as neither to touch each other, nor the vessel in which they were contained; another, to cover a pile of them with an inverted vase of glass, or other pellucid substance, closely luted to the slab on which it stood. Cherries were gathered before sunrise, and put, with summer savory above and below, into a jar, or the hollow of a reed, which was then filled with sweet vinegar, and closely covered. Mulberries were preserved in their own juice, apples and quinces in pitched coffers, wrapped in clean locks of wool, pears by being placed in salt¹ for five days, and afterwards dried in the sun, as were also figs, which were strung by the stalks to

¹ Cato, 7. Varro. i. 59. Colum. xii. 14.

a piece of cord or willow twig, like so many hanks of onions¹ as they are sold in modern times. Elsewhere they were preserved, as dates in Egypt, by being pressed together in square masses, like bricks.² Damascenes were kept in must or sweet wine, as were also pears, adding sometimes a little salt and jujubes, with leaves, above and below. The same course was pursued with apples and quinces, which communicated to the liquor additional durability and the most exquisite fragrance. Quinces, whose sharp effluvia prevented their being placed with other fruit, were often put into closely-covered jars, and kept floating in wine to which they imparted a delicious perfume. The same custom was observed with respect to figs, which were cut off on the bearing branch a little before they were ripe, and hung, so as not to touch each other, in a square earthen jar. Upon the same principle apples were preserved in jars hermetically sealed, which, for the sake of coolness, were plunged in cisterns or deep wells.³

It may, perhaps, be worth while to mention, in passing, that, like ourselves, the ancients possessed the art of extracting perry and cider.⁴ from their pears and apples; and from pomegranates a species of wine which is said to have been of an extremely delicate flavour. The Egyptians, also, made wine from the fruit of the lotos.⁵

¹ Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 755.
Sibth. in Walp. Mem. ii. 61.

² Phot. ap. Brunckh. ad Aristoph. Pac. 574.

³ Pallad. iii. 25.

⁴ Pallad. iii. 25. Colum. xii.

45.

⁵ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 3. i.

CHAPTER IV.

STUDIES OF THE FARMER.

IN other branches of rural economy the country gentlemen of Attica exhibited no less enthusiasm or skill. Indeed, throughout Greece, there prevailed a similar taste. Every one was eager to instruct and be instructed; and so great in consequence was the demand for treatises on husbandry, theoretical and practical, that numerous writers, the names of fifty of whom are preserved by Varro,¹ made it the object of their study. Others without committing the result of their experience to writing, devoted themselves wholly to its practical improvement. They purchased waste or ill-cultivated lands, and, by investigating the nature of the soil, skilfully adapting their crops to it, manuring, irrigating, and draining, converted a comparative desert into a productive estate.² We can possibly, as Dr. Johnson insists, improve very little our knowledge of agriculture by erudite researches into the methods of the ancients; though Milton was of opinion, that even here some useful hints might be obtained. In describing, however, what the Greeks did, I am not pretending to enlighten the present age, but to enable it to enjoy its superiority by instituting a comparison with the ruder practices of antiquity.

Already in those times the men of experience and routine,³ had begun to vent their sneers against philosophers for their profound researches into the nature of soils,⁴ in which, however, they by no means

¹ De Re Rusticâ, i. 1. Cf. Colum. i. 1.

² Xenoph. Œconom. xx. 22, sqq.

³ Cf. Plat. De Legg. t. vii. p. 111. t. viii. p. 103.

⁴ Xenoph. Œconom. xvi. 1, sqq.

designed to engage the husbandman, but only to present him, in brief and intelligible maxims, with the fruit of their labours. Nevertheless the practical husbandman went to work a shorter way. He observed his neighbour's grounds,¹ saw what thrived in this soil, what in the other, what was bettered by irrigation, what in this respect might safely be left to the care of Heaven; and thus, in a brief space, acquired a rough theory wherewith to commence operations. An agriculturist, the Athenians thought, required no recondite erudition, though to his complete success the exercise of much good sense and careful observation was necessary. Every man would, doubtless, know in what seasons of the year he must plough and sow and reap, that lands exhausted by cultivation must be suffered to lie fallow, that change of crops is beneficial to the soil, and so on. But the great art consists in nicely adapting each operation to the varying march of the seasons, in converting accidents to use, in rendering the winds, the showers, the sunshine, subservient to your purposes, in mastering the signs of the weather, and guarding as far as possible against the injuries sustained from storms of rain or hail.

There was in circulation among the Greeks a small body of precepts, addressed more especially to husbandmen, designed to promote the real object of civilisation. Quaint, no doubt, and ineffably commonplace, they will now appear, but they served, nevertheless, in early and rude times, to soften the manners and regulate the conduct of the rustic Hellenes. Who first began to collect and preserve them is, of course, unknown; they are thickly sprinkled through the works of Hesiod,² and impart to them

¹ The sight of a rich and thriving neighbour operated likewise as a spur to his industry:—

Εἰς ἕτερον γὰρ τίς τε ἰδὼν ἔργοιο
χατίζων

Πλούσιον ὃς σπεύδει μὲν ἀρόμμε-
ναι ἡδὲ φυτεύειν,

Οἶκόν τ' εὖ θέσθαι· ζῆλοϊ δέ τε
γείτονα γείτων

Εἰς ἄφενον σπεύδοντ' ἀγαθὴ δ'
Ἔρις ἡδὲ βροτοῖσι.

Hesiod. Opp. et Dies, 21, sqq.

² Opp. et Dies, 298, sqq.

an air of moral dignity which relieves the monotony that would otherwise result from a mere string of agricultural maxims. The chief aim of the poet seems to be, to promote peace and good neighbourhood, to multiply among the inhabitants of the fields occasions of joining the "rough right hand,"¹ to apply the sharp spur to industry, and thus to augment the stores, and, along with them, the contentment, of his native land. Be industrious, exclaims the poet, for famine is the companion of the idle. Labour confers fertility on flocks and herds, and is the parent of opulence. He who toils is beloved by gods² and men, while the idle hand is the object of their aversion. The slothful man envies the prosperity of his neighbour; but glory is the reward of virtue. Prudence heaps up that which profligacy dissipates. Be hospitable to the stranger, for he who repels the suppliant from his door is no less guilty than the adulterer, than the despoiler of the orphan, or the wretch who blasphemes his aged parent on the brink of the grave: of such men the end is miserable, when Zeus rains down vengeance upon them in recompense for their evil actions. Be mindful that thou offer up victims to the gods with pure hands and holy thoughts,—to pour libations in their temples, adorn their altars, and render them propitious to thee in all things. When about to ascend thy couch to enjoy sweet sleep, and when the sacred light of the day-spring first appears, omit not to demand of heaven a pure heart and a cheerful mind, with the means of extending thy possessions, and protection from loss. When thou makest a feast, invite thy friends and thy neighbours, and in times of trouble they will run to thy assistance half-clad, while thy relations will tarry to buckle on their girdles. Borrow of thy neighbour, but, in repaying him, exceed rather than fall short of what

¹ Sch. Aristoph. Pac. 190.

² Καί τ' ἐργαζόμενος πολὺ φίλτερος ἀθανάτοισιν.

Ἔσσεαι ἡδὲ βροτοῖς μάλα γὰρ στυγέουσιν ἀεργούς.
Opp. et Dies. 309, seq.

is his due. Rise betimes. Every little makes a mickle. Store is no sore. Housed corn breaks no sleep. Drink largely the top and the bottom of the jar; be sparing of the middle:¹ it is niggardly to stint your friends when the wine runs low. Do unto others as they do unto you.—These seeds of morality are simple, as I have said, and far from recondite; but they produced the warriors of Marathon and Plataea, and preserved for ages the freedom and the independence of Greece.

The other branches of an Hellenic farmer's studies comprehended something like the elements of natural philosophy,—the influence of the sun and moon, the rising and setting of the stars, the motion of the winds, the generation and effects of dews, clouds, meteors, showers and tempests, the origin of springs and fountains, and the migrations and habits of birds and other animals. In addition to these things, it was necessary that he should be acquainted with certain practices, prevalent from time immemorial in his country, and, probably, deriving their origin from ages beyond the utmost reach of tradition. The source of these we usually denominate superstition, though it would, perhaps, be more proper to regard them as the offspring of that lively and plastic fancy which gave birth to poetry and art, and inclined its possessors to create a sort of minor religion, based on a praiseworthy principle, but developing itself chiefly in observances almost always minute and trifling, and sometimes ridiculous. To describe all these at length would be beside my present purpose, which only requires that I mention by the way the more remarkable of those connected especially with agriculture.

The knowledge of soil was called into play both in purchasing estates and in appropriating their several parts to different kinds of culture. According to their notions, which appear to have been founded on long experience, and in most points, I believe,

¹ Cf. Plut. Sympos. vii. 3.

agree with those which still prevail, a rich black mould, deep, friable, and porous,¹ which would resist equally the effects of rain and drought, was, for all purposes, the best. Next to this they esteemed a yellow alluvial soil, and that sweet warm ground which best suited vines, corn, and trees. The red earth, also, they highly valued, except for timber.

Their rules for detecting the character and qualities of the soil appear to have been judicious. Good land, they thought, might be known even from its appearance, since in drought it cracks not too much, and during heavy and continued showers becomes not miry, but suffers all the rain to sink into its bosom. That earth they considered inferior which in cold weather becomes baked, and is covered on the surface by a shell-like incrustation. They judged, likewise, of the virtue of the soil by the luxuriant or stunted character of its natural productions:² thus they augured favourably of those tracts of country which were covered by vast and lofty timber-trees, while such as produced only a dwarfed vegetation, consisting of meagre bushes, scattered thickets, and hungry grass, they reckoned almost worthless.

Not content with the testimony of the eye, some husbandmen were accustomed to consult both the smell and the taste; for, digging a pit of some depth, they took thence a small quantity of earth, from the odour of which they drew an opinion favourable or otherwise. But to render surety doubly sure, they then threw it into a vase, and poured on it a quantity of potable water, which they afterwards tasted, inferring from the flavour the fertility or barrenness of the soil. This was the experiment most relied

¹ Geop. ii. 9. In these rich loams, particularly on the banks of the Stymphalian and Copaic lakes, wheat has been known to yield a return of fifty-fold. Thiersch, *Etat Act. de la Grèce*. t. ii. p. 17.

Other spots, again, return thirty-fold. Sibth. in Walp. Mem. i. 60.

² The pitch-pine indicated a light and hungry soil; the cypress, a clayey soil. Philost. Icon. ii. 9. p. 775.

on; though many considered that soil sweet which produced the basket-rush, the reed, the lotos, and the bramble. On some occasions they employed another method, which was, to make a small excavation, and then, throwing back the earth into the opening whence it had been drawn, to observe whether or not it filled the whole cavity:¹ if it did so, or left a surplus, the soil was judged to be excellent; if not, they regarded it as of little value. Soils possessing saline qualities were shunned by the ancients, who carefully avoided mingling salt with their manure, though lands of this description were rightly thought to be well adapted to the cultivation of palm-trees,² which they produce in the greatest perfection,³ as in Phoenicia, Egypt, and the country round Babylon.⁴

Another art in which the condition of the husbandman required him to be well versed was that of discovering the signs of latent springs,⁵ the existence of which it was necessary to ascertain before laying the foundation of a new farm. The investigation was complicated, and carried on in a variety of ways. First, and most obvious, was the inference drawn from plants and the nature of the soil itself; for those grounds, they thought, were intersected below by veins of water which bore upon their surface certain tribes of grasses and herbs and bushes, as the couch-grass, the broad-leaved plantain, the heliotrope, the red-grass, the agnus-castus, the bramble, the horse-tail, or shave-grass, ivy, bush-calamint, soft and slender reeds,⁶ maiden-hair, the melilot, ditch-dock, cinque-

¹ Geop. ii. 11.

² The Grecian husbandman, therefore, when planting palm-trees in any other than a sandy soil, sprinkled salt on the earth immediately around. Theoph. Hist. Plant. i. 6. 2.

³ Geop. ii. 10.

⁴ Xenoph. Anab. ii. 3. 16. The

doom-palm, generally, I believe, supposed to be peculiar to Upper Egypt and the countries beyond the cataract, was anciently cultivated also in Crete. Theoph. Hist. Plant. i. 6. 3.

⁵ Geop. ii. 4, sqq.

⁶ Philost. Icon. ii. 9. p. 775.

foil, or five leaf-grass, broad-leaved bloodwort, the rush, nightshade, mil-foil, colt's-foot or foal's-foot, trefoil or pond-weed, and the black thistle. Spring-heads were always supposed to lurk beneath fat and black loam, as, likewise, in a stony soil, especially where the rocks are dark and of a ferruginous colour. But in argillaceous districts, particularly where potter's-clay abounds, or where there are many pebbles and pumice-stones,¹ they are of rare occurrence.

To the above indications they were in most cases careful to add others. Ascending ere sunrise to a higher level than the spot under examination, they

¹ Spallanzani, in his scientific Travels in the Two Sicilies, describes and explains the cause of the rarity of springs in volcanic countries. In some districts among the roots of *Ætna* the female peasants are compelled to travel ten miles, at certain seasons of the year, in search of water, a jar of which costs, consequently, almost a day's journey. vol. i. p. 299, sqq. In another part of the same work he investigates the origin of springs in the *Æolian* isles, which he illustrates by the example of *Stromboli*. iv. 128. In this island there are two fountains, one of slightly tepid water, at the foot of the mountain, the other on its slope. "Je recon-
"traï," observes Monsieur Dolomieu, "à moitié hauteur une
"source d'eau froide, douce, légère
"et très bonne à boire, qui ne
"tarit jamais et qui est l'u-
"nique ressource des habitants
"lorsque leurs citernes sont épu-
"sées et lorsque les chaleurs ont
"desséché une seconde source qui
"est au pied de la montagne
"ce qui arrive tous les étés." He then adds with reason: "Cette
"petite fontaine dans ce lieu très
"élevé au milieu des cendres

"volcaniques, est très remarqua-
"ble, elle ne peut avoir son ré-
"servoir que dans une pointe
"de montagne isolée, toute de
"sable et de pierres poreuses, ma-
"tières qui ne peuvent point
"retenir l'eau, puisqu'elles sont
"perméables à la fumée." Voyage aux Iles de Lipari, t. i. p. 120. He then endeavours to account for its existence by evaporation. In the island of *Saline*, among the same *Æolian* group, there is another never-failing spring, which, as some years no rain falls in these islands during the space of nine months, has greatly perplexed the theories of naturalists. Spallanzani conceives, however, that the phenomenon may be explained in the usual way: "It appears to me," he says, "extremely probable, that
"in the internal parts of an
"island which, like this, is the
"work of fire, there may be im-
"mense caverns that may be fill-
"ed with water by the rains;
"and that in some of these which
"are placed above the spring,
"the water may always continue
"at nearly the same height." Travels in the Two Sicilies, vol. iv. p. 136.

observed by the first rays and before the light thickened, whether they could detect the presence of any exhalations, which were held unerringly to indicate the presence of springs below. Sometimes inquisition was made during the bright and clear noon, when the subterraneous retreats of the Naiads were supposed in summer to be betrayed by cloudlets of thin silvery vapour, and in the winter season by curling threads of steam. In this way the natives of southern Africa discover the existence of hidden fountains in the desert.¹ Swarms of gnats flitting hither and thither, or whirling round and ascending in a column, were regarded as another sign.

When not entirely satisfied by any of the above means, they had recourse to the following experiment:² sinking a pit to the depth of about four feet and a half, they took a hemispherical pan or lead basin, and having anointed it with oil, and fastened with wax a long flake of wool to the bottom, placed it inverted in the pit. It was then covered with earth about a foot deep, and left undisturbed during a whole night. On its being taken forth in the morning, if the inside of the vessel were covered thickly with globules, and the wool were dripping

¹ Le Vaillant, t. viii. p. 162. Even in the southern provinces of France, the discovery of hidden springs is an art of no mean importance; and the persons who possess it are regarded as public benefactors. Thus, as I learn from my friend M. Louis Froment, of the department of the Lot, M. Paramelle, a curé having a living in that part of the country, is held in high estimation on account of the power he possesses of discovering the lurking retreats of spring-heads. He is able, from a certain distance, and without the least hesitation, to point out the source of

living water, determine the depth at which it is to be found, say, without ever falling into error, what is the quantity and what the quality of the water. Without seeking to penetrate the plan, of which he keeps the secret, his countrymen avail themselves of the advantages offered to them; and the inhabitants of one village, situated on a calcareous tableland, have discovered, by the assistance of M. Paramelle, a source in their market-place, whilst before they were compelled to seek water at a distance of five miles.

² Geop. ii. 4.

wet, it was concluded there were springs beneath, the depth of which they calculated from the scantiness or profusion of the moisture. A similar trial was made with a sponge covered with reeds.

Since most streams and rivers take their rise in lofty table-lands or mountains, which by the ancients were supposed to be richer in springs in proportion to the number of their peaks, it would seem to follow, that scarcely any country in Europe should be better supplied with water than Greece. Experience, however, shows, that this in modern times is not the fact, several rivers supposed to have been of great volume in antiquity, having now dwindled into mere brooks, and innumerable streamlets and fountains become altogether dry; on which account the credit of Greek writers is often impugned, it being supposed that the natural characteristics of the country must necessarily be invariable. But this is an error. For the existence of springs and rivulets depends less perhaps on the presence of mountains than on the prevalence of forests, as Democritos¹ long ago observed. Now, from a variety of causes, still in active operation, the ridges and hills and lower eminences of modern Greece have been almost completely denuded of trees, along with which have necessarily disappeared the well-springs, and runnels, and cascades, and rills, and mountain tarns, which anciently shed beauty and fertility over the face of Hellas, whose highlands were once so densely clad with woods² that the peasants requiring a short cut from

¹ Geop. ii. 6.

² Cf. Hesiod. Opp. et Dies, 233, where he speaks of swarms of wild bees on the slopes of the mountains.

In another passage this poet describes the ravages and devastation of a hurricane amid the fountain forests:

Μῆνα δὲ Ἀθηναίων, κακ' ἤματα,
βουδόρα πάντα,
τοῦτον ἀλεύασθαι, καὶ πηγὰδας,
αἷτ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν
πνεύσαντος Βορέας δυσηλεγέας
τελέθουσιν,
ὅστε διὰ Θρήκης ἵπποτρόφου εὐρεῖ
πόντῳ
ἐμπνεύσας ὥρινε μέμυκε δὲ γαῖα
καὶ ὕλη.

one valley to another, were compelled to clear themselves a pathway with the axe.¹ To restore to Greece, therefore, its waters, and the beauty and riches depending on them, the mountains must be again forested, and severe restraint put on the wantonness of those vagrant shepherds who constantly expose vast woods to the risk of entire destruction for the sake of procuring more delicate grass for their flocks.²

In Attica,³ both fields and gardens were chiefly irrigated by means of wells which, sometimes, in extremely long and dry summers, failed entirely, thus causing a scarcity of vegetables.⁴ The water,

πολλὰς δὲ δρυὺς ὑψικόμους ἐλάτας
τε παχείας
οὔρεος ἐν βήσσης πιλνᾷ χθονὶ
πουλυβοτείρῃ
ἐμπίπτων, καὶ πᾶσα βοᾷ τότε
νήριτος ὕλη.

Opp. et Dies, 504, sqq.

The pine and pitch trees, it is related by Theophrastus, were often uprooted by the winds in Arcadia. Hist. Plant. iii. 6. 4.

¹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 3. 7. In all countries, small and great, the progress of civilisation has been inimical to forests. Thus in the little island of Stromboli, containing about a thousand inhabitants, attempts were made towards the end of the eighteenth century to enlarge the cultivable ground by clearing away the woods. Spallanzani, Travels in the Two Sicilies. vol. iv. p. 126, seq. The difficulty of extirpating trees is illustrated by Theophrastus who relates that, in a spot near Pheneon in Arcadia, a well-wooded tract was overflowed by the water and the trees destroyed. Next year, when the flood had subsided and the mud dried, each kind of tree appeared in the situa-

tion which it had formerly occupied. The willow, the elm, the pine, and the fir, growing in its own place, doubtless from the roots of the former trees. Hist. Plant. iii. 1. 2. Again: the Nessos, in the territory of the Abderites, constantly changed its bed, and in the old channels trees sprung up so rapidly that, in three years, they were so many strips of forest. Id. iii. 1. 5.

² Thiersch, Etat Actuel de la Grèce. t. i. p. 276. It is remarked by Theophrastus, however, that pine forests, being destroyed by fire, shot up again, as happened in Lesbos, on a mountain near Pyrrha. Hist. Plant. iii. 9. 4.

³ Cf. Chandler, i. p. 261. The apparatus now used in irrigation by the Sciots exactly resembles that of the Egyptian Arabs. Id. i. 315.

⁴ Demosth. Adv. Polycl. § 16. On the supply of water to Athens we possess little positive information, though we cannot doubt that all possible advantage was taken of those pure sources which are still found in its neighbourhood. "In no country ne-

we find, was drawn up by precisely the same machinery as is still employed for the purpose. The invention of these conveniences of primary necessity having preceded the birth of tradition, has, by some writers, been attributed to Danaos, who is supposed to have emigrated from Egypt into Greece. Arriving, we are told, at Argos, he, upon the failure of spontaneous fountains, taught the inhabitants to dig wells, in consequence of which he was elected chief. But where was Danaos himself to have learned this art? He is said to have been an Egyptian, and Egypt is a country so entirely without springs, that two only exist within its limits, and of these but one was known to the ancients. Of wells they had none. Danaos could, therefore, if he was an Egyptian, have known nothing of springs or wells; and, if he had such knowledge, he must have come from some other land.¹

Where there existed neither wells nor fountains, people were compelled to depend on rain-water, collected and preserved in cisterns.² For this purpose troughs were in some farm-houses run along the eaves both of the stables, barns, and sheep-cotes, as well as of the dwelling of the family, while others used only that which ran from the last, the roof of which was kept scrupulously clean. The water was conveyed through wooden pipes³ to the cisterns, which appear to have been frequently situated in

“cessity was more likely to have
“created the hydragogic art
“than in Attica; and we have
“evidence of the attention be-
“stowed by the Athenians upon
“their canals and fountains in
“the time of Themistocles, as
“well as in that of Alexander
“the Great.” Col. Leake, on
some disputed points in the To-
pography of Athens. Trans. Lit.
Soc. iii. 189. Cf. Aristoph. Av.
Schol. 998. Plut. Themist. § 31.
Arist. Polit. vi. 8. vii. 12. We

find, from Theophrastus, that there was in his time, an aqueduct in the Lyceum with a number of plane trees growing near it. Theoph. Hist. Plant. i. 7. 1.

¹ Mitford, i. 33, seq. In Bœotia, Babylonia, Egypt, and Cyrenaica, the dew served instead of rain. Theoph. Hist. Plant. viii. 4. 6.

² Λακκοί. Machon. ap. Athen. xiii. 43.

³ Geop. ii. 7.

the front court.¹ Bad water they purified in several ways: by casting into it a little coral powder,² small linen bags of bruised barley, or a quantity of laurel leaves, or by pouring it into broad tubs and exposing it for a considerable time to the action of the sun and air. When there happened to be about the farms ponds of any magnitude, they introduced into them a number of eels or river crabs, which opened the veins of the earth and destroyed leeches.

A scarcely less important branch of the farmer's studies was that which related to the weather and the general march of the seasons.³ Above all things, it behoved him to observe diligently the rising and setting of the sun and moon. He was, likewise, carefully to note the state of the atmosphere at the disappearance of the Pleiades, since it was expected to continue the same until the winter solstice, after which a change sometimes immediately supervened,

¹ Sir W. Hamilton, *Acc. of Discov. at Pompeii*, p. 13.

² Water was cooled by being suspended in vessels over the mouths of wells; and sometimes boiled previously to render the process more complete. For, according to the *Peripatetics*, *πᾶν ὕδωρ προθερμανθὲν ψύχεται μᾶλλον, ὥσπερ τὸ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι παρασκευαζόμενον, ὅταν ἐψηθῇ μέχρι ζέσεως, περισωρεύουσι τῷ ἀγγεῖ χιόνα πολλήν, καὶ γίνεται ψυχρότερον*. *Plut. Sympos. vi. 4. 1.*

³ *Geop. i. 2—4. 11.* Theophrast. *De Signis Pluviarum et de Ventis, passim.* Our own agriculturists, also, were formerly much addicted to these studies. Thus, "The oke apples, if broken in
"sunder about the time of their
"withering, do foreshewe the se-
"quel of the yeare, as the ex-
"pert Kentish husbandmen have

"observed, by the living things
"found in them: as, if they
"find an ant, they foretell plen-
"tie of graine to insue; if a
"whole worm, like a gentill or
"maggot, then they prognosticate
"murren of beasts and cattle;
"if a spider, then (saie they)
"we shall have a pestilence or
"some such like sickness to fol-
"lowe amongst men. These
"things the learned, also, have
"observed and noted: for Ma-
"thiolus, writing upon Diosco-
"rides saith, that before they
"have an hole through them,
"they conteine in them either
"a flie, a spider, or a worme;
"if a flie, then warre insueth; if
"a creeping worme, then scarcitie
"of victuals; if a running spi-
"der, then followeth great sick-
"ness and mortalitie." Ger-
"rard, *Herball*, Third Book, c.
29. p. 1158. Cf. Lord Bacon,
Sylva Sylvarum, 561.

otherwise there was usually no alteration till the vernal equinox.¹ Another variation then took place in the character of the weather, which afterwards remained fixed till the rising of the Pleiades, undergoing successively fresh mutations at the summer solstice and the autumnal equinox. According to their observations, moreover, a rainy winter² was followed by a dry and raw spring, and the contrary; and a snowy winter by a year of abundance. But as nature by no means steadily follows this course, exhibiting many sudden and abrupt fluctuations, it was found necessary to subject her restless phenomena to a more rigid scrutiny, in order that rules might be obtained for foretelling the approach of rain, or tempests, or droughts, or a continuance of fair weather. Of these some, possibly, were founded on imperfect observation or casual coincidences, or a fanciful linking of causes and effects; while others, we cannot doubt, sprang from a practical familiarity with the subtler and more shifting elements of natural philosophy.

As nothing more obviously interests the husbandman than the seasonable arrival and departure of rains, everything connected with them, however remotely, was observed and treasured up with scrupulous accuracy. Of all the circumstances pre-signifying their approach the most certain was supposed to be the aspect of the morning; for if, before sunrise, beds of purpurescent clouds³ stretched along the verge of the horizon, rain was expected that day, or the day after the morrow. The same augury they drew, though with less confidence, from the appearance of the setting sun,⁴ especially if in winter

¹ Cf. Hesiod, *Opp. et Dies*, 486, seq.

² Cf. Lord Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarum*, 675. 812.

³ Cf. Arato. *Prognost.* 102, sqq. But, on the other hand, "purus oriens, atque non fervens, se-

"renum diem nuntiat." Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xviii. 78. Aristot. *Problem.* xxvi. 8.

⁴ The sun-sets of the Mediterranean exhibit, as most travellers will have observed, a variety of gorgeous phenomena, which, as

or spring it went down through an accumulation of clouds or with masses of dusky rack on the left. Again, if, on rising, the sun looked pale, dull red, or spotted;¹ or, if, previously, its rays were seen streaming upwards;² or, if, immediately afterwards, a long band of clouds extended beneath it, intersecting its descending beams; or if the orient wore a sombre hue; or if piles of sable vapour towered into the welkin; or if the clouds were scattered loosely over the sky like fleeces of wool;³ or came waving

betokening certain states of the atmosphere serve as so many admonitions to the husbandman. The sun before going down “assumed,” observes Dr. Chandler, “a variety of fantastic shapes. “It was surrounded, first, with “a golden glory of great extent, “and flamed upon the surface of “the sea in a long column of “fire. The lower half of the “orb soon after emerged in the “horizon, the other portion remaining very large and red, “with half of a smaller orb beneath it, and separate, but in “the same direction, the circular “rim approaching the line of its “diameter. These two, by degrees, united, and then changed “rapidly into different figures, “until the resemblance was that “of a capacious punch-bowl inverted. The rim of the bottom extending upward, and “the body lengthening below “it, became a mushroom on a “stalk with a round head. It “was next metamorphosed into “a flaming caldron, of which “the lid, rising up, swelled “nearly into an orb and vanished. The other portion put “on several uncircular forms, “and, after many twinklings and “faint glimmerings, slowly dis-

“appeared, quite red, leaving the
“clouds hanging over the dark
“rocks on the Barbary shore finely tinged with a vivid bloody
“hue.” *Travels*, i. p. 4. Appearances similar, though of inferior brilliance and variety, are sometimes witnessed in the Western Hemisphere. Describing the beauties of an evening on the Canadian shore, Sir R. H. Bonycastle observes: “First, there
“was a double sun by reflection, each disk equally distinct; afterwards, when the
“orb reached the mark x, a solid
“body of light, equal in breadth
“with the sun itself, but of great
“length from the shore, shot
“down on the sea, and remained
“like a broad fiery golden column, or bar, until the black
“high land hid the luminary
“itself.” *The Canadas in 1841*. v. i. p. 34.

¹ Ille ubi nascentem maculis
variaverit ortum
Conditus in nubem, medioque re-
fugerit orbe;
Suspecti tibi sint imbres.

Virg. Georg. i. 441, sqq.

² Plin. Hist. Nat. xviii. 78.
Aratus, Prognost. 137, sqq.

³ Cf. Plin. xviii. 82. “Si
“nubes ut vellera lanæ spargen-
“tur multæ ab oriente, aquam

up from the south in long sinuous streaks — the “mares’ tails” of our nautical vocabulary — the husbandman reckoned with certainty upon rain, floods, and tempestuous winds. Among the signs of showers peculiar to the site of Athens may be reckoned these following: if a rampart of white ground-fogs begirt at night the basis of Hymettos; or, if its summits were capped with vapour;¹ or, if troops of mists settled in the hollow of the smaller mount, called the Springless; or, if a single cloud rested on the fane of Zeus at Ægina.² The violent roaring of the sea upon the beach was the forerunner of a gale, and they were enabled to conjecture from what quarter it was to blow, by the movements of the waters, which retreated from the shore before a north wind; while, at the approach of the sirocco, they were piled up higher than usual against the cliffs. Elsewhere, in Attica, they supposed wet weather to be foretold by the summits of Eubœa rising clear, sharp, and unusually elevated through a dense floor of exhalations, which, when they mounted and gathered in blowing weather about the peaks of Caphareus,³ on the eastern shores of the island, presaged an impending storm of five days’ continuance. But here these signs concerned rather the mariner than the husbandman, since the cliffs that stretched along this coast are rugged and precipitous, and the approaches so dangerous that few vessels which are driven on it escape. Scarcely are the crews able to save themselves, unless their bark happen to be extremely light. Another portent of foul-weather was the apparition of a circle about the moon,

“in triduum præsagient;” and Virg. Georg. i. 397:

*Tenuia nec lanæ per cælum vel-
lera ferri.*

¹ If the Mounts Parnes and Brylessus appeared enveloped in clouds, the circumstance was thought to foretel a tempest.

Theoph. de Sign. Pluv. iii. 6.
Cf. Strabo. ix. 11. t. ii. p. 253.

² Pausan. ii. 30. 3. Pind.
Nem. v. 10. Dissen. — Müll.
Æginetica, § 5. p. 19.

³ Dion. Chrysost. i. 222. Cf.
Aristot. Prob. xxvi. 1.

while, by the double reflection of its orb north and south, that luminary appeared to be multiplied into three. At night, also, if the nubecula,¹ called the Manger, in the constellation of the Crab, shone less luminously, it betokened a similar state of the atmosphere. A like inference² was drawn when the moon at three days old rose dusky; or, with blunt horns; or, with its rim, or whole disk, red; or blotted with black spots; or encircled by two halos.³

The phenomena of thunder and lightning, likewise, instructed the husbandman who was studious in the language of the heavens: thus, when thunder was heard in winter or in the morning, it betokened wind; in the evening or at noon, in summer, rain; when it lightened from every part of the heavens, both. Falling stars⁴ likewise denoted wind or rain, originating in that part of the heavens where they appeared.

Among our own rustics the whole philosophy of rainbows has been compressed into a couple of distichs :

A rainbow at night
Is the shepherd's delight.
A rainbow in the morning
Is the shepherd's warning.

And upon this subject,⁵ the peasants of Hellas had little more to say; their opinion having been

¹ This is explained by Lord Bacon. "The upper regions of the air," he observes, "perceive the collection of the matter of tempest and wind before the air here below. And, therefore, the observing of the smaller stars is a sign of tempests following." *Sylva Sylvarum*, 812.

² Similar observations have been made in most countries, as we find from the signs of the weather collected by Erra Pater, and translated by Lilly, Part iv. § 3—5.

³ Cf. Seneca. *Quæst. Nat.* i. c. 2.

⁴ Aristot. *Problem.* xxvi. 24. Alexand. *Aphrodis. Problem.* i. 72. Plin. xviii. 80. Virg. *Georg.* i. 365, sqq.

Sæpe etiam stellas, vento impendente, videbis

Præcipites cælo labi, noctisque per umbram

Flammarum longos à tergo albescere tractus.

⁵ On the effects of the rainbow the ancients held a curious opinion, which Lord Bacon thus

that, in proportion to the number of rainbows, would be the fury and continuance of the showers with which they were threatened.

Other signs of mutation in the atmosphere they discovered in almost every part of nature; for example, when bubbles rose on the surface of a river they looked for a fall of rain; as also when small land-birds were seen drenching their plumage; when the crow was beheld washing his head upon the rocky beach,¹ or the raven flapping his wings, while with his voice he imitated amidst his croaking the pattering of drops of rain; when the peasant was awakened in the morning by the cry of the passing crane,² or the shrill note of the chaffinch within

expounds:—"It hath been observed by the ancients, that where a rainbow seemeth to hang over or to touch, there breathed forth a sweet smell. The cause is, for that this happeneth but in certain matters which have in themselves some sweetness, which the gentle dew of the rainbow doth draw forth, and the like to soft showers, for they also make the ground sweet, but none are so delicate as the dew of the rainbow where it falleth." *Sylva Sylvarum*. 832. His Lordship here, as in many other places, adopts the explanation of the Peripatetics while he seems to be himself assigning the cause of the phenomenon. Aristotle (*Problem*. 12. 3) enters fully into the subject, which appears to have been brought under the notice of philosophers by the shepherds who had observed that when certain thickets had been laid in ashes the passing of a rainbow over the spot caused a sweet odour to exhale from it. The same fact is noticed by Theo-

phrastus, *De Caus. Plant.* 6. 17. 7. Cf. *Plin. Hist. Nat.* 12. 52 21. 18. 2. 60. To many among the older philosophers that comparatively rare phenomenon, the lunar rainbow, was unknown. (*Arist. Meteor.* iii. 2: νύκτωρ δ' ἀπὸ σελήνης ὥς μὲν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι φωντο οὐκ ἐγίγνετο) but in the time of Aristotle it had been observed, and the cause of its pearly whiteness investigated. Cf. *Meteorol.* iii. 4. 5. *Senec. Quæst. Nat.* i. 2, sqq.

¹ Cf. *Ælian. De Nat. Anim.* vii. 7.

² Φράζεσθαι δ', εὔτ' ἂν γεράνου
φωνὴν ἐπακούσης
ὑψόθεν ἐκ νεφέων ἐνιαύσια κε-
ληγυίης·
ἦτ' ἀρότοις τε σῆμα φέρει, καὶ
χείματος ὥρην
δεικνύει ὀμβρηροῦ κραδίην δ'
ἔδακ' ἀνδρὸς αἰβούτεω.

Hesiod. Opp. et Dies, 448, sqq. To the same purpose, *Homer*:—*Il.* γ 3, sqq.

Ἦντε περ κλαγγὴ γεράνων πέ-
λει οὐρανόθι πρὸ,
αἶτ' ἐπεὶ οὖν χειμῶνα φύγον
καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὄμβρον,

his dwelling. Flights of island birds flocking to the continent,¹ preceded drought; as a number of jack-daws and ravens flying up and down, and imitating the scream of the hawk, did rain. The incessant shrieks of the screech-owl and the vehement cawing of the crow, heard during a serene night, foretold the approach of storms. The barn-door fowl and the house-dog also played the part of soothsayers, teaching their master to dread impending storms by rolling themselves in the dust. Of similar import was the flocking of geese with noise to their food, or the skimming of swallows along the surface of the water.² Again, when troops of dolphins were seen rolling near the shore, or oxen licking their fore-hoofs, or looking southwards, or, with a suspicious air, snuffing the elements,³ or going bellowing to their stalls; when wolves approached the homesteads; when flies bit sharp,⁴ or frogs croaked vociferously, or the ruddock, or land-toad, crept into the water; when the salamander lizard appeared, and the note of the green-frog was

κλαγγῇ ταίγε πέτονται ἐπ' Ὠ-
κεανοῖο ῥοάων.

And Aristophanes: — (Av. 710, sqq.)

Πρῶτα μὲν ὥρας φαίνομεν ἡ-
μεῖς ἥρος, χειμῶνος, ὀπώρας·
Σπείρειν μὲν, ὅταν γέρανος
κρώζουσ' ἐς τὴν Λιβύην μετα-
χωρῇ,
καὶ πηδάλιον τότε ναυκλήρω
φράζει κρεμάσαντι καθέν-
δειν.

¹ All birds which frequent the sea, more particularly those which fly high, are observed to seek terra firma at the approach of foul weather: — Ἀριστοτέλους ἀκούω λέγοντος, ὅτι ἄρα γέρανοι ἐκ τοῦς πελάγους εἰς τὴν γῆν πετόμενοι, χειμῶνος ἀπειλὴν ἰσχυραὶ ὑποσημαίνουνσι τῷ συνιέντι. Ælian. De Nat. Anim. vii. 7.

Before the great earthquake of 1783, which shook the whole of Calabria and destroyed the city of Messina, the mews and other aquatic birds were observed to forsake the sea and take refuge in the mountains. Spallanzani, Travels in the Two Sicilies. vol. iv. p. 158.

² Aut arguta lacus circumvolitat hirundo. Virg. Georg. i. 377. "Hirundo tam juxta aquam volitans, ut penna sæpe percutiat" Plin. xviii. 87.

³ Plin. xviii. 88. Virg. Georg. i. 375. — Ælian, De Nat. Anim. vii. 8, describes the ox before rain snuffing the earth, and adds: πρόσβατα δὲ ἐρυττοντα ταῖς ὀπλαῖς τὴν γῆν, ἔοικε σημαίνειν χειμῶνα.

⁴ Cf. Ælian De Nat. Anim. viii. 8.

heard in the trees, the rustic donned his capote, and prepared, like Anaxagoras at Olympia,¹ for a shower. The flight of the storm-birds, *kepphoi*,² was supposed to indicate a tempest from the point of the heavens towards which they flew. When in bright and windless weather clouds of cobwebs,³ floated through the air, the husbandman anticipated a drenching for his fields, as also when earthen pots and brass pans emitted sparks; when lamps spat; when the wick made mushrooms;⁴ when a halo encircled its flame,⁵ or when the flame itself was dusky. The housewife was forewarned of coming hail-storms, generally from the north, by a profusion of bright sparks appearing on the surface of her charcoal fire; when her feet swelled she knew that the wind would blow from the south.⁶ Heaps of clouds like burnished copper rising after rain in the west portended fine weather; as did likewise the tops of lofty mountains, as Athos, Ossa, and Olympos, appearing sharply defined against the sky; while an apparent augmentation in the height of promontories and the number of islands foreshowed wind.

¹ Diog. Laert. i. 3. 5. Ælian (De Nat. Anim. vii. 8) relates a curious anecdote of Hipparchos who, from some change in the goatskin cloak he wore, likewise foretold a rain storm to the great admiration of Nero.

² Probably the storm-finch observed frequently on the wing flying along the Ægean sea, particularly when it is troubled. Sibth. in Walp. Mem. i. 76.

³ Cf. Aristot. Problem. xxvii. 63, where he investigates the causes of the phenomenon; and Plin. Nat. Hist. xi. 28.

⁴ Vid. Aristoph. Vesp. 262. The Scholiast entertains a somewhat different notion: — *φασιν* *ὅτι ὑετοῦ μέλλοντος γενέσθαι οἱ περὶ τὴν θρυαλλίδα τοῦ λύχνου σπινθῆρες ἀποκηδῶσιν, οὗς μύκητας νῦν λέγει, ὡς τοῦ λύχνου ἐναντιουμένου τῷ νοτερῷ αἴερι καὶ "Αρατος" ἢ λύχνοιο μύκητες ἐγείρονται περὶ μύξαν, νύκτα κατὰ νοτίην."*

⁵ Aristot. Meteorol. iii. 4. Seneca, Quæst. Nat. i. 2.

⁶ Cf. Aristot. Problem. xxvi. 17.

CHAPTER V.

THE VARIOUS PROCESSES OF AGRICULTURE.

IF we now pass to the actual labours of the farm, and the implements by which they were usually carried on, we shall find that the Grecian husbandman was no way deficient in invention, or in that ingenuity by which men have in all countries sought to diminish their toils. For the purpose of procuring at a cheap rate whatever was wanted for the use of the establishment,¹ smiths, carpenters, and potters, were kept upon the land or in its immediate neighbourhood; by which means also the necessity was avoided of often sending the farm-servants to the neighbouring town, where it was observed they contracted bad habits, and were rendered more vicious and slothful.² Waggon, therefore, and carts, and ploughs, and harrows, were constructed on the spot, though it was sometimes necessary perhaps to obtain from a distance the timber used for these implements, which was generally cut in winter-time. They exhibited much nicety in their choice of wood. Thus they would have the poplar or mulberry-tree for the felloes of their wheels; the ash, the ilex, and the oxya, for the axle-tree, and fine close-grained maple for the yokes of their oxen,³ sometimes carved in the form of serpents which seemed to wind round the necks of the animals, and project their heads

¹ Geop. ii. 49. Illustrating the wretched condition of a tyrant dwelling in the midst of a nation that abhors him, Plato draws the picture of a man being in a remote part of the country with his wife and children, surrounded by a gang of fifty or sixty slaves, with scarcely a free neighbour at hand to whom, in case of neces-

sity, he might fly. In what terror, he says, must this man live, lest his slaves should set upon and murder him, with all his family! De Repub. t. vi. p. 439.

² Carts were sometimes roofed with skins. Scheffer, De Re Vehic. p. 246, seq. Justin, ii. 2.

³ Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 7. 6.

on either side.¹ Their harrows, it is probable, were formed like our own. The construction of the plough,² always continued to be extremely simple. In the age of Hesiod³ it consisted of four parts, the handle, the socket, the coulter, and the beam; and very little alteration seems afterwards to have been made in its form or structure, till the introduction of the wheel-plough, which did not, it is believed, occur until after the age of Virgil. The more primitive instrument, however, would seem to have consisted originally of two parts only, one serving the purpose of handle, socket, and share, the other being the beam by which it was fastened to the yoke. In the antique implement⁴ the beam was sometimes made of laurel or elm, the socket of oak, and the handle of ilex.

Before mills were invented, the instrument by which they reduced corn into flour was a large mortar, scooped out of the trunk of a tree, furnished with a pestle upwards of four feet in length, exactly resembling that still in use among the Egyptian Arabs. To give the pestle greater effect it was fixed above in a cross-bar, seven feet long, and worked by two individuals.⁵ By this rude contrivance, it is possible to produce flour as fine as that proceeding from the most perfect boulting machine. In addition to these they possessed winnowing fans, scythes, sickles, pruning-hooks, fern or braken-scythes, saws and hand-saws, used in pruning and grafting, spades, shovels, rakes, pick-axes, hoes, mattocks,—one, two, and three pronged,—dibbles, fork-dibbles, and grubbing-axes.⁶ When rustics were clearing away

¹ Scheffer, *De Re Vehic.* p. 114.

² Pollux. x. 128. Gouget, *Orig. des Lois*, i. 189, seq. Pallad. i. 43. Colum. ii. 2.

³ Opp. et Dies, 467, seq. Vid. Gœttl. ad v. 431. Etym. Mag. 173, 16. Poll. i. 252. The Syrians used a small plough, with which they turned up extremely

shallow furrows. Theoph. Hist. Plant. viii. 6. 3.

⁴ Hesiod, Opp. et Dies, 435, seq.

⁵ Idem, 423, seq.

⁶ Poll. x. 129. Pallad. i. 51. Brunckh. not. ad Aristoph. Pac. 567. Cf. Eurip. Bacch. 344. Sch. Aristoph. Pac. 558, seq. 620. Plat. de Repub. t. vi. p. 81. Ar-

underwood or cutting down brakes, they went clad in hooded skin-cloaks, leather gaiters, and long gloves.¹

On the subject of manure² the Greeks appear to have entertained very just notions, and have left behind them numerous rules for using and preparing it. In lean lands which required most the help of art, they were still careful to avoid excess in the employment of manure, spreading it frequently rather than copiously; for as, left to themselves, they would have been too cold, so, when over enriched by art, their prolific virtue was thought to be consumed by heat. In applying it to plants, they were careful to interpose a layer of earth lest their roots should be scorched. Of all kinds of manure they considered that of birds the best,³ except the aquatic species, which, when mixed, however, was not rejected. Most husbandmen set a peculiar value on the sweepings of dovecotes,⁴ which, in small quantities, were frequently scattered over the fields with the seed.

On the preparation of manure-pits they bestowed much attention.⁵ Having sunk them sufficiently deep in places abundantly supplied with water, they cast therein large quantities of weeds, with all descriptions of manure, among which they reckoned even earth itself, when completely impregnated with humidity. When they had lain long enough to be

temid. Oneirocrit. ii. 24. p. 111. Lutet.

¹ Pallad. i. 43. Colum. i. 8.

² Geop. ii. 21, seq. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vii. 5. 1. i. 7. 4. To exemplify the importance of manure, it is remarked by this writer, that manured corn ripens twenty days earlier than that which wants this advantage, viii. 7. 7.

³ Geop. ii. 21. 4. From a speech of the Earl of Radnor, in the House of Lords, May 25, 1841, we learn that our own

farmers have begun to make experiments with this kind of manure on the lands of Great Britain, and that ship-loads of bird's dung have been imported for the purpose from the Pacific. The rocks and smaller islands along the American coast are sometimes white with this substance. Keppel, Life of Lord Keppel, i. 48.

⁴ Geop. xii. 4. 3. v. 26. 3.

⁵ Xenoph. Œconom. xx. 10. Cf. Artemid. Oneirocrit. ii. 26. p. 114.

entirely decayed, they were fit for use. To the above were sometimes added wood-ashes, the refuse of leather-dressers, the cleansing of stables, and cow-houses, with stubble, brambles, and thorns reduced to ashes. In maritime situations sea-weed,¹ also, having been well washed in fresh water, was mingled in large proportion with other materials, and, where possible, a channel was made conducting the muck and puddle² of the neighbouring road into the pit, which at once accelerated the putrescence of the manure and augmented it. The Attic husbandmen had a mode of enriching their lands³ somewhat expensive, and, as far as I know, peculiar to themselves; having sown a field, they allowed the corn to spring up and the blade to reach a considerable height, upon which they again ploughed it in as a kind of sacrifice to the earth. A practice, not altogether unlike, still prevails in the kingdom of Naples, where the husbandmen sometimes bury their beans and lupins, just before flowering, for manure.⁴

In ploughing there was great variety of practice, and in small farms, where the soil was light, they had recourse to what may be denominated spade husbandry. Most lands were ploughed thrice; first, immediately after the removal of the preceding crop; secondly, at a convenient interval of time; and, thirdly,⁵ in the sowing season, when the ploughman scattered the grain in the furrows as they were laid open while a lad followed at his heels with a hoe breaking the clods and covering the seed that it might

¹ Geopon. ii. 22.

² The practice of mingling water with the manure was in great use among the ancients, particularly in the island of Rhodes, in the cultivation of the palm-trees. Theoph. Hist. Plant. i. 6. 3.

³ Xenoph. Œconom. xvii. 10. Cf. Earl of Aberdeen, Walp. Mem. i. 250. In such lands the farmers

suffered their cattle to eat down the young corn to prevent its too great luxuriance. Theoph. Hist. Plant. viii. 7. 3.

⁴ Swinburne, Letters from the Courts of Europe, i. 144.

⁵ Cf. Xenoph. Œconom. xvi. 10, seq. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vi. 5. 1.

not be devoured by the birds.¹ Occasionally, in very hot weather, and in certain situations, the farmer ploughed all night;² first, out of consideration to the oxen, whose health would have suffered from the sun; secondly, to preserve the moisture and richness of the soil; and, thirdly, by the aid of the dew, to render it more pliable. On these occasions, it was customary to employ two pair of oxen and a heavier share in order to produce the deeper furrows, and turn up the hidden fat of the earth. In choosing a ploughman they took care that he should be tall and powerful,³ that he might be able to thrust the share deeper into the ground and wield it generally with facility: and yet they would not, if possible, that he should be under forty years of age, lest, instead of attending to his duties, his eye should be glancing hither and thither, and his mind be roving after his companions.⁴ When in particular haste to complete his task, the ploughman often carried a long loaf under his arm, which, like the French peasants, he ate as he went along.⁵ In this department of rural labour it may be observed, mules were sometimes employed as well as oxen.⁶ Both were directed and kept in order by a sharp goad.⁷

As the Greeks well understood the practice of fallowing, their lands were then, as now, suffered to

¹ Hesiod. Opp. et Dies, 469, seq.

² Geop. ii. 28.

³ Geop. ii. 2.

⁴ Hesiod. Opp. et Dies, 443, sqq.

⁵ Hesiod. Opp. et Dies, 442. "Vide Athenæum, quem Lanzius laudavit, iii. p. 114., e. hæc ex Philemone referentem: βλωμίους ἄρτους ὀνομάζεσθαι λέγει τοὺς ἔχοντας ἐντομάς, οὓς Ῥωμαῖοι, καθράτους λέγουσι. ὀκτάβλωμον Spohnius intelligit de servo celeriter edente. Minime verò. Panes rustici incisuras

suas habent, ut servis omnibus æquas partes frangendo possis dirimere. v. Philostrate. Imagg. p. 95. 16. Jacobs." Gœtting in loc. p. 173.

⁶ Hesiod. Opp. et Dies, 46. Dickinson. Delphi Phœnicizantes, c. 10. p. 101, sqq.

⁷ Scheffer. de Re Vehic. 186, seq. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 449. The necks of these animals, when galled by the yoke, were cured by the leaves of black briony steeped in wine. Dioscor. iv. 185.

regain their strength by lying for a time idle;¹ and it seems to have been as much their custom as it is still of their descendants,² for the poor, at least, to roam over these fallow grounds, collecting nettles,³ mallows, the sow-thistle or jagged lettuce,⁴ dandelions, sea-purslain, stoches, hartwort, briony sprouts, gentle-rocket, usually found in the environs of towns, and about the courts of houses, gardens, and ruins, with other wild herbs for salads, or to be eaten as vegetables.

The rules observed in sowing were numerous, and, in many instances, not a little curious. As a matter of course, they were careful to adapt the grain to the soil:⁵ thus rich plains were appropriated to wheat, and in the intervals cropped with vegetables; middling grounds to barley;⁶ while poor and hungry spots were given up to lentils, vetches, lupins, and such other pulse as were cultivated on a large scale. Beans and peas, however, were supposed to thrive best in fat and level lands. The principal sowing-time⁷ was in autumn; for, as soon as the equi-

¹ Xenoph. Œconom. xvi. 13, seq. Cf. Schulz. Antiquitat. Rustic. § 7.

² Sibthorpe, in Walp. Mem. v. i. p. 144.

³ Sch. Aristoph. Eq. 420. Hesiod alludes to this diet where he celebrates the inferiority of the half to the whole:—

Νήπιοι, οὐδὲ ἴσασιν ὅσῳ πλεόν
ἡμῖσιν παντός,
Οὐδ' ὅσον ἐν μαλάχῃ τε καὶ ἀσ-
φοδέλῳ μεγ' ὄνειαρ.

Opp. et Dies, 40, seq.

Cf. on the proverb in the first verse, Diog. Laert. i. 4. 2. Aristot. Ethic. Nicom. i. 7. Ovid. Fast. v. 718.

⁴ Theoph. Hist. Plant. vi. 4. 8.

⁵ Geop. ii. 12.

⁶ A fine kind of barley was cultivated on the plain of Marathon, which obtained the name of Achillean, on account, as Dr. Chandler conjectures, of its tallness. ii. 184. Attica, in fact, produced the best barley known to the ancients. Theoph. Hist. Plant. viii. 8. 2.

⁷ Geop. ii. 14. — Ἐπειδὴν ὁ μετοπωρινὸς χρόνος ἔλθῃ, πάντες που οἱ ἄνθρωποι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀποβλέπουσιν, ὅποτε βρέξας τὴν γῆν ἀφήσει αὐτοὺς σπεῖρειν. Xenoph. Œconom. xvii. 2. There was a second sowing-time in the spring, and a third in summer for millet and sesame. Theoph. Hist. Plant. viii. 1. 2, sqq. In Phocis, and other cold parts of Greece, they sowed early, that the corn might be strong before

noctial rains had moistened the earth, the sower immediately went forth to sow, committing to the ground the hopes of the future year. The best time for scattering wheat they placed somewhere in November, about the setting of the constellation called the Crown. They were careful in this operation to avoid the time when the south wind¹ blew, and, generally, all cold and raw weather, as it rendered the earth ungenial, and little apt to fructify that which was entrusted to it. Great skill was supposed to be required in scattering the seed: in the first place, that it should be equally distributed; and, secondly, that none should fall between the horns of the oxen, superstition having taught them the belief that such grain, which they denominated *Kerasbolos*,² if it sprang up at all, would produce corn which could neither be baked nor eaten. A favourite sowing sieve was made of wolf's-hide, pierced with thirty holes as large as the tips of the fingers. In later ages much virtue was supposed to reside in the barbarous term *Phriel*,³ which they accordingly wrote on the plough. The choice of grains for sowing necessarily afforded much exercise⁴ to their ingenuity: seed wheat, they thought, should be of a rich gold colour, full, smooth, and solid; barley, white and heavy; both not exceeding one year old, for they quickly deteriorated, and, after the third year, would not they supposed grow. This, however, was an error, since barley has been known to preserve its vitality upwards of two thousand years.

It was customary often to renew seed by sowing the produce of mountains on plains; of dry places in moist, and the contrary.⁵ To try the compara-

the winter came on. § 7. In ancient Italy corn was chiefly committed to the ground in September and October; though in mild seasons the work of sowing went on throughout the winter. Schulze, *Antiquitates Rusticæ*, § 4. p. 6.

¹ Cf. Aristot. Problem, xxvi. 3.

² Plat. de Legg. t. viii. p. 119. Tim. Lex. Plat. p. 85. Ruhnck. Plut. Sympos. vii. 2.

³ Geop. ii. 19.

⁴ Geop. ii. 16.

⁵ Geop. ii. 17.

tive value of different qualities of grain¹ they took a sample of each, and sowed the whole in separate patches of the same bed, a little before the rising of the Dog-star. If the produce of any of these samples withered, through the influence they supposed of Sirius, the wheat which it represented was rejected. As corn when committed to the earth is exposed to numerous enemies, they had recourse to a variety of contrivances for its preservation: to protect it from birds, mice, and ants,² they steeped it in the juice of houseleeks, or mixed it with hellebore and cypress leaves, and scattered it out of a circle, or sprinkled it with water into which river crabs had been thrown for eight days, or with powdered hartshorn or ivory. Not satisfied with these precautions, they had likewise recourse to scarecrows,³ fixing up long reeds here and there in the fields, with dead birds suspended to them by the feet. This long list of contrivances they closed by a spell: taking a live toad, they carried it round the field by night, after which they shut it up carefully in a jar, which they buried in the middle of the grounds.

When the corn began to spring up it was diligently weeded⁴ a first and a second time. They would not trust entirely, however, to the industry of their hands, but called in to their aid certain characteristic enchantments, some two or three of which may be worth describing. First, to subdue the growth of choke-weed they planted sprigs of rose-laurel, at the corner and in the middle of their fields, or set up a number of potsherds, upon which had been drawn with chalk the figure of Heracles

¹ Geop. ii. 15.

² Geop. ii. 18. "The bunting, "the yellow-hammer, and a species of *Emberiza*, nearly related "to it, frequent the low bushes "in the neighbourhood of corn-fields." Sibth. in Walp. Mem. i. 77.

³ Among the husbandmen of Asia Minor people are employed to drive away the birds as the corn ripens. Chandler, i. 100.

⁴ Geop. ii. 24. Cf. Xen. *Œconom.* xv. 1. 13, seq.

strangling the lion. But the most effectual of all spells, was for a young woman, naked and with dishevelled hair, to take a live cock in her hands and bear him round the fields, upon which, not only would the choke-weed and the restharrow vanish,¹ but all the produce of the land would turn out of a superior quality.²

As the ancients well understood the value of hay, they took much pains in the formation and management of meadows. In the first place, all stones, stumps, bushes, and brambles,³ were diligently removed, together with whatever else might interrupt the free play of the scythe in mowing. They avoided, moreover, letting into them their droves of hogs, which were found to turn up the soil and destroy the roots of the young grass. In moist lands, too, even the larger cattle were excluded, as the holes made by their hoofs⁴ in sinking broke up the fine level of the turf. Old hayfields, in districts where much rain fell, grew in time to be clothed with a coating of moss,⁵ which some farmers sought to remove by manuring the ground with ashes; but the more scientific agriculturists ploughed them up, and took precisely the same steps as in the formation of a new meadow, that is, they sowed the ground with beans, turnips, or rape-seed, which, in the second year, were succeeded by wheat; on the third it was thoroughly cleared out, and sown with hay-seed, mingled with vetches, after which the whole field was finely levelled by the harrow.

The rules observed by them in the regulation of their hay harvest⁶ were, first, to mow before the grass or clover was withered, when it became less rich and nutritive; second, to beware in making the

¹ Cf. Schulz. *Antiquit. Rustic.* § vii.

² *Geop. ii. 42.* Theoph. *Hist. Plant. vi. 5. 3.*

³ *Colum. ii. 18.* Varro, *i. 49.*

⁴ Cf. Hesiod. *Opp. et Dies*, 489.

⁵ Lord Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarum*, 539.

⁶ Much hay was laid up in Eubœa for consumption during the winter months.—Dion Chrysost. *i. 225.*

ricks, that it was neither too dry nor too damp, since in the former case it was little better than straw, and in the latter was liable to spontaneous combustion.¹ It may be observed further, that clover² was usually sown in March or April, and though commonly mown six, or at least five, times in the twelve months, did not require to be renewed in less than ten years.³

Harvest usually commenced in Greece about the rising of the Pleiades,⁴ when the corn had already acquired a deep gold colour, though not yet so ripe as to fall from the ear, which in barley happens earlier than in wheat, the grain having no *hose*.⁵ Among the Romans operations were preceded by the sacrifice⁶ of a young sow to Ceres, with libations of wine, the burning of frankincense, and the offering of a cake to Jove, Juno, and Janus. They, at the same time, addressed their prayers to the last-mentioned gods, nearly in the following words:—
 “O father Janus or Jupiter, in making an oblation of this cake I offer up my prayers that thou
 “wouldst be propitious to me and my children, my
 “house, and my family!”⁷

At Athens, as soon as the season for reaping⁸ had

¹ Colum. ii. 19.

² Καὶ τὴν βοτάνην δὲ, τὴν μάλιστα τρέφουσιν τοὺς ἵππους ἀπὸ τοῦ πλεονάζειν ἐνταῦθα ἰδίως Μηδικὴν καλοῦμεν. Strab. xi. 13. t. ii. p. 453.

³ Pallad. v. 1. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 604.

⁴ Geop. ii. 25. Hesiod. Opp. et Dies, 383. xiv. cal. June. Cf. Plin. Hist. Nat. xviii. 69.

⁵ Pallad. vii. 2.

⁶ The custom with which the modern Greeks hail the approach of summer is picturesque and beautiful: “On the first of May
 “at Athens, there is not a door
 “that is not crowned with a garland, and the youths of both

“sexes, with the elasticity of
 “spirits so characteristic of a
 “Greek, forget or brave their
 “Turkish masters, while with
 “guitars in their hands, and
 “crowns upon their heads,

“They lead the dance in honour of the May.”

Douglas, p. 64.

⁷ Cato, 134.

⁸ The harvest began earlier in Salamis than in the neighbourhood of Athens. Theoph. Hist. Plant. viii. 2. 11. Chandler, vol. ii. p. 230. In Egypt barley was reaped on the sixth month after sowing, and wheat on the seventh. Theoph. Hist. Plant. viii. 2. 7.

come round, those hardy citizens who lived by letting out their strength for hire,¹ ranged themselves in bands in the agora, whither the farmers of the neighbourhood resorted in search of harvesters. They then, in consequence of the hot weather, proceeded half-naked² to the fields, where, taking the sickle in hand, and separating into two divisions, they stationed themselves at either end of the piece of corn to be reaped, and began their work with vigour and emulation, each party striving to reach the centre of the field before their rivals.³ On other occasions they took advantage of the wind,⁴ moving along with it, whereby they were supposed to benefit considerably, avoiding the beard or chaff which it might have blown into their eyes, and having by its action the tall straw bent to their hand.

In Greece, barley required seven or eight months to ripen; wheat still more. This latter grain came to maturity more speedily in Sicily, and returned thirty-fold. § 8. In a district in the island of Rhodes they reaped barley twice in the year. § 9. Harvest was thirty days earlier in Attica than in the Hellespont. 8. 10. There was a kind of wheat in Eubœa which ripened very early; and there was introduced from Sicily into Achaia another kind which was fit for the sickle in two months. Id. viii. 4. 4. Wheat returned in Babylonia, even to negligent husbandmen, fifty-fold, and to such as properly cultivated their lands, a hundred-fold. Id. viii. 7. 4.

¹ Dem. De Cor. § 16.

² Or perhaps wholly so when they happened to be inhabitants of the warm lowlands on the seashore and valleys. At least this is the opinion of Hesiod who counsels the husbandman, *γυμνὸν*

σπείρειν, γυμνὸν δὲ βοωτεῖν, γυμνὸν δ' ἀμάαν, εἴ χ' ὦρια πάντ' ἐθέλησθα ἔργα κομίζεσθαι Δημήτερος. Opp. et Dies, 391, sqq.

Aristophanes alludes to the same custom. *Lysist.* 1175.

Ἡδὴ γεωργεῖν γυμνὸς ἀποδύς βούλομαι. And Virgil. "Nudus ara, sere nudus," *Georg.* i. 299, upon which Servius remarks: "Non dicit nudum esse debere, quasi aliter non oporteat aut possit; sed sub tanta serenitate dicit hæc agenda, ut et amictus possit contemni." Be this, however, as it may, the precept of Hesiod and Virgil is literally observed in Egypt, where the rustics often perform their labour stark naked.

³ *Il.* λ. 67, seq.

⁴ *Πότερα οὖν τέμνεις, ἔφη, σταδὸς ἔνθα πνεῖ ἀνεμὸς, ἢ ἀντίος; οὐκ ἀντίος, ἔφην, ἔγωγε· χαλεπὸν γὰρ, οἶμαι, καὶ τοῖς ὄμμασι καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ γίνεται, ἀντίον ἀχύρων καὶ ἀθέρων θερίζειν.* Xenoph. *Œconom.* xviii. 1.

In many parts of Greece, though the practice was not general, the women joined in these labours. The reapers, as they advanced, laid the corn behind them in long lines upon the stubble, and were followed by two other classes of harvesters, one of whom bound it into sheaves which the others bore back and piled up into mows. Of the whole of these operations, together with the plenteous feast which interrupted or terminated their toils, Homer has left us a graphic picture in the *Iliad*:¹

There in a field 'mid lofty corn, the lusty reapers stand,
 Plying their task right joyously, with sickle each in hand.
 Some strew in lines, as on they press, the handfuls thick behind,
 While at their heels the heavy sheaves their merry comrades bind.
 These to the mows a troop of boys next bear in haste away,
 Piling upon the golden glebe the triumphs of the day.
 Among them wrapped in silent joy, their sceptered king appears,
 Beholding, in the swelling heaps, the stores of future years.
 A mighty ox beneath an oak the busy heralds slay,
 With grateful sacrifice to close the labours of the day.
 While near, the husbandman's repast the rustic maids prepare,
 Sprinkling with flour the broiling cates whose savour fills the air.

In these remote and unsettled times it behoved the rustic to keep a sharp look-out on the sheaves left behind him on the field, as there were usually prowlers,² lurking amid the neighbouring woods and thickets, ready to pounce upon and carry off whatever they saw unguarded.

The implement used in cutting wheat seems always to have been the sickle, while in the case of barley and other inferior grains, the scythe was commonly employed. In some parts of ancient Gaul, where no value was set upon the straw, corn was reaped by a sort of cart,³ armed in front with scythes, having the edges inclined upwards, which, as it was driven along by an ox, harnessed behind, cut off the ears of corn, which were received into the tum-

¹ *σ.* 550, seq.

² *Ἡμερόκοιτοὶ ἀνδρες*, an elegant euphonism for "thieves."

Hesiod. *Opp. et Dies*, 605. Cf. the note of Gœttling on verse 375.

³ *Pallad.* vii. 2.

bril. In this manner the produce of a whole field might be got in easily in a day. Reaping among the ancient inhabitants of Italy¹ was performed in three ways: first they reaped close, as in Umbria, and laid the handfuls carefully on the ground, after which the ears were separated from the straw, and borne in baskets to the threshing-floor. Elsewhere, as in Picenum, they made use of a ripple or serrated hook, having a long handle with which the ears only were cut off, leaving the straw standing to be afterwards collected and raked up into mows.

In the neighbourhood of Rome they reaped with the common sickle, holding the upper part of the straw in their left hand, and cutting it off in the middle. This tall stubble was afterwards mown and carried off to be used as fodder or bedding for cattle. In Upper Egypt and Nubia, the dhoura stalks are left about two feet in height to support the crop of kidney-beans which succeeds next in order. Among the Athenians² when the corn grew tall the stubble was suffered to remain to be burned for manure; but, when short, the value of the straw led them to reap close.

In separating the grain from the straw the ancients made use of horses, oxen, and mules, which, passing round and round over the threshing-floor, trod out the corn. All the labourer had to do was to guide the movements of the cattle, and take care that no part of the sheaf remained untrodden.³ From

¹ Varro. i. 50.

² Καὶ ἀκροτομοίης δ' αὖν, ἔφη, ἡ παρὰ γῆν τέμνοις; ἦν μὲν βραχὺς ἡ ὁ κάλαμος τοῦ σίτου, ἔγωγ', ἔφην, κάτωθεν αὖν τέμνομι, ἵνα ἱκανὰ τὰ ἄχυρα μᾶλλον γίγνηται. Ἐὰν δὲ ὑψηλὸς ἦ, νομίζω ὀρθῶς αὖν ποιεῖν μεσοτομῶν, ἵνα μήτε οἱ ἀλοῶντες μοχθῶσι περιττὸν πόνον, μήτε οἱ λικμῶντες, ὧν οὐδὲν προσδέονται. Τὸ δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ λειφθὲν

ἡγοῦμαι καὶ κατακαυθὲν συνωφελεῖν αὖν τὴν γῆν καὶ εἰς κόπρον ἐμβληθὲν τὴν κόπρον συμπληθύνειν. Xenoph. Œconom. xviii. 2.

³ Xenoph. Œconom. xviii. 4. The same custom still prevails in Southern Europe and in the East. "Corn is trodden out in Granada
"in circular-formed threshing-
"floors, in the open fields; the
"animals employed are mules

a very humane law in the Old Testament we learn, that among some nations it was customary to tie up the mouths of such animals as they employed in this labour, which was forbidden the Israelites: "Thou shalt not," says the Scripture, "muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn." Nor was it practised among the Greeks in the age of Homer,¹ whom we find describing the oxen bellowing as they made their unwearied round. The threshing-floor, which was of a circular form,² stood on a breezy eminence, in the open field, where, as at present, in modern Greece, and in the Crimea,³ a high pole was set up in the centre, to which the cattle were tied by a cord determining the extent of the circle they had to describe.⁴ The end being nailed, every turn made by the cattle coiled the rope about the pole and diminished their range, until, at length, they were brought quite close to the centre, after which, their heads were turned about, and by moving in an opposite direction the cord was unwound. Great pains were taken in the construction of this threshing-floor, which was somewhat elevated about the centre, in order, as Varro observes, that what rain fell might speedily run off. It was sometimes paved with stone, or pitched with flints, but more commonly coated with stucco, made level by a roller, and well soaked with the lees of oil which at once prevented the growth of weeds

"or oxen." Napier, Excursions, &c., i. 156. Again, in the Troad, "The oxen or horses being harnessed to a sort of sledge, the bottom part of which is armed with sharp flints, are driven over the corn, the person who guides the cattle balancing him or herself with great dexterity whilst rapidly drawn round in revolving circles." Id. ii. 171. Cf. Fowler, Three Years in Persia, i. 173, and Chandler, i. 320. ii. 234.

¹ Iliad, v. 495, seq. Hesiod. Opp. et Dies, 599.

² Suid. v. ἀλωά t. i. p. 186. c. Philoch. Frag. Siebel. p. 86. Etym. Mag. 73. 56, seq. Colum. ii. 20. Geop. ii. 26. Senec. Quæst. Nat. i. 2,

³ Earl of Aberdeen in Walp. Mem. i. 150. Pallas, Trav. in South. Russia. vol. iv. p. 148, seq.

⁴ Schnejd. ad Xenoph. Œcon. xviii. 8.

and grass, preserved it from cracking, and repelled the approach of mice, ants, and moles, to which oil-seeds are destructive.¹ Though some authorities advise that it should be situated under the master's, or at least the steward's, eye, it was generally thought advisable to keep it at a distance from the house and gardens, since the finer particles of chaff, borne thickly through the air, caused ophthalmia, and often blindness,² and proved exceedingly injurious to all plants and pulpy fruits, more particularly grapes. In some parts of the ancient world, exposed to the chances of summer rains, the threshing-floor was covered; and, even in Italy, an umbracula,³ or shed, was always constructed close at hand, into which the corn could be removed in case of bad weather. But this in the sunnier climate of Greece was judged unnecessary. In obedience to a notion prevalent among Hellenic farmers, the sheaves were piled up with the straw towards the south, by which means they believed the grain was enlarged and loosened from the hose. When the farmer happened to be scant of cattle he made use of a threshing-machine,⁴ which consisted of a kind of heavy sledge, toothed below with sharp stones or iron. Occasionally, too, the flail⁵ was used, especially in the case of such corn as was laid up in the barn and threshed during winter.

In winnowing,⁶ when the breeze served, they simply threw the grain up into the air with a scoop, until the wind had completely cleared away the chaff. In serene days they had recourse to a winnowing machine, which, though turned by the hand, was of great power, as we may judge from its being employed in cleansing vetches, and even beans.⁷ To receive the chaff, which was too valuable to be lost, pits

¹ Varro. de Re Rust. i. 51.

⁵ Colum. ii. 21.

² Geop. ii. 26.

³ Varro. i. 51. Pallad. i. 36.

⁶ Plat. Tim. t. vii. p. 65.
Xenoph. Œconom. xviii. 8.

⁴ Mathem. Vett. p. 85. Theophr. Hist. Plant. iii. 8.

⁷ Il. v. 588.

appear to have been sunk all round the threshing-floor, which, for the passage of the men and cattle, would appear to have been covered, save in the direction of the wind.¹ When the corn was designed for immediate use, one winnowing was deemed sufficient; but that which was intended to be laid up in the granary² underwent the operation a second time.

On the building and preparation of granaries³ the ancients bestowed great pains. Every means which could communicate to grain firmness and durability appears to have been tried by them; and their success was answerable to their diligence, for, in their granaries, wheat was preserved in perfection fifty, and millet a hundred years.⁴ Their methods, however, were various; some laid up their grain in hollow rocks and caves, as in Thrace and Cappadocia; others sank deep pits in the earth⁵ where they found it to be perfectly free from humidity, as in Farther Spain, while others, as in Hither Spain, Apulia, and Greece,⁶ erected their granaries on lofty basements fronting the East, and with openings towards the north and west winds.⁷ There was usually a range of numerous diminutive windows near the roof, to supply

¹ Il. ε. 562.

² See on the vessels in which the produce of the harvest was received, Pollux. x. 129.

³ Cf. Pallad. l. 19. Colum. i. 6. A granary, commonly *σιτοφυλακεῖον*, was, by Menander, in his Eunuch, denominated *σιτοδόλιον*; among the Siciliotes and Greek colonists of Italy *ρόγος*; as in the Busiris of Epicharmos. Poll. ix. 45.

⁴ Varro. i. 57.

⁵ The same practice is still found in several of the Grecian islands: "Ils font dans les champs
" un trou proportionné à la quan-
" tité de bled qu'ils y veulent
" serrer; il est ordinairement de

" cinq pieds de diamètre, sur
" deux ou trois de profondeur.
" On en tapisse l'intérieur
" d'environ un demi-pied de paille
" brisée sous les pieds des bœufs;
" on y serre ensuite le grain, de
" manière qu'il s'élève par des-
" sus la terre, à une hauteur
" à-peu-près égale à la profondeur
" du trou; on le couvre avec
" un demi-pied de paille, sur la-
" quelle on met trois ou quatre
" pouces de terre." Della Rocca,
Traité Complet sur les Abeilles,
t. i. p. 198, seq.

⁶ Geop. ii. 27.

⁷ Cf. Lord Bacon. Hist. Life and Death, p. 5.

free vent for the heated air, while the floor, in many cases, contained small apertures for the admission of the cool breezes beneath. The walls were built with suitable solidity, and having, together with the floor, been plastered with rough mortar,¹ made commonly with hair, for which chaff was sometimes substituted, received a coat of fine stucco, on the preparation of which much care was bestowed. It was generally composed of lime, sand, and powdered marble, moistened with the lees of oil, the peculiar flavour and odour of which were supposed effectually to repel the approaches of mice,² weevils, and ants. Instead of this a common stucco, formed of clay, was often used. Occasionally the grain was packed up in baskets or large jars,³ such, it may be presumed, as those still employed for the purpose in Africa, where they are commonly kept in a corner outside the door. Beans and other pulse were preserved in oil-jars rubbed with ashes.⁴

Before the produce of the new year was carried in, the granaries, having been carefully swept, were

¹ But, according to Theophrastus, corn kept best in granaries unplastered with lime. Hist. Plant. viii. 10. 1. In a certain part of Cappadocia called Petra, corn would keep fit for sowing forty years, and for food sixty or seventy, although in that district cloths and other articles decay rapidly. Id. viii. 10. 5.

² Among tame animals designed to protect the farmstead from vermin, the weasel was sometimes used. Hom. Batrachom. 52. Ovid. Met. ix. 323. Luc. Timon. § 21. Perizon. ad Ælian. Var. Hist. xiv. 4. Muncker, ad Anton. Liber. 29. Plin. Hist. Nat. xix. 16. Welcker. ad Simon. Amorg. p. 43.

³ From which they carefully cleansed the spider's webs: ἐκ δ' αἰγέων ἐλάσειας ἀράχνια. Hesiod.

Opp. et Dies, 475. Cf. 600. A similar method still prevails in the islands of the Archipelago when the grain is intended for the market: "Ceux qui veulent porter leurs grains à la ville, les mettent dans des vases de terre cuite, qu'ils remplissent à deux ou trois pouces près; ensuite ils étendent par dessus quelques feuilles de figuier sauvage, appelé *orni*, et en Latin *caprificus*; enfin ils achèvent de remplir les vases avec de la cendre, et les couvrent d'une espèce d'ardoise, mais plus forte et plus épaisse que celle dont on se sert en France pour couvrir les maisons." Della Rocca, Traité Complet sur les Abeilles, t. i. p. 200.

⁴ Varro. i. 57.

smear'd all over with oil-lees. Various other precautions were, likewise, taken to protect the sacred gifts of Demeter from depredation, such as drawing on the floor broad lines of chalk,¹ or strewing handfuls of wild origany round the heaps, or sprinkling them with the ashes of oaken twigs or dry cow's dung, or sprigs of wormwood and southernwood, or, in greater quantity, the leaves of the everlasting. Instead of these, in some cases, they made use of powdered clay² or dry pomegranate leaves, rubbed small, and passed through a sieve, a choenix of which was sprinkled over a bushel of corn. The favourite plan, however, seems to have been, to spread a layer of half-withered fleabane over the floor, on which were poured about ten bushels of wheat, then a layer of fleabane, and so on, until the granary was full.³

¹ Geop. ii. 29.

² This substance was brought from Olynthos and Cerinthos, in Eubœa. It is said to have improved the appearance of the wheat, though it deteriorated its quality as an article of food. Theoph. viii. 10. 7.

³ The granaries of the island of Syra, with the contrivance by which corn is there preserved at the present day, are thus described by Della Rocca: — “ Les granges, “ appelées en Grec *θεμονέα*, ont “ communément une vingtaine “ de pieds de long, sur huit à dix “ de hauteur et de largeur. On “ les remplit jusqu'à la moitié “ de leur hauteur, de paille bien “ foulée: on pratique un espace “ de trois ou quatre pieds, que “ l'on remplit de grain. A côté “ on en forme un autre, que l'on “ remplit de même, et ainsi de “ suite, selon l'étendue de la “ grange, et la quantité de grain “ que l'on a; cela fait, par des “ ouvertures pratiquées dans la “ couverture, on recouvre de paille

“ tout le bled, jusqu'à ce que la “ grange soit exactement remplie. “ Quand on veut en faire usage, “ on commence par le tas le plus “ voisin de la porte; on enlève “ d'abord la paille avec beau- “ coup de précaution: plus on “ approche, plus cette précaution “ augmente; enfin, pour ôter les “ derniers brins de paille, on se “ sert d'un balai de milleper- “ tuis ou d'autres plantes que “ l'on fait sécher; et si malgré “ tous ces soins, la surface du “ monceau de grain n'est pas bien “ nette, on achève d'en enlever “ toutes les menues pailles en “ la vannant avec un chapeau “ car les paysans de nos îles por- “ tent comme ici, dans les champs, “ des chapeaux ronds de feutre; “ ils en portent aussi de paille, “ que l'on travaille avec beau- “ coup de délicatesse à Sifanto.” *Traité Complet sur les Abeilles.* t. i. p. 199, seq. Among the tribes of Northern Africa a more complete system of preserving grain prevails. “ The Arabs, in lieu

Wheat thus layed up was supposed not only to last many years, but also to preserve its weight in bread-making. To render barley durable, they strewed over it laurel leaves, or the ashes of laurel wood, as, likewise, everlasting, calaminth, and gypsum, or placed a tightly-corked bottle of vinegar,¹ in the middle of the heap. To communicate greater plumpness to all kinds of grain, they sprinkled over the piles a mixture composed of nitre,² spume of nitre, and fine earth, which, likewise, acted as a preservative. To render flour more durable, they thrust into it small maple branches, stripped of their leaves, or little cakes of salt and cumin.³

The fruits of the earth having been thus safely lodged within doors, the grateful husbandmen celebrated in honour of their rural gods, Demeter and Dionysos, a festival which may, perhaps, be denominated that of the Harvest Home. In Attica it took place in the great temple at Eleusis, and continued

“ of granaries, preserve all their
 “ grain in pits: forty or fifty of
 “ these are made, each to contain about a thousand bushels:
 “ the spot selected is a dry,
 “ sandy soil, the hole being formed in the shape of a large earthen jug, the sides are plastered with mortar about a foot in thickness, and the wheat or grain filled up to the mouth, which is left just large enough for a man to get in at, and is about three feet below the surface of the ground; this is now plastered over also, and filled with the soil around to the same level as the surrounding country. The earth taken out in forming the pits is removed to a distance, and being scattered abroad, in a month or two the grass grows over the surface, and no one, unless those who have buried

“ this treasure, would imagine
 “ that there was anything beneath their feet. The grain thus buried preserves for many years. I have eaten bread at the Esmaila made from wheat as old as the Sultan, having been buried the year of his birth, and it was as good as that made of flour from this year's crop.” Colonel Scott, *Journal of a Residence in the Esmaila of Abd-el-Kader*. p. 155, seq. Mandelslo (lib. ii. c. iii.) found corn-vaults of similar construction in the Azores; and most travellers who have visited the island of Malta will have observed in the fortifications of Valetta that series of curious and beautiful granaries excavated in the form of a bottle in the solid rock.

¹ Geop. ii. 30, seq.

² Geop. ii. 28.

³ Geop. ii. 30.

during several days. No bloody sacrifices were on this occasion offered up; but, in lieu of them, oblations of cakes and fruit with other rustic offerings, designed at once to express their gratitude for past blessings, and to render the gods propitious to them in future. The first loaf made from the new corn was probably eaten or offered up on this day, since it received the name of Thargelos, or Thalusios, from Thalusia, the denomination of the festival.¹

Before we quit the farm, it may be observed, that the ancients kept a number of slaves, constituting a kind of rural police, whose occupation wholly consisted in guarding the boundaries of estates.² These, among the Romans, were denominated rangers, or foresters. There were others to whom the care of the fruit was entrusted; and both these classes of persons were probably elderly men, remarkable for their diligence and fidelity, who were rewarded, by appointment to this more easy duty, for their honest discharge in youth of such as were more painful and laborious. Boys were sometimes set to keep watch over vineyards,³ as we may see in the first Eidyll of Theocritus, where he gives us a lively sketch of such a guardian plotted against by two foxes.

¹ Vid. Theoc. Eidyll. vii. 3. Etym. Mag. 444. 13. Athen. xiii. 65. iii. 80. Meurs. Græc. Fer. p. 15. p. 142. Dem. adv. Neær. § 27, with the authorities collected by Taylor.

² Such of these as had charge of the timber may be denominated wood-reeves, a term which answers very well the Latin Saltuarius. The slave-guards of forests, in Crete, were called Ergatones.

Hesych. ap. Meurs. Cret. p. 190.

³ Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. p. 223, seq. Theocrit. Eidyll. xxv. 27. Cf. Feith. Antiq. Hom. iv. i. 276, sqq. Vineyards in Athens still require guards. Speaking of his approach to Athens from the Peiræus, Chandler observes: — “ In a “ tree was a kind of couch, shelter- “ ed with boughs, belonging to a “ man employed to watch there “ during the vintage.” ii. 27.

CHAPTER VI.

PASTORAL LIFE.

BUT within the circle of Hellenic country life¹ there was a kind of parenthetical existence, a remnant of the old nomadic habits, once common, perhaps, to the whole race, — I mean the pastoral life, of which we obtain so many glimpses through the leafy glades and grassy avenues of Greek poetry. No doubt, the fancy of imaginative men, thirsting for a degree of simplicity and happiness greater than they find around them in cities or villages, is apt to kindle and shed too glorious a light on approaching the tranquil solitudes, the pine forests, the mountain glens, the hidden lakes, the umbrageous streams that leap and frolic down the wild rocks of a country so rife with beauty as Greece. Nevertheless, adhering strictly to truth and reality, there is, in such regions, much about the pastoral life to delight the mind. In the first place, the occupations of an ancient shepherd left him great leisure, and he was generally, by habit no less than by inclination, led to prize that “*dolce far niente*” which, in all southern climates, constitutes the chief enjoyment of existence.

¹ The charm of that repose and freedom from care supposed to be tasted in the seclusion of the country, appears in all ages to have led to the belief, that there is something more natural in fields and forests than in cities, though it be quite as necessary that man should have dwellings as that he should cultivate the

ground. The paradox, however, is thus expressed by Varro: *Divina natura dedit agros, ars humana ædificavit urbes.* *De Re Rust.* iii. 1, which Cowper, unconsciously perhaps, has thus translated,

God gave the country, but man
made the town.

And indeed all the world over, repose, both of mind and body, is sweet. But not entire repose. Accordingly the Grecian shepherd, whose flocks fed tranquilly, whose condition, assured, and pinched by no necessities, left him at liberty to consult his own tastes in his recreations, took refuge from idleness in music and song.¹ At first, and perhaps always, their lays were rude; but nature, their only teacher, infused into them originality and passion, such as we find in the only poet of antiquity, save Homer, in whose verses the fragrance of the woods still breathes. Whether like Paris and Anchises they kept their own flocks or undertook the care for others, they were still on the mountains perfectly free. Their education was peculiar. Abroad much after dark,² in a climate where the summer nights are soft and balmy beyond expression, and where the stars seem lovingly to crowd closer about the earth, they necessarily grew romantic and superstitious.³ Events occurring early in their own lives or handed down to them by tradition, long meditated on, were in the end invested with supernatural attributes. Under similar circumstances their national religion had probably been first formed. They in the same way, in every canton, created a local re-

¹ Travellers find among the modern shepherds of the East much the same tastes and habits. "The hills," observed Dr. Chandler, speaking of Lydia, "were enlivened by flocks of sheep and goats, and resounded with the rude music of the lyre and of the pipe; the former a stringed instrument resembling a guitar, and held much in the same manner, but usually played on with a bow." Chandler, i. p. 85. Cf. Theocrit. Eidyll. i. 7. viii. 9.

² The same habits still prevail: "We could discern fires on Lesbos

as before on several islands and capes, made chiefly by fishermen and shepherds, who live much abroad in the air, to burn the strong stalks of the Turkey wheat and the dry herbage on the mountains." Chandler, i. 11. Cf. p. 320.

³ Among other things we find them putting the strongest faith in dreams—at least we may suppose the fishermen in Theocritus, who lay so much stress on the visions of the night, to hold a creed pretty nearly akin to that of shepherds. Eidyll. 21. v. 29. sqq.

ligion.¹ Their very creed was poetry. Tree, rock, mountain, spring, every thing was instinct with divinity, not mystically, as in certain philosophical systems, but literally; and, as they believed, the immortal race, their invisible companions at all hours, could when they pleased put on visibility, or rather remove from their eyes the film which prevented their habitually beholding them.

It is well known that, in the present day, among the nomadic nations of Asia, the sons of the chiefs still follow their flocks in the wilderness. And this in the heroic ages was likewise the case in Greece,² where youths of the noblest families watched over their fathers' sheep and cattle. Thus Bucolion, son of Laomedon, led to pasture the flocks of his sire, and, in the solitudes of the Phrygian mountains, was met and loved by a nymph.³ Two sons also of Priam pursued the same occupation;⁴ and thus among the Hebrews, David, the son of Jesse, passes his youth in the sheepfold, and his manhood on a throne. In this secluded and solitary life the sights and sounds of nature became familiar to them, the

¹ The gods they principally worshiped were Pan, the Muses, and the Nymphs. To the Nymphs and Pan they sacrificed as to gods presiding over mountains, where they themselves usually wandered. Pan, moreover, was skilled in the pipe, the instrument of their race. The Muses they adored as the goddesses of poetry and music. Schol. Theoc. i. 6. In verse 12 of the same Eidyll. the Nymphs are spoken of where the office of the Muses is in contemplation, which may easily be explained. For the Muses are properly the Nymphs of those fountains which inspire poets with their lays. Cf. Voss. ad Virg. Eclog. iii. 84.

By the Lydians the Muses were denominated Nymphs. Schol. Theoc. Eidyll. vii. 92. Cf. Eidyll. v. 140. Lyc. Cassand. 274. ibique Schol. et Potter. Kiessl. ad Theocrit.

² Lycoph. Cassand. 91, seq. in common with Homer and the other ancient poets, represent princes as shepherds. The guarding of flocks was then, in fact, a regal occupation. Didymos, ad Odyss. ν. 223, observes, that τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ οἱ τῶν βασιλέων παῖδες πανάπαλοι (l. παναίπολοι) ἐκαλοῦντο, καὶ ἐποίμαινον. Meurs. ad Lycoph. p. 1181. Varr. De Re Rust. ii. 1.

³ Il. ζ. 25. Odyss. ο. 385, seq.

⁴ Il. δ. 106.

voice of sudden torrents rushing from the mountains,¹ the roar of lions springing on their folds, or the sweet moonlight silvering both mountain and valley. It is with the shepherd's life that Homer connects that noble description of the night which Chapman has thus translated :

As when about the silver moon, when air is free from wind,²
And stars shine clear,³ to whose sweet beams high prospects and
the brows
Of all steep hills and pinnacles thrust up themselves for shows,
And even the lonely valleys joy to glitter in their sight,
When the unmeasured firmament bursts to disclose her light,
And all the signs in heaven are seen, that glad the shepherd's
heart.

The glimpses of pastoral life, albeit too few, are still frequent in Homer, who loves, whenever possible, to illustrate his subject by bringing before our minds the image of a shepherd. Thus Hector, lifting a large rock, is compared to a shepherd bearing a ram's fleece.⁴

As when the fleece, though large yet light, the careful shepherd
rears,
With both hands plunged within its folds, so he the rock uptears.

¹ Iliad. δ. 452, seq. ε. 137.
θ, 555.

² The following picture by Milton almost seems to be designed to form a contrast to the above :

As when from mountain-tops the
dusky clouds
Ascending, while the north wind
sleeps, o'erspread
Heaven's cheerful face, the low-
ring element
Scowls o'er the darken'd landscape
snow or shower ;
If chance the radiant sun, with
farewell sweet,
Extend his evening beam, the
fields revive,

The birds their notes renew, and
bleating herds

Attest their joy, that hill and
valley rings.

Parad. Lost, ii. 488, sqq.

Iliad θ. 559, sqq. Here *shepherd*, observes the Scholiast, is used for *herdsman*. Ποιμήν εἶπεν ἀντὶ τοῦ βουκόλος διὰ νυκτὸς γὰρ αἱ βόες νέμονται, in loc. i. 238.

³ On this passage Ἀρίσταρχος τὴν κατὰ φύσιν λαμπρὰν λέγει κἂν μὴ πλήθουσα ἦ εἰ γὰρ πληροσέληνος ἦν, ἐκέκρυπτο ἄν μᾶλλον τὰ ἄστρα. Schol. Bekker. t. i. 238. Cf. Eustath. in Iliad. θ. t. i. p. 621.

⁴ Iliad. μ. 451, seq.

Again, the Trojan forces following their leader, Æneas, suggest to his mind the idea of innumerable flocks bounding after a ram to drink.¹

The people followed, as the flock the shaggy ram succeeds,
Who to the cooling streamlet's bank the woolly nation leads
(While swells the shepherd's heart with joy) from pasture on the meads.

Elsewhere, he describes a troop of hungry wolves attacking the flocks on the mountains:—²

As when the hungry wolves, on folds forsaken by the watch,
Descend, the kids and tender lambs by thievish force to snatch;
Or when the timid browsing crew are scattered far and wide,
And seized, by witless shepherds left upon the mountain side.

But, in another place, they are represented contending with a lion by night for the body of one of their flock.³

Thus the night-watching shepherds strive, but vainly, to repel
The angry lion, whom the stings of want and rage impel,
Upon the carcase fastens he: his heart no fear can quell.

Where the number of the flock required the care of several men a chief shepherd (ἐπισκοιμὴν) was appointed to overlook the rest.⁴ Among the ancients twenty sheep were thought to require the attention of a man and a boy;⁵ but, in modern times, three

¹ Iliad. ν. 491, sqq.

² Iliad. π. 354, sqq.

³ Iliad. σ. 161, seq.

⁴ Odysa. μ. 131. The duties of this servant are described by Varro, who likewise states the physical qualities required to be found in shepherds. Contra, pernoctare ad suum quemque gregem esse omnes sub uno magistro pecoris cum esse majorem natu potius quàm alios et peritiorum quàm reliquos, quod iis qui ætate, et scientia præstant animo æquiore reliquis parent. Ita tamen oportet ætate

præstare ut ne propter senectutem minus sustinere possit labores. Neque enim senes, neque pueri callium difficultatem, ac montium arduum, atque asperitatem facile ferunt: quod patiendum illis qui greges sequuntur præsertim armenticios, ac caprinos quibus rupes ac silvæ ad pabulandi cordi. De Re Rust. ii. 10. Cf. Colum. ii. 1.

⁵ Geop. xviii. 1. Yet we find mention in Demosthenes of a shepherd with a flock of fifty sheep under his care. In Everg. et Mnes. § 15.

men and a boy, with four or five dogs, are sometimes entrusted with a flock of five hundred, of which two-thirds are ewes.¹ The proportion of rams to ewes is at present as four to a hundred.

From very remote ages shepherds had learned to avail themselves of the aid of dogs,² which in farms were usually furnished with wooden collars.³ The breed generally employed in this service, in later ages at least, was the Molossian,⁴ which, though exceedingly powerful and fierce towards strangers, was by its masters found sufficiently gentle and tractable. The shepherd's pipe,⁵ frequently made of the donax, or common river-reed,⁶ likewise used in thatching cottages, formed a no less necessary accompaniment. Another of their instruments of music was the flute crooked at the top, finely polished and rubbed with bees' wax.⁷

As the Arcadians, descendants of the Pelasgians, derived one of their principal delights from music,⁸ it is reasonable to infer that the ancestral nation, preëminently pastoral, was likewise addicted to this science. The feeding of herds and flocks constituted the principal occupation of the Proselenoi,⁹ who were little devoted to agriculture, as may be inferred from their acorn-eating habits; for no nation ever continued to feed on mast after they

¹ Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, vol. i. p. 17.

² Plat. *de Rep.* iv. t. vi. p. 204. Columella describes with poetical enthusiasm the character and qualities of the shepherd's dog, which he refuses to class among dumb animals, its bark being, according to him, full of meaning: "Canis falso dicitur
"mutus custos nam quis homi-
"num clarius, aut tanta vocifera-
"tione bestiam vel furem præ-
"dicat quam iste latratu? quis
"famulus amantior domini? quis
"fidelior comes? quiscustos incor-

"ruptior? quis excubitor inveniri
"potest vigilantior? quis denique
"ultor aut vindex constantior?
"Quare vel in primis hoc animal
"mercari tuerique debet agricola,
"quod et villam et fructus fami-
"liamque, at pecora custodit."
De Re Rusticâ, 7. 12.

³ Sch. *Aristoph. Vesp.* 897.

⁴ *Aristot. Hist. Animal.* ix. 1.

⁵ *Luc. Bis Accus.* § 11.

⁶ Plat. *Rep.* iii. § 10. Stalb.

⁷ *Theocrit. i.* 129. Plat. *de Rep.* t. vi. p. 132. *Mosch. Eidyll.* iii. 54.

⁸ *Athen. xiv.* 22.

⁹ *Etym. Mag.* 690. 11.

could obtain bread. A report prevailed in the ancient world that the Arcadians were of a poetical temperament, to which Virgil alludes in the well-known verses—

Arcades ambo,
Et cantare pares et respondere parati.

And as improvisatori they may possibly have excelled, though Greece knew nothing of an Arcadian literature. However, chiefly after the example of Virgil, the poets of modern times have always delighted to convert Arcadia into a kind of pastoral Utopia, which is done by Sannazaro, Tasso, Guarini, Sir Philip Sydney, Daniel, and many others. Palmerius à Grentmesnil¹ discovers something like the descendants of the Arcadians among the Irish, whose pastoral taste for music he conceives to be commemorated by the triangular harp in the national insignia.

Their usual clothing consisted of diptheræ, or dressed sheepskins,² just as at the present day among the Nubian shepherds, whom one may see thus clad, roaming through the sandy hollows of the Lybian desert. On the inside of these skins the traitor Hermion wrote the letters which betrayed the designs of his countrymen to the enemy in Laconia.³ Others wore goatskin cloaks, which they likewise used as a coverlet at night.⁴ Euripides introduces his chorus of satyrs complaining of this miserable costume.⁵

¹ “ Sic et hodie audio Hibernos,
“ qui pecuariam exercent, musicæ
“ deditos, et triangulari cithara
“ (quam vocamus *harpe*) plerum-
“ que se oblectare solere, unde
“ aiunt insignia regni Hiberniæ
“ fuisse olim et esse adhuc tale
“ musicum instrumentum.” Desc.
Græc. Ant. p. 61.

² Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 73.

Cf. Vesp. 442. Küst.—Eq. 398.
Bekk. Luc. Tim. § 8. We find
mention also made of a cloak of
wolfskin. Philostrat. Vit. So-
phist. ii. 6.

³ Suidas. v. διφθέρα. t. i. p.
757. e.

⁴ Harless. ad Theocrit. v. 2.

⁵ Cyclop. 79, seq.

“ Much loved Bacchos where dost thou
 Lonely dwell afar,
 Shaking thy gold locks at eve
 Like a blazing star ?
 While I thy minister am fain
 To serve this one-eyed Cyclop swain,
 A slave borne down by fortune's stroke
 In a wretched goatskin cloak.”

And thus simple was ever their appearance in the East. But, as I have hinted above, their very great leisure,¹ the accidents of their occupation, and the grand and regular march of natural phenomena in those countries, often ripened their intellects beyond what the condition of a modern heath-trotter renders credible. Thus, in the mountains of Chaldæa, astronomy and all its parasitical sciences took birth among the shepherd race. From temperament and circumstances, the inhabitants of thinly-peopled tracts, if unvexed by wars, are profoundly meditative. What they behold in serene indistraction gradually rouses their thoughts, and presenting itself again and again, attended always, as the phenomena of the heavens are, by the same accidents, compels them to study.²

¹ Lord Bacon considers the pastoral state preferable in some respects to the agricultural:—
 “ The two simplest and most
 “ primitive trades of life; that
 “ of the shepherd (who by reason
 “ of his leisure, rests in a place,
 “ and living in view of heaven,
 “ is a lively image of a contem-
 “ plative life) and that of the
 “ husbandman; where we see the
 “ favour of God went to the
 “ shepherd and not to the tiller
 “ of the ground.”—Advancement
 of Learning, p. 64. Shepherds
 made libations of milk to the
 Muses. Theocrit. i. 143, seq.

² Even yet we find the shepherds of Greece retain some smack of classical learning:

“ After dinner I walked out
 “ with a shepherd's boy to her-
 “ barise; my pastoral botanist
 “ surprised me not a little with
 “ his nomenclature; I traced the
 “ names of Dioscorides, and Theo-
 “ phrastus, corrupted, indeed, in
 “ some degree by pronunciation,
 “ and by the long *series annorum*,
 “ which had elapsed since the
 “ time of these philosophers, but
 “ many of them were unmuti-
 “ lated, and their virtues faithfully
 “ handed down in the oral tradi-
 “ tions of the country. My shep-
 “ herd boy returned to his fold
 “ not less satisfied with some
 “ paras that I had given him,
 “ than I was in finding in such
 “ a rustic a repository of ancient
 “ science.”—Sibth. in Walp. i.

But solitude is less surely the nurse of science than of superstition. The leaven, which in populous cities scarcely swells visibly in the breast, ferments unrestrainedly in the depths of woods, in the high-piled recesses of mountains, in the gloom of caverns, where nature invests itself with attributes which address themselves powerfully to the heart, and appears almost to hold communion with its offspring. Hence the wild mythologies of Nomadic races, which are not loose-hanging creeds, to be put off and on like a cloak, but a belief inwrought into their souls, a part of themselves, and perhaps the best part, since it is from this that springs the whole dignity and poetry of their lives. In all

66, seq. There is in Sir John Fortescue, *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, translated by Robert Mulcaster, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a passage describing the pastoral habits of our ancestors, and the intellectual superiority they engendered, which appears to me so excellent, that I cannot resist the temptation to introduce it here:—"England
 "is so fertile and fruitfull, that
 "comparing quantity to quantity
 "it surmounteth all other landes
 "in fruitfulnessse. Yea, it bring-
 "eth forth fruite of itselfe, scant
 "provoked by mann's industrie
 "and labour. For there the
 "landes, the fieldes, the groves,
 "and the woodes, doe so aboun-
 "dantlye springe, that the same
 "untilled doe commonly yield to
 "their owners more profite then
 "tilled, though else they bee
 "most fruitfull of corne and
 "graine. There also are fieldes
 "of pasture inclosed with hedges
 "and ditches, with trees planted
 "and growing uppon the same,
 "which are a defence to their
 "herdes of sheepe and cattell,

"against stormes and heate of
 "the sunne; and the pastures are
 "commonly watered, so that cat-
 "tell shutte and closed therein
 "have no neede of keeping nei-
 "ther by day, nor by night.
 "For there bee no wolves, nor
 "beares, nor lyons, wherefore
 "their sheepe lye by night in
 "the fields, unkept within their
 "foldes wherewith their land is
 "manured. By the meanes
 "whereof, the men of that coun-
 "trie are scant troubled with
 "any painefull labour, wherefore
 "they live more spiritually, as
 "did the ancient fathers, which
 "did rather choose to keepe and
 "feede cattell, than to disturbe
 "the quietnesse of the minde with
 "care of husbandrie. And heere-
 "of it cometh, that menne of
 "this cuntrye are more apte and
 "fytte to discerne in doubtfull
 "causes of great examination
 "and triall, than are menne
 "whollye given to moyling in
 "the ground; in whom that
 "rurall exercise engendereth
 "rudeness of witte and minde."
 chap. 29.

countries fables rise in the fields, to flow into and be lost in the cities. Observe the wild picture which Plato, in his *Academic Dream*, presents to us of a group of Lydian shepherds. It has all the poetical elements of an Arabian tale.

Tradition, he says, represented Gyges the ancestor of Croesus as a hired shepherd, who with many others guarded the imperial flocks in the remoter districts of the country. At this time happened a great earthquake, attended by floods of rain, which, in the parts where they were, opened up a vast chasm in the earth. Gyges arriving alone at the mouth of the gap stood amazed at its depth and magnitude, but observing a practicable descent went down, and roamed through its subterraneous passages. Many marvellous things, according to the mythos, did he there see, and among the rest a hollow brazen horse, with doors in its side, through which looking in, he beheld a colossal naked corpse, with a jewelled ring on its hand. Transferring this to his own finger Gyges departed.

Shortly afterwards, still wearing the signet, he went to the assembly of shepherds, which met monthly, for the purpose of selecting a person to bear the usual report of the flocks to the king. Sitting down among the rest he happened to turn the bevil of his ring towards himself, upon which he became invisible to his companions,¹ as he clearly discovered from their discourse, which proceeded as if about an absent man. Smitten with much wonder he returned the gem to its former position and again became visible. He made the experiment over and over and always with success; upon which, like another Macbeth, a vast scheme of ambition darkly shadowed itself upon his mind, and a crown

¹ The reader will in this place perhaps remember the dream of Rousseau, on the enjoyment which the possession of such a ring would have afforded him;

when after pushing his speculations as far as they could go he determines that he was much better without it.—*Rêveries du Promeneur Solitaire*, iii. 137.

tinged slightly with blood swam before him. It does not, however, appear that like the Thane of Cawdor he was perplexed with scruples. He does not say,—

“ Why do I yield to that suggestion,
Whose horrid image doth unfix my hair,
And make my seated heart knock at my ribs,
Against the use of nature? Present facts
Are less than horrible imaginings.
My thought whose murder's yet but phantasy,
Shakes so my single state of man, that function
Is smothered in surmise, and nothing is,
But what is not.”

Gyges, with the ruthless resolution of an Oriental, forms his plan at once, and coolly works it out. He procures himself to be elected one of the mission to the king, and on arriving at the capital, dishonours the queen, murders his master, and ascends the throne.¹

This may be regarded as a specimen of the shepherds' tales.² But they moved for the most part in an atmosphere of superstition, had ceremonies of their own, a mythology of their own, and of the whole the pervading spirit was love. In communities highly civilised, this passion commonly degenerates into a plaything, despised when weak, and mischievous when strong. It is otherwise in the early stages of society. There, in proportion to their freedom from the aspirations and anxieties of ambition, men seek happiness in the cultivation of the affections. The society of women is to them all in all. And the evils that infest them, disturb

¹ Plat. Rep. ii. § 3. Cf. x. § 12. Stallb. Among the gods similar powers were attributed to the helmet of Hades. Thus, in Homer, Athena is concealed from Mars by the effect of this enchanted piece of armour.—*Iliad*. ε. 845. Apollod. ii. 4. 2.

² To the same class belongs that tradition of a brazen tablet thrown up by a fountain in Lycia foretelling the overthrow of the Persian monarchy by the Greeks.—Plut. Alexand. § 17.

their quiet, and engender crime, spring, too, from the same bitter-sweet fountain, which flows with honey or gall according to the temper of those who drink of it. Consequently, in contemplating the pastoral life of Greece, we must beware not to overlook the shepherdesses,¹ those heroines of Bucolic poetry, whose freshness and nature still survive in Theocritus, and other fragments of antiquity, and may operate as an antidote to that insipid spawn whose loves and lamentations affect us like ipecacuanha in modern pastorals.

In these latitudes of society, at least, women enjoyed their freedom, and the glimpses presented to us of them as they there existed may be regarded among the chief charms of Greek poetry. Only, for example, observe the picture which Chæremon the Flower Poet, has delineated of a bevy of beautiful virgins sporting by moonlight :

“ There one reclined apart I saw, within the moon's pale light,
 With bosom through her parted robe appearing snowy white;
 Another danced, and floating free her garments in the breeze
 She seemed as buoyant as the wave that leaps o'er summer seas.
 While dusky shadows all around shrunk backward from the place,
 Chased by the beaming splendour shed like sunshine from her face:
 Beside this living picture stood a maiden passing fair
 With soft round arms exposed; a fourth with free and graceful air,
 Like Dian when the bounding hart she tracks through morning dew,
 Bared through the opening of her robes her lovely limbs to view.
 And oh! the image of her charms, as clouds in heaven above,
 Mirrored by streams, left on my soul the stamp of hopeless love.
 And slumbering near them others lay, on beds of sweetest flowers,
 The dusky petaled violet, the rose of Paphian bowers.
 The inula and saffron flower, which on their garments cast,
 And veils, such hues as deck the sky when day is ebbing fast;
 While far and near tall marjoram bedecked the fairy ground,
 Loading with sweets the vagrant winds that frolicked all around.”²

In the ordinary bucolic poets women to be sure are sketched with a rude pencil, though coquettish

¹ Cf. Varr. De Re Rust. ii. 10.

² Athen. xiii. 87.

as queens, of which we have an exemplification in the picture on the shepherd's cup :¹

And there, by ivy shaded, sits a maid divinely wrought,
 With veil and circlet on her brows, by two fond lovers sought.
 Both beautiful with flowing hair, both suing to be heard,
 On this side one, the other there, but neither is preferred.
 For now on this, on that anon, she pours her witching smile,
 Like sunshine on the buds of hope, in falsehood all and guile,
 Though ceaselessly, with swelling eyes, they seek her heart to
 move,
 By every soft and touching art that wins a maiden's love.²

There is here no straining after the ideal. Like Titian's beauties, these shepherdesses are all creatures of this earth, filled with robust health, dark-eyed, warm, impassioned, and somewhat deficient in reserve. They understand well how to act their part in a dialogue. For every bolt shot at them they can return another as keen. Each bower and bosky bourn seems redolent of their smiles; their laughter awakens the echoes; their ruddy lips and pearly teeth hang like a vision over every bubbling spring and love-hiding thicket which they were wont to frequent. Hence the charm of Theocritus. And a still stronger charm perhaps would have belonged to the pages of him who should have painted the shepherd's life of a remoter age,³ when none were above such an occupation, which therefore united at once all the dignity of lofty independence with the careless freedom of manners and unapprehensive enjoyment in which consists the secret source of all the pleasure which rustic pictures afford. Most of his creations, though not all, are in this respect want-

¹ This was the *κισσύβιον*, a goblet or cup turned of ivy wood. It was usually rubbed with wax and polished, for the purpose of bringing out the beautiful carving which adorned it. Cf. Etym. Mag. 515. 33.

² Theocrit. i. 32, sqq.

³ Though even here we detect the presence of hirelings; for Homer observes, that, among the Læstrigons, such shepherds as could do with little sleep received double wages. Odyss. κ. 84, seq.

ing. Ideas of penury¹ slip in, and, in the midst of rich poetry, check the developement of pleasurable feelings. For the musical swains, though apparently ambitious of nought but the reputation of song, permit us to discover, that they are but hirelings tending flocks not their own. The contrast between persons of this class and those who are owners of the sheep they tend, is forcibly pointed out in the sacred language of Christ: "I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep. But he that is an hireling and not the shepherd and whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep and fleeth, and the wolf catcheth them and scattereth the sheep. The hireling fleeth because he is a hireling, and careth not for the sheep. I am the good shepherd and know my sheep and am known of mine. As the Father knoweth me even so know I the Father; and I lay down my life for the sheep."² The same affectionate tenderness is attributed to shepherds in the prophetic writings: "he shall feed his flocks like a shepherd, he shall gather the lambs with his arm, and carry them in his bosom, and shall gently lead those that are with young."³

In the matter of virtues and vices, the shepherds of antiquity were very much, no doubt, like other men. Their habits were such as grew naturally out of their position. Towards whatever their feelings led them they proceeded vehemently, and with that singleness of purpose which belongs to men of simple and decided character.⁴ They were too commonly

¹ In fact black slaves, from Africa, were sometimes employed as shepherds, at least in Sicily. Theoc. i. 24.

² John, x. 11, sqq.

³ Isaiah, xl. 11.

⁴ It has been observed by Gibbon, who had diligently studied the pastoral nations of Asia in their general habits and charac-

teristics, that ambition and the spirit of conquest are powerfully excited by the shepherd's manner of life. "The thrones of Asia have been repeatedly overturned by the shepherds of the north, and their arms have spread terror and devastation over the most fertile and warlike countries of Europe. On this occa-

creatures of mere impulse. From the peculiar form of their communion with nature, which, like the masses of Egyptian architecture, was continued and monotonous, they acquired a peculiarity of mental temperament, warm, as it were, in parts, and cold in parts. Every circumstance around them tended to rouse, pique, and inflame the passion of desire and its concomitants; the pairing of their flocks, of the birds, of the very wild beasts whose courage or ferocity they dreaded; their own leisure combined with the excess of health, the influence of climate, the solicitations of opportunity, impelled them into excess; and, accordingly, their morals in this respect sank to a low standard, and rendered them any thing but models of the golden age. The intellect of course was comparatively little cultivated; and there being no other check upon the feelings, suicides, murders of jealousy, and other evidences of ill-regulated passion would often occur.¹

But, in proportion as we pierce further back into antiquity, these tragical incidents become fewer: not merely because our knowledge of those ages is more scanty, but that in ruder times morality is comparatively lax, and men's taste less fastidious. The rigid laws of marriage were then little observed. Women passed from husband to husband without losing character or caste; and when they produced illegitimate offspring attributed the paternity to some

“ sion, as well as on many others,
 “ the sober historian is forcibly
 “ awakened from a pleasing vision
 “ and is compelled with some re-
 “ luctance to confess, that the
 “ pastoral manners which have
 “ been adorned with the fairest
 “ attributes of peace and inno-
 “ cence are much better adapted
 “ to the fierce and cruel habits of
 “ a military life.” *Decline and
 Fall of the Roman Empire*, iv. 348.
 Hippocrates in his brief but vigo-

rous manner has presented us
 with a picture of the Scythian
 shepherd's life in ancient times,
 (*De Aër. et Loc.* § 92, sqq.) and
 from modern travellers we find
 that it differed very little from
 that which they lead at the pre-
 sent day. See the travels of Ru-
 briquis in Hakluyt, i. 101, sqq.
 See also the notes of Coray on
 Hippocrates, t. ii. 280, seq.

¹ Theocritus describes Daphnis
 dying for love. *Eidyll.* i. 135.

god, and scarcely considered the circumstance a misfortune. Half the princes of the Homeric age were illegitimate; for this is what is always meant by saying they were descended from the gods. Æneas was the son of some young woman whom Anchises met on the mountains, where he pastured his father's flocks and pretended to have been loved by Aphrodite.¹ Persons so circumstanced were, doubtless, capable of much romance. Nymphs and goddesses peopled their imagination, and their imagination let loose its brood upon the woods. Poets afterwards, able to infuse a soul into these rustic traditions, gave a local habitation and a name to every beautiful legend they could collect. Hence that sunny picture, the interview of Aphrodite and Anchises amid the lofty recesses, the grassy slopes, the sparkling leaping brooks, and old umbrageous forests of Mount Ida. Already, however, the force of dress was known, which Montaigne afterwards celebrated; for the Homeric bard, about to record an interview between the goddess and her shepherd-lover, instead of supposing her to have been

“ When unadorned, adorned the most,”

describes all the arts of a luxurious toilette.

The picture, however, of pastoral life which he suggests rather than describes, is worked out with strokes of great simplicity. All the other herdsmen disperse in the execution of their several duties, leaving Anchises alone in the cattle-sheds,² spacious in dimensions, and tastefully erected, where he amuses his solitary leisure with the music of the cithara. While thus engaged he beholds the approach of the goddess,³ and is at once struck with

¹ Hom. Hymn. ad Ven. 54, sqq.

² Compare Trollope, Notes on St. John, x. i.

³ Aleuas, the Thessalian, is said to have been favoured with

the visits of a very different mistress as he pastured his herds on Mount Ossa, near the Hæmonian spring; for a dragon of enormous size, becoming enamoured of his beauty and golden

her beauty and the splendour of her rāiment. At the unearthly vision his love is kindled; but the poet, skilled in the mysteries of the heart, chastens his passion by overmastering feelings of reverence, such as necessarily belong to unsophisticated youth. Anchises constitutes, indeed, the *beau idéal* of an heroic shepherd, simple, high-minded, ingenuous, venturous and fearless in contests with man or beast, but in his intercourse with woman gentle, reverent,

“ And of his port as meek as is a maid.”

In fact, the gallant knights of romance seem rather to have been modelled after the heroic warriors of Greece, than from any realities supplied by the chivalrous ages. The author of the Hymn is careful in describing the shepherd's couch, to insinuate with how great strength and courage he was endowed. He reclines, we are told, on skins of bears and lions slain by his own hand, though over these there were cast, for show, garments of the softest texture.¹

Throughout this work it has been seen how the influence of climate and position concurred in the formation of the Greek character. We may ourselves put the doctrine to the proof by observing the effect upon our minds of those reflections of landscapes which appear in language; rude Boreal scenes exciting the spirit of contention and energy; while the soft valleys, groves, and odoriferous gardens of the South produce a calm upon our thoughts favourable to the more benevolent emotions. Hellenic shepherds, therefore, no other causes preventing, may upon the whole be supposed to have been humane.

hair, frequently approached the shepherd with presents of game of her own catching. Having laid her gifts at his feet, she would kiss his locks and lick his face with her tongue, which, as

the fountain was so near it, may be hoped was a work of supererogation. *Ælian. De Nat. Animal. viii. 11.*

¹ Hymn. ad Vener. 158, sqq.

Indeed, the very curious adventures of a sophist,¹ in the mountains of Eubœa, preserved among the literary wrecks of antiquity, open up to our view a picture of pastoral life which, in spite of much rudeness and indigence, exhibits the Greek character in its original roughness and simplicity, full of kindness, full of gentleness, full of hospitable propensities, which would do honour to the noblest Arab Sheikh. And the material scene itself, in every feature Grecian, harmonises exactly with the moral landscape.

The eastern shores of the island of Negropont, beetled over by Mount Caphareus,² and indented by no creeks or harbours, were in antiquity infamous for shipwrecks, notwithstanding that they formed the principal station of the purple fishers.³ Cast away on this coast, the sophist Dion, for his eloquence surnamed of the golden-mouth, fell in with a pastoral hunter who, entertaining him generously, furnished at the same time a complete idea of the rude herdsman, who preserved in the vicinity of the highest civilisation known to the old world the simplicity of the Homeric Abantes.⁴ Nay, this wild sportsman, pursuing with his huge dogs a stag along

¹ Dion Chrysostom. Orat. vii. t. i. p. 219, sqq. Phot. 166. a. 24.

² On this mountain and the mythological legends attached to it, see Virg. *Æn.* xi. 260, with the note of Servius. Ovid. *Metamorph.* xiv. 472. Cf. Propert. v. 115, sqq. Jacobs. Plin. iv. 21. An ancient scholiast, quoted by Morell, thus relates the revenge of Nauplios: *Ναύπλιος τοῦ νιέος δὴ τοῦ Παλαμήδους τοῦ φόνου ἀμυνόμενος τοὺς Ἑλλήνας τοῦ ἀνέμου αὐτοῖς ἐνστάντος· ἐπεὶ τοῦτον διὰ θαλάττης ἐγέλων. αὐτὸς οὗτος τὸν Καφηρέα καταλαβὼν εἶτα νυκτὸς πυρσεύων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείσε πετρωδῶν πάγων, ἡπάτα*

προσχεῖν, ὡς δὴ τινι εὐπροσόδῳ ἀκτῇ τοῖς ἀποτόμοις κρημνοῖς εἰς βάθος ἐρρίζωμένοις καὶ χοιράσι διελημμένοις. καὶ οὕτως ἀπρόοπτως ἀπωλόντο. Schediasm. &c., in Dion. t. ii. p. 580, seq. Cf. Strab. viii. 6. t. ii. p. 195. Apollodor. ii. i. 5. Orph. *Argonaut.* 204, sqq.

³ On the purple fisheries of Eubœa, cf. Feder. Morell. *Schediasm.* &c., in Dion. ii. 576. Reiske. and Aristot. *Hist. Animal.* v. 15.

⁴ A life equally simple is led by the Albanian shepherds of the present day. "They live on the

the cliffs, powerful in limb, hale in colour, and with long hair streaming over his shoulders, appeared to be the natural descendant of those Heroic warriors.¹ Armed with his hunting-knife, he flays and cuts up the stag upon the spot, and taking along with him the skin and choicest pieces of venison abandons the remainder on the beach. As they go along he displays the knowledge wherewith experience stores the rustic mind. He understands the signs of the weather, and from the clouds which cap the summits of Caphareus foretells how long the sea will continue unnavigable.²

Rude as an American backwoodsman, he was precipitated, by the rare luck of meeting with a stranger, into equal inquisitiveness and garrulity. He put questions without waiting for an answer. He gossiped of his own concerns; explained without being asked the whole economy of his life; and exhibited all that enthusiasm of beneficence which belongs to human nature when uncorrupted by the thirst of gold. There is a rare truth in the description; far too much ever to have graced a sophist's tale, unless nature had supplied the model.

"There are two of us," says he, "who inhabit together the same rude nook, having married sisters, by whom we have both sons and daughters. We derive our subsistence principally from the chase, paying but little attention to agriculture, since we have no land of our own. Nor were our fathers better off in this respect than ourselves; for, though freeborn citizens, they were poor, and by their con-

" mountains, in the vale or the
 " plain, as the varying seasons
 " require, under arbours, or
 " sheds, covered with boughs,
 " tending their flocks abroad, or
 " milking the ewes and she-goats
 " at the fold, and making cheese
 " and butter to supply the city."

Chandler, ii. p. 135.

¹ Iliad. β. 541. δ. 464. The

long hair of these ancient warriors is thus mentioned by the Homeric Scholiast: τὰ ὀπίσω μέρη τῆς κεφαλῆς κομῶντες ἀνδρείας χάριν. ἴδιον δὲ τοῦτο τῆς τῶν Εὐβοέων κουράς, τὸ ὀπισθὲν τὰς τρίχας βαθείας ἔχειν. t. i. p. 83. Bekker.

² Cf. Theoph. De Sign. Pluv. i. 22.

dition constrained to tend the herds of another, a man of great property, owning vast droves of cattle, numerous horses and sheep, several beautiful estates, with many other possessions, and all these mountains as far as you can see. This opulence, however, became his ruin. For the emperor, casting a covetous eye upon his domains, put him to death, that he might have a pretext for seizing on them. Our few beasts went along with our master's, and the wages due to us there was no one to pay.

"Here, therefore, of necessity we remained¹ where two or three huts were left us, with a slight wooden shed in which the calves had been housed in the summer nights.² For, during winter, we had been used to descend for pasture to the plains where, in the proper season, stores of hay were also laid up; but with the re-appearance of summer we returned again to the mountains. The spot which had formed our principal station now became our fixed dwelling. Branching off on either hand is a deep and shady valley, having in the middle a rivulet so shallow as to be easily traversed, both by cattle and their young. This stream, flowing from a spring hard by, is pure and perennial and cooled by the summer wind blowing perpetually up the ravine. The encircling forests of oak stretch forth their boughs far above, over a

¹ Had Bernardin de St. Pierre read this when he wrote his *Indian Cottage*?

² An equal degree of contentment to that which in this recital we find exhibited by the Eubœan herdsmen, is still in our own times displayed by the rough peasants of the Lipari islands, in the midst of far greater privations:—
"It is incredible at the same time
"how contented these islanders
"are amid all their poverty. U-
"lysses perhaps cherished not a
"greater love for his Ithaca than

"they bear to their Eolian rocks
"which, wretched as they may
"appear, they would not ex-
"change for the Fortunate islands.
"Frequently have I entered their
"huts which seem like the nests
"of birds hung to the cliffs. They
"are framed of pieces of lava ill-
"joined together, equally desti-
"tute of ornament within and
"without, and scarcely admitting
"a feeble uncertain light, like
"some gloomy cavern." Spal-
lanzani, *Travels in the Two Si-*
cilies, iv. 147.

carpet of soft verdure, which descends with a gentle slope into the stream, giving birth to a few gad-flies,¹ or any other insect hurtful to herds. Extending around are numerous lovely meadows, dotted with lofty trees, where the grass is green and luxuriant throughout the year."

The eloquence of this description, I mean in the original, is not unworthy to be compared with that in the *Phædrus*² which has given eternal bloom to the platane-tree and agnus castus on the banks of the Ilissos.

The conversion of these herdsmen into hunters is narrated by Dion with a patient simplicity worthy of Defoe. An air of solitude, snatched from Robinson Crusoe's island, seems to breathe at his bidding over Eubœa. The same education operates strange changes both in man and dog; and bringing them into hostile contact with wolves, wild boars, stags, and other large animals, gives the latter a taste for blood, and renders him fierce and destructive. Subsisting by the chase, they pursued it summer and winter, following both hares and fallow-deer by their tracks in the snow. In their intervals of leisure

¹ The absence of these tormentors of cattle was considered a matter of great importance by the ancients. Virgil, where he is giving directions respecting the best pastures suited to the youthful mothers of the herds, celebrates the exploits of the gadfly:

Saltibus in vacuis pascant, et plena secundum

Flumina: muscus ubi, et viridissima gramine ripa,

Speluncæque tegant, et saxea procubet umbra.

Est lucos Silari circa, ilicibusque virentem

Plurimus Alburnum volitans, cui nomen asilo

Romanum est, æstrum Graii vertere vocantes:

Asper, acerba sonans: quo tota exterrita sylvis

Diffugiunt armenta; furit mugitibus æther

Concussus, sylvæque et sicci ripa Tanagri.

Georg. iii. 143, sqq.

See the note of Philargyrius in loc. Aristot. Hist. Animal, iv. 4. v. 19.

² Plat. Opp. t. i. p. 9. To protect from pollution spots shaded by noble trees they were accustomed to consecrate them to some god, and to erect beneath the overhanging branches statues and altars. Id. ib. In Crete the fountains are often shaded still by majestic plane-trees. Pashley, ii. 31.

they strengthened and beautified their dwellings, saw their children intermarry and grow up to succeed them, without even once approaching any city or even village.

The style of hospitality prevalent among such men in antiquity differs very little from that which one would now find in the hut of a good-natured Albanian.¹ Their industry rendered them independent, and their independence rendered them generous. By degrees their rustic cottages were surrounded by a garden and fruit-trees, their court was walled in, and luxuriant vines hung their foliage and purple fruit over windows and porch. On the arrival of a stranger, the wife takes her station at table beside her husband. Their marriageable daughter, in the bloom and beauty of youth, aids her brothers in waiting at table, where host and guest recline on

¹ Or even in the shed of a Turkish shepherd in Asia Minor. Dr. Chandler has a passage illustrative of the hospitality of pastoral tribes, which is at once so picturesque and concise that I am tempted to transcribe it: "About
" two in the morning our whole
" attention was fixed by the
" barking of dogs, which, as we
" advanced, became exceedingly
" furious. Deceived by the light
" of the moon we now fancied we
" could see a village, and were
" much mortified to find only a
" station of poor goatherds with-
" out even a shed, and nothing
" for our horses to eat. They
" were lying wrapped in their
" thick capotes or loose-coats by
" some glimmering embers, among
" the bushes in a dale under a
" spreading tree by the fold.
" They received us hospitably,
" heaping on fresh fuel and pro-
" ducing caimac or sour curds
" and coarse bread which they

" toasted for us on the coals.
" We made a scanty meal, sitting
" on the ground lighted by the
" fire and by the moon, after
" which sleep suddenly overpow-
" ered me. On waking I found
" my companions by my side,
" sharing in the comfortable cover
" of the Janizary's cloak which
" he had carefully spread over us.
" I was now much struck with
" the wild appearance of the spot.
" The tree was hung with rustic
" utensils, the she-goats in a pen
" sneezed and bleated and rustled
" to and fro; the shrubs, by which
" our horses stood, were leafless,
" and the earth bare; a black
" cauldron with milk was sim-
" mering over the fire, and a
" figure more than gaunt or sa-
" vage close by us was struggling
" on the ground with a kid whose
" ears he had slit, and was en-
" deavouring to cauterise with a
" piece of red-hot iron." Chan-
dler, vol. i. 180, seq.

highly raised divans of leaves covered with the skins of beasts. The young maiden, like a rustic Hebe, pours out the wine, dark and fragrant, while the youths served up the dishes and then laid out a table for themselves and dined together. And the sophist, versed in the courts of satraps and kings, conceived these rude hunters of the mountains the happiest and most enviable of mankind.

But a pastoral picture is incomplete without love. The youthful beauty of Caphareus, hidden, like another Nouronihar¹ from the world, is accordingly beloved by her cousin, an adventurous hunter like her sire, who joins the family circle in the evening, accompanied by his father, bringing in his hand a hare as a present to his mistress. The old man salutes the guest, the youth offers his present with a kiss, and immediately undertakes the office of the girl, who thereupon resumes her place beside her mother.

Observing this arrangement, the stranger inquires whether she is not soon to be married to some wealthy peasant, who might benefit the family, upon which the youth and maiden blush, and her father replies,

“Nay, but she will take a husband, humble in rank, and like ourselves a hunter,” glancing at the same time at the lover.

“How is it then that you wait?” inquired the stranger. “Do you expect him from the village?”

“No,” answered the father, “he is not far off; and so soon as we can fix upon a fortunate day the nuptials will be celebrated.”

“And by what do you judge of a fortunate day?”

“The moon must be approaching the full, the weather fair, and the atmosphere transparent.”

“And is the youth in reality an able hunter?”

“I am,” said the young man, answering for himself, “in the chase of the stag or boar, as you yourself, if you please, shall judge to-morrow”

¹ History of the Caliph Vathek. p. 102.

"And did you take this hare, my friend?"

"I did," replied he with a smile, "having set a gin for him by night;¹ the weather being surpassing beautiful, and the moon larger than it ever was before."

Upon this both the old men laughed, and the lover abashed held his peace.

"But," observed the father of the maiden, "it is no fault of mine that the solemnity is deferred; we only wait at your father's desire, till a victim can be purchased; for a sacrifice must be offered to the gods."

"With respect to the victim," interposed the maiden's younger brother, "he has long provided one, and a noble one too, which is now feeding behind the cottage."

"And is it truly so?" demanded the old man.

"It is," replied the lad.

"And where," addressing the youth, "did you procure it?" inquired they.

"When we took the wild sow,² which was followed by her litter," answered he, "and the greater number, swifter than hares, made their escape; I hit one with a stone, and my companions coming up threw a skin over him. This I secured, and exchanged in the village for a young domestic pig which has been fatted in a sty behind the house."

"I now understand," exclaimed the father, "the cause of your mother's mirth when I would wonder what that grunting could be, and how the barley was disappearing so fast."

"Nevertheless," observed the young man, "to be properly fatted our Eubœan swine require acorns.³

¹ Cf. Philost. Icon. ii. 26, p. 851.

² The wild hog is still one of the most common animals in the forests of Greece and Asia Minor. Chandler, i. 77. Even wild bulls

occasionally make their appearance in the latter country. 176.

³ To this best and most economical food for hogs, Homer makes allusion where he introduces the goddess Circe attending

“However, if you will just step this way I will show her to you.”

Upon which off they went, the boys quite at a run, and in vast glee.

In the meantime, the maiden going into the other cottage, brought forth a quantity of split service-berries,¹ medlars,² and winter apples, and bunches of superb grapes, bursting ripe,³ and, brushing down the table, she spread them out there upon a layer of clean fern. Next moment the lads returned bringing in the pig, with much joking and shouts of laughter. Then came, too, the young man's mother, with two of his little brothers, and they brought along with them nice white loaves, with boiled eggs in wooden salvers, with a quantity of parched peas. Having embraced her brother, with his wife and daughter, she sat down beside her husband, and said,

“Behold the victim, which my son has long fed for his marriage, and the other things also are ready; both the barley-meal and the flour. A little wine, perhaps, may be wanting, but even this we can easily procure from the village.”

And her son standing near her, fixed his eyes wistfully upon his father-in-law.

The latter smilingly observed,—

“All delay now is on the lover's part, who, perhaps, is anxious to fatten his pig.”

to her sty, which she had filled with the transformed companions of Odysseus:

τοῖσι δὲ Κίρκη
Πάρ ρ' ἄκνλον, βάλανον τ' ἔβαλεν,
καρπὸν τε κρανείης
Ἔδμεναι, οἷα σύες χαμαιευνάδες
αἰὲν ἔδουσιν.

Od. κ. 241, sqq. Cf. ν. 409.

Ælian de Nat. Animal. v. 45, celebrates these Homeric dainties as the food of the hog to which

he elsewhere adds the fruit of the ash. viii. 9.

¹ Cf. Theoph. Hist. Plant. ii. 2. 10. ii. 7. 7—iii. 6. 5—vi. 3. 11.

“Οα, ἀκροδρύων εἶδος μήλοις μικροῖς ἐμφερές.

Tim. Lec. Platon. in voce with the note of Ruhnken.

² On the three kinds of medlars, Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 12. 5.

³ Philost. Icon. i. 31, p. 809. ii. 26, p. 851.

“As to her,” said the youth, “she is bursting with fat.”

Upon this the sophist, willing to aid the lover, interposed, and remarked, —

“But you must take care lest while the pig is fattening he himself grow thin.”

“The stranger’s remark is just,” said his mother; “for already he is more meagre than he used to be; and I have of late observed him to be wakeful at night, and to go forth from the cottage.”

“Oh! that,” said he, “was when the dogs barked, and I stepped out to see what was the matter.”

“Not you!” said his mother, — “but went moping about. Let us, therefore,” continued she, “put him to no further trial.”

And throwing her arms about her sister, the maiden’s mother, she kissed her; whereupon the latter, addressing her husband, said, —

“Let us grant them their desire.”

To which he agreed; and it was resolved, that the marriage should be solemnized in three days, the stranger being invited to remain and witness it, which he did.

The above picture of an obscure herdsman’s life in its naked simplicity, void of all embellishment, will probably be thought more trustworthy than the elaborate descriptions of the poets, notwithstanding that, even in these, it is easy to separate the real from the fictitious.

In the estimation of the Greeks the herdsman¹ commonly ranked before the shepherd, and the latter before the goatherd, — for the dream of rank pursues mankind even amid the quiet of the fields, — and their manners are supposed to have corresponded.

¹ Robust persons, with loud voices, were ordinarily chosen for herdsman, while goatherds were selected for their lightness and agility. Geop. ii. 1. Shepherds

obtained among the Greeks the name of ποιμένες; while the keepers of other flocks and herds were termed αἰπόλοι. Schol. Theoc. i. 6.

Pollux,¹ however, reckons the goatherd next after the herdsman, and again inverts the order. Varro, on the other hand, gives precedence to the shepherd as the most ancient, the sheep, in his opinion, having been the animal earliest tamed.

In point of utility the goat, in some parts of the ancient world, rivalled the sheep, producing fine hair which was shorn like wool.² I may remark, too, in passing, that the large-tailed sheep still common in Asia Minor, as well as at the Cape, were anciently plentiful in Syria, where, according to the great naturalist,³ their tails attained a cubit in breadth. In some parts of Arabia another more curious breed was found, with tails three cubits in length, to carry which they were supplied by the ingenuity of the shepherds with wooden carriages.⁴

In most parts of Greece, as well as in the East, it was customary to bring home the sheep from pasture towards evening, and shut them up for the night in warm and roomy cotes, which were surrounded by

¹ Onomast. i. 249.

² Arist. Hist. Anim. viii. 27. 3. Things manufactured from the hair of this animal were called *κίλικια*. Etym. Mag. 513. 41.

³ Arist. Hist. Anim. viii. 27. 3. Speaking of the neighbourhood of Smyrna,—The “sheep,” observed Dr. Chandler, “have broad tails, hanging down like an apron, some weighing eight, ten, or more pounds. These are eaten as a dainty, and the fat, before they are full-grown, accounted as delicious as marrow.” Travels, i. 77. Of the broad-tailed sheep mentioned by the ancients the most remarkable were those of India, where, according to Ctesios, of veracious memory, both they and the goats were larger than asses:—*τὰ πρόβατα τῶν Ἰνδῶν καὶ αἱ αἰγες μεί-*

ζους ὄνων εἰσὶ, καὶ τίκτουσιν ἀνὰ τεσσάρων καὶ ἕξ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, ἔχουσι δὲ οὐράς μεγάλας· διὸ τῶν τοκάδων ἀποτέμνουσιν ἵνα δύνωνται ὀχεύεσθαι. Phot. Biblioth. Cod. 72. p. 46. b. Bekker. Ælian. de Nat. Animal. iv. 32, relates, without any symptoms of incredulity, precisely the same fact; and then adds a circumstance which may keep in countenance the Abyssinian story of Bruce respecting the carving of a rump-steak from a live cow,—for the Indians, observes Ælian, were in the habit of cutting open the tails of the rams, extracting all the fat, and then sowing them up again so dexterously that in a short time no trace of the incision remained visible.

⁴ Herod. iii. 113. Ælian. Hist. Anim. x. 4.

wattled fences,¹ strong and high, both to prevent them from leaping over, and to exclude the wild beasts which, in remoter ages, abounded in the mountains. They were carefully roofed over, and every other precaution was taken to render them perfectly dry, the floor being usually pitched with stones, and slightly inclined. Their bedding² consisted of calaminth and asphodel and pennyroyal and polion (a sort of herb whose leaves appear white in the morning, of a purple colour at noon, and blue when the sun sets³) and fleabane and southernwood and origany,⁴ all which repel vermin. The more completely to effect the same purpose, they were, likewise, in the habit of fumigating the cotes from time to time, by burning in them several locks of some shepherdess's hair,⁵ together with gum ammoniac, hartshorn, the hoofs or hair of goats, bitumen, cassia, fleabane, or calaminth, for the smell of which serpents were thought to have a peculiar aversion.⁶ Their ordinary food, while in the folds, consisted of green clover and cytissus, fenugreek, oaten and barley straw, and vegetable stalks,⁷ which were supposed to be improved if sprinkled on the threshing-floor with brine, figs blown down by the wind, and dry leaves.

¹ Bound together, probably, by wild succory or cneoron, as in modern times by the withe-wind. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vii. 11. 3. vi. 2. 2.

² Geop. xviii. 2.

³ Plin. xxi. 7.

⁴ Dioscor. iii. 32.

⁵ Geop. xviii. 2.

⁶ Aristoph. Eccles. 644. Geop. xviii. 2.4.

⁷ Geop. xviii. 2. Apropos of Cytissus, it is observed by Æschylides, in Ælian. de Nat. Animal. xvi. 32, that the rustics of Cios, on account of the aridity of the island, possessed few flocks. Those they had, however, were fed entirely on the leaves of the

cytissus, the fig-tree, and the olive, mingled occasionally with the straw and halm of vegetables. The lambs reared on this island were of singular beauty, and sold at a higher price than those of most other parts. In Lydia and Macedonia sheep were sometimes fattened upon fish, which must have given the mutton of those countries a somewhat unsavoury odour. Ælian. De Nat. Animal. xv. 5. Another favourite food of sheep was the leaves of the white nymphæa, the tender shoots of which were eaten by swine, while men themselves fed upon the fruit. Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 10. 7. Children, too, it is

In the short and sharp days of winter,¹ they were not led forth to pasture till both the dew and the hoar frost had disappeared; but in summer the shepherds were careful to be a-field with the dawn while the dew was still heavy on the grass. In Attica² and the environs of Miletus, where was produced the finest and costliest wool in the ancient world, the sheep³ were protected from rain and dust and brambles and whatever else could damage their fleeces⁴ by housings of purple leather.⁵ The same practice prevailed also in the Megaris, where Diogenes beholding a flock of sheep⁶ thus clad, while the children, like those of the Egyptian peasants were suffered to run about naked,

said, regarded as a delicacy the stalks of the phleos, the typha, and the butomos. The roots of this fruit were given as food to cattle. Id. *ibid.*

¹ Geop. xviii. 2.

² Cf. Athen, v. 60. Hom. Il. ε. 305, sqq.

³ Those of the neighbouring country of Bœotia are now, however, more highly valued. "Flocks of sheep whose fleeces were of a remarkable blackness were feeding on the plain; the breed was considerably superior in beauty and size to that of Attica." Sibth. in Walp. i. 65. To dream of sheep of this colour was regarded by the ancients as unlucky. Artemid. Oneirocrit. ii. 12. p. 96. The finest black sheep in the ancient world were found in a district of Phrygia in the neighbourhood of the cities of Colossè and Laodicea, the wool of which not only exceeded that of Miletos in softness, but was of a glossy jet colour like that of the raven's wing. Φέρει δ' ὁ περὶ τὴν Λαοδίκειαν τόπος προβάτων ἀρετὰς, οὐκ εἰς μαλακότητας μό-

νον τῶν ἐρίων, ἧ καὶ τῶν Μιλησίων διαφέρει, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν κοραξὴν χροάν ὥστε καὶ προσοδεύονται λαμπρῶς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ Κολοσσηνοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁμωνύμου χρώματος πλησίον οἰκοῦντες. Strab. xii. 8. t. iii. p. 74. Plin. Nat. Hist. viii. 73. Cf. Chandler, Travels in Greece and Asia Minor. i. 262. The country round Abydos also was celebrated for its black flocks among which not a single white sheep was to be discovered. Ælian de Nat. Animal. 3. 32.

⁴ Varro. de Re Rust. ii. 2.

⁵ Horace speaks of the "pelletes oves Galesi." Od. ii. 6. 10.

⁶ Diog. Laert. vi. 41. The practice is noticed also by Pliny who says, — "Ovium summa genera duo, tectum et colonicum; illiud mollius, hoc in pascuo delicatius, quippe quum tectum rubis vescatur. Operimenta ei ex Arabicis præcipua." Nat. Hist. viii. 72. Columella also mentions these coverings: — "Molle vero pecus, etiam velamen quo protegitur, amittit atque id non parvo sumptu reparatur." vii. 3, seq.

said, "It is better to be a Megarean's ram than his son." Ælian¹ alludes to this saying for the purpose of noticing the ignorance and want of education prevalent among the Megareans. We find likewise in Plutarch² another version of the anecdote taxing these Dorians with avarice and meanness. Augustus imitated the saying of Diogenes and applied it to Herod, hearing of whose cruelty to his family, he said, "It were better to be Herod's hog than his son."³ But if the Megareans lived poorly they built grandly: so that of them it was said, that they ate as if they were to die tomorrow, and built as if they were to live for ever.⁴

Sheep, as most persons familiar with the country will probably have observed, are wont in hot summer days to retire during the prevalence of the sun's greatest heat beneath the shade of spreading trees,⁵ at which time a green sweep of uplands dotted with antique oaks or beeches,⁶ each with its stem encircled by some portion of the flock reposing upon their own fleeces, presents a picture of singular beauty and tranquillity. The picturesque features of the scene were in old times enhanced by the addition of several accompaniments now nowhere to be found, consisting of statues, altars, or chapels, erected in honour of the rural gods or nymphs.⁷ Fountains, moreover, of limpid water⁸ in many places gushed forth from beneath the trees, where there were usu-

¹ Var. Hist. xii. 56.

² De Cupiditate. § 7.

³ Macrob. Sat. ii. 4.

⁴ Tertull. in Apolog. ap. Menag. ad Laert. vi. 41. t. ii. p. 141. b. c.

⁵ Geop. xviii. 2.

⁶ Nor in Asia Minor is the shade of trees always deemed sufficient. "We came," says Dr. Chandler, "to a shed formed with boughs round a tree, to shelter the flocks and herds from the sun at noon." Travels, i. 25.

⁷ Schol. Theoc. i. 21. Cf. Plat. Phædr. t. i. p. 9.

⁸ I cannot resist the temptation to introduce in this place the picture in miniature of a Greek landscape from the picturesque and beautiful journal of Dr. Sibthorpe: "We dined under a rock, from whose side descended a purling spring among violets, primroses, and the starry hyacinth, mixed with black Silvium and different coloured orchids. The flowering ash hung from the sides of the mountain,

ally a number of seats for the accommodation of the shepherds and shepherdesses. In these retreats they generally passed the sultry hours of the day, playing on the pastoral flute or the syrinx, chanting their wild lays, or amusing each other by the relation of those strange legends which inhabited the woods and lonely mountains of Greece.¹ There prevailed among them a superstition against disturbing by their music or otherwise that hushed stillness which most persons must have observed to characterise the summer noon. At this hour of the day the God Pan,² in the opinion of Greek shepherds, took his rest after the toils of the chase, reclining under a tree in the solitary forest;³ and, as he was held to be of a hasty choleric disposition, they abstained at that time from piping through fear of provoking his anger. The other Gods likewise were believed to enjoy a short sleep at this time, as we find in the case of the nymph Aura, in the *Dionysiaca*.⁴

From a passage in St. John's gospel it would appear, that the practice prevailed among the Oriental shepherds of distinguishing the several mem-

under the shade of which bloomed saxifrages, and the snowy *Isopyrum*, with the *Campanula Pyramidalis*; this latter plant is now called *χαρισσίνη*; it yields abundance of a sweet milky fluid, and was said to promote a secretion of milk, a quality first attributed to it under the doctrine of signatures. Our guide made nose-gays of the fragrant leaves of the *Fraxinella*; the common nettle was not forgotten as a pot-herb, but the *Imperatoria* seemed to be the favourite salad. Among the shrubs I noticed our gooseberry-tree, and the *Cellis Australis* grew wild among the rocks." Walp. Mem. i. 63.

¹ See Hesiod. Opp. et Dies, 582, sqq.

² To dream of this god was considered auspicious by shepherds. Artemid. Oneirocrit. ii. 42. p. 133.

³ Schol. Theoc. i. 15. Cal. Hymn. in. Lav. Poll. 72. ibique interp. Nem. Eclog. iii. 3. Cf. Hom. Il. 7. 13. Od. 1. 9. The shepherd in the Anthology (Jacob. t. ii. no. 227. p. 694) is not so religious as Theocritus' goatherd, for he boldly pipes in the morn and at noon *χὼ ποιμὴν ἐν ὄρεσσι μεσαμβρινὸν ἀγρόθι παγὰς σὺρίσδων*. Kiessling. ad Theoc. i. 15.

⁴ Nonn. xlviii. 258, sqq. Cf. Philost. Icon. ii. 11. et J. B. Carpzov. Disp. Phil. De Quiete Dei, p. 16, sqq.

bers of their flocks by separate names: "The sheep
"hear his voice, and he calleth his own sheep by
"name and leadeth them out. And when he put-
"teth forth his own sheep he goeth before them,
"and the sheep follow him, for they know his voice."

We likewise find traces of the same custom in Sicily, Crete, and various other parts of Greece, where goats, and heifers, and sheep, enjoyed the privilege of a name, as Cynoetha, Amalthea, and others. In later times it was judged preferable, that the flock should follow their shepherds by the eye, for which reason they were accustomed to stuff their ears with wool.¹ To prevent rams from butting, they used to bore a hole² through their horns near the roots. Sheep were generally shorn³ during the month of May, and after the wool had been clipped, they were commonly anointed with wine, oil, and the juice of bitter lupins.⁴ In remoter ages the practice prevailed of plucking off the wool instead of shearing it; and this barbarous method, at once so painful to the sheep and so laborious to the shepherd, had not been entirely abandoned in the age of Pliny.⁵ It was a rule among the pastoral tribes, that the number of their flocks should be uneven.⁶ The shepherds of Greece bestowed the name of Sekitai,⁷ (from *σῆκος* an enclosure) upon lambs taken early from the ewes, and

¹ Geop. xviii. 4.

² Ferocia ejus cohibetur cornu juxta aurem terebrato. Plin. Nat. Hist. viii. 72. Cf. Geopon. viii. 5. To the same purpose writes also Columella:—Epicharmus Syracusanus qui pecudum medicinas diligentissime conscripsit affirmat pugnacem arietem mitigari terebra secundum auriculas foratis cornibus qua curvantur in flexu. Columell. vii. 3.

³ It is observed by the ancients that long lank wool indicated

strength in the sheep, curly wool the contrary. Geop. xviii. 1, seq.

⁴ Geop. xviii. 8.

⁵ Duerat quibusdam in locis vellendi mos. Plin. Nat. Hist. vii. 73. Velæ unde essent plures accepi caussas inquires quod ibi pastores palatim ex ovibus ante tonsuram inventam vellere lanam sint soliti, ex quo vellera dicuntur. Varr. de Ling. Lat. iv. Cf. De Re Rust. ii. 11. Isidor. xix. 27.

⁶ Geop. xviii. 2.

⁷ Schol. Theoc. i. 9.

fed by hand. They were usually kept in a cote apart from the other sheep.

As flocks, in most parts of Greece, were exposed to the rapacity of the wolf,¹ the shepherds had recourse to an extraordinary contrivance, to destroy this fierce animal; kindling large charcoal fires in open spaces in the woods, they cast thereon the powder of certain diminutive fish, caught in great numbers along the grassy shores of Greece, together with small slices of lamb and kid. Attracted by the savour which they could snuff from a distance, the wolves flocked in great numbers towards the fires, round which they prowled with loud howlings, in expectation of sharing the prey, the odour of which had drawn them thither. Stupified at length by the fumes of the charcoal, they would drop upon the earth in a lethargic sleep, when the shepherds coming up knocked them on the head.²

¹ From the relations of travellers it would appear that the method observed by the ancient Greeks in ridding themselves of the wolf is no longer known to their descendants, though the apprehension of their destructiveness and ferocity be as great as ever. Solon, it is well known set a price in his laws on the head of a wolf, which appears to have varied in different ages; (cf. Plut. Solon. § 23. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 369;) but could never have amounted to the sum of two talents. Whatever the ancient price may have been, however, it was paid by the magistrates; but "the peasant now produces

"the skins in the bazaar or market, and is recompensed by voluntary contributions." Chandler, ii. p. 145. Close by a khan on mount Parnes, which is covered with pine trees, Sir George Wheeler saw a very curious fountain, to which the wolves, bears, and wild boars commonly descend to drink. Id. p. 197.

² Geop. xviii. 14. Nevertheless, when a wolf bit a sheep without killing it, the flesh was supposed to be rendered more tender and delicate, an effect which Plutarch attributes to the hot and fiery breath of the beast. Sympos. ii. 9.

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BOOK V.

CHAPTER VII.

SLAVES.

It will have been remarked, that both in town and country, the mean and painful drudgery was chiefly performed by slaves,¹ whose origin, condition, and numbers, in the principal Grecian states, it now becomes necessary to describe. The greatest writers of antiquity² were on this subject perplexed and undecided. They appear to have comprehended the full extent of the evil,³ but to have been too much the slaves themselves of habit and prejudice to discover, that no form or modification of

¹ On the state of domesticity in modern times, see the interesting work by Monsieur Grégoire, *Sur la Domesticité*, p. 3, sqq.

² Cf. Plat. de Legg. t. viii. p. 38.

³ Thus Metrodorus: — Δούλος ἀναγκαῖον μὲν κτῆμα, οὐχ ἡδὺ δέ. Stob. Florileg. Tit. 62. 44.

servitude is consistent with human happiness or with justice, without which no happiness can be. This is evident from the conversation in Crete between Plato and his Gnosian and Spartan companions. They do not trouble their minds with inquiries respecting the origin of slavery, which, while some tribes of men are stronger and more civilised than others, could never be difficult to be conjectured; but considering its existence easy to be accounted for, they are concerned to discover by what means may be avoided or mitigated the mischiefs they everywhere saw accompanying it.

Most perplexing of all,¹ however, was the Lacedæmonian Heloteia; because in that case the comparatively great number of the servile caste rendered it necessary, in the opinion of some, to break their spirit and bring them down to their condition by a system of severity which constitutes the infamy of Sparta.

The discredit, however, of subsisting on slave labour was to a certain extent shared by all the states of Greece, even by Athens. They appear to have supposed that no slaves, no body politic.² But in the treatment of those unfortunate men there was as much variation as from the differences of national character might have been inferred. The Athenians in this respect, as in most others, being the antipodes of the Spartans, and falling into the error, if such a thing can be conceived, of extreme humanity and indulgence.

It is no doubt possible by kindness to obliterate many of the ugly features of slavery, so that between the vassal and his lord strong mutual affection may spring up.³ We hear, accordingly, of

¹ Cf. Plat. de Legg. vi. t. vii. p. 460.

² Even no house according to Aristot. Polit. i. 3. Stob. Floril. Tit. 62. 44.

³ Herodes Atticus, for instance,

lamented the death of his slaves as if they had been his relations, and erected statues to their memory in woods, or fields, and beside fountains. Philost. Vit. Soph. ii. 10. Among respectable slaves

slaves whose love for their masters exceeded the love of brothers, or of children;¹ they have toiled, fought, died, for them; nay they have sometimes surpassed them in courage, and taught them, in situations of imminent danger, how to die, as in the case of that military attendant, who, when taken prisoner with his master, and seeing him resolved on death, yet hesitating about the means, dashed his brains out against the wall to show him how it might be done. Another example is recorded of a slave who put on the disguise of his lord, that he might be slain in his stead. But what then? Do these examples prove that in servitude there is anything ennobling? On the contrary, the only inference to be drawn from them is, that in these cases great and worthy souls had been dealt with unjustly by fortune. However, since none but the incorrigibly base can now be found to advocate this worst of all human vices, I may spare my arguments, and proceed at once to trace the history of slavery in Greece.

In very remote ages mankind, according to tradition, dispensed with the labours of domestic slaves,²

it was thought disgraceful to drink when the family was in trouble. Vict. Var. Lect. viii. 4. A striking example of the affection produced by good usage is mentioned by Libanius: "Sed, ut intelligas," says the sophist, writing to Uranius, "quam fidum habeas servum, quæsi vi ego tunc otiosus, cur, præter ejus generis hominum, consuetudinem tanta fide res tuas curaret? Is vero mihi graviter sapientissimæque respondit se novum quoddam fidissimæ servitutis genus excogitare oportuisse, quoniam herum habeat nomine, re vero fratrem, cum quo eundem cibum caperet, idem vinum biberet, à quo non modo vapula-

"ret, sed ne malum quidem unquam aliquid audiret," Epistol. i. 16. Lat. ed J. C. Wolf. p. 739. a.

¹ Plato, de Legg. vi. t. vii. p. 460.

² In old times there were neither Manes nor Sekis: the women did everything. Athen. vi. 83. Cf. Herod. vi. 137. Of these early periods, however, few records remain, for as soon as the Greeks appear upon the stage of history they are attended by slaves. On this account Philo Judæus admires the Argonauts, who on their celebrated expedition forewent the aid of servile labour: ἀγαμαι καὶ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν, οἱ σύμπαν ἀπέφηναν ἐλεύθερον τὸ

whose place was supplied by the women of the family,¹ who rose before day to grind corn for the household; and as they usually sang while thus engaged, the whole village on such occasions would seem alive with music. As in the East, also, they were accustomed to draw water from the wells, or seek it at a distance at the fountains, as I have already, in speaking of the Hellenic women, observed. But as soon as men began to give quarter in war, and became possessed of prisoners, the idea of employing them, and rendering their labours subservient to their maintenance naturally suggested itself. At the outset, therefore, as a very distinguished historian² has remarked, servitude sprung from feelings of humanity; for when it was found that advantages could be derived from captured enemies they were no longer butchered in the field. Hence, from the verb signifying “to be subdued,” they were denominated *Dmōes*;³ for “of whom a man is

πλήρωμα, μηδένα μήτε τὰς εἰς ἀναγκαίας ὑπηρεσίας προσέμενοι δοῦλον, ἀδελφὸν ἐλευθερίας αὐτουργίαν ἐν τῇ τότε ἀσπασμένων. Lib. quisq. virt. Stud. t. ii. p. 467. ed. Mangey.

¹ In later times, however, this laborious task devolved upon female slaves. “Gottlieb Fischer
“ (Disput. Philolog. de Molis Manual. Vet. in 4. Gedani, 1728,)
“ établit, par des preuves multipliées, que chez les Egyptiens, les Babyloniens, les Perses, les Arabes, les Grecs, les Romains, ce travail étoit ordinairement le partage des femmes esclaves. L’invention des moulins à eau fut pour elles l’époque d’une joie universelle, dont le poète Antipater se rendit l’interprète par une pièce arrivée jusqu’à nous : Femmes occupées à moudre, ne fatiguez plus vos bras, dormez la longue mati-

“ née . . . Cérès a ordonné aux nymphes de remplacer l’ouvrage de vos mains, etc.” Grégoire de la Domesticité, p. 7.

² Mitford, Hist. of Greece, i. 405. “When warlike people, emerging from the savage state, first set about agriculture, the idea of sparing the lives of prisoners on condition of their becoming useful to the conquerors by labour, was an obvious improvement upon the practice of former times, when conquered enemies were constantly put to death, not from a spirit of cruelty, but from necessity, for the conquerors were unable to maintain them in captivity, and dared not set them free.” See on this subject, Grotius de Jür. Bell. et Pac. iii. 14. Rousseau’s Contrat Social, i. 4.

³ Δμῶες dicti παρὰ δαμᾶσθαι, à domando, Feith. Antiq. Hom.

“overcome, of the same is he brought in bondage.”¹ Of these constant mention is made in Homer. Thus Telemachos speaks of the Dmões whom his father had left in his charge; and Agamemnon detained in his tent a number of Lesbian women taken captive in war. In the same condition was Briseïs: and to this fate Hector fears Andromache may be reserved after his death.²

Possibly the practice was borrowed from the East, where the mention of slaves occurs in the remotest ages. Thus too in later times, Atossa, queen of Persia, is represented to have urged Darius into the Grecian war, that she might possess Athenian, Spartan, Argive, and Corinthian slaves.³ And the Pythoress foretelling the destruction of Miletus, exclaims:

“And of a numerous long-haired race thy wives shall wash the feet.”⁴

The practice was when a number of prisoners had been taken, to make a division of them among the chiefs, generally by lot, and then to sell them for slaves.⁵ This Achilles boasts he had frequently done, and old Priam fears will be the destiny of his own sons, as it had been of Lycaon whom the Thessalian hero had seized⁶ in his garden. To the same purpose is the lament of Hecuba,⁷ who accuses him of having reduced many of her sons to slavery. Examples occur in antiquity of whole cities and states being at once subjected to servitude: thus the in-

ii. 20. p. 180. Hom. Odyss. ρ. 299.

¹ II. Epist. Peter. ch. ii. ver. 19.

² Odyss. α. 398. Iliad. θ. 128, seq. ε. 689, sqq. τ. 193. Virg. Æneid. iii. 326, seq.

³ Herod. iii. 134. Ἐπιθυμέω observes the queen, γὰρ λόγῳ πυνθανομένη, Λακαίνας τέ μοι γενέσθαι θεράπαινας καὶ Ἀργείας καὶ

Ἀττικὰς καὶ Κορινθίας. The same thing is related by Ælian (De Nat. Animal. xi. 27); but it is probable that Herodotus was the authority on which he based his narrative.

⁴ Herod. vi. 19.

⁵ Eurip. Troad. 30, sqq.

⁶ Feith, Antiq. Hom. p. 181.

⁷ Iliad. φ. 102. ω. 751, seq.

habitants of Judea were a first and a second time carried away captive to Babylon, where their masters, not perhaps from mockery, required of them to sing for their entertainment some of their national songs, to which, as we learn from the prophet, they replied: "How can we sing the songs of Zion in a strange land?" The citizens likewise of Miletos, after the unsuccessful revolt of Aristagoras, were transported into Persia, as were those also of Eretria and Carystos in Eubœa.¹ Like the Israelites, these Greeks long preserved in captivity their national manners and language, though surrounded by strangers and urged by every inducement to assimilate themselves to their conquerors. A similar fate overtook the inhabitants of Thebes, who were sold into slavery by Alexander, as were those of Mycene by the Argives, and the Corinthians by Mummius.²

But the supply produced by war seldom equalled the demand; and in consequence a race of kidnapers sprung up, who, partly merchants and partly pirates, roamed about the shores of the Mediterranean, as similar miscreants do now about the slave-coasts, picking up solitary and unprotected individuals. Sometimes their boldness rose to the wives or daughters of the chiefs; as in the case of Paris, who robbed the house, and carried away the wife of Menelaus; and of those Phœnicians who having landed at Argos and held, during several days, a fair on the beach, ended by stealing the king's daughter.³ Mitford's supposition that both Io and her companions may have been allured on board,⁴ is founded on the apologetical narrative of the pirates themselves. The practice of kidnapping certainly prevailed widely. Thus Eumæos was, by the Phœnicians, sold to Laertes, and a similar fate awaited the woman whom the Taphian pirates stole away at the same

¹ Herod. vi. 20, 119.

³ Herod. i. 1.

² Diod. Sicul. xi. Arrian, Anab. i. p. 11. Plut. Symp. ix. 1. Mitf. Hist. of Greece. ii. 176.

⁴ History of Greece, i. 32.

time.¹ Odysseus himself relates how a Phoenician rogue plotted against his liberty when he was sailing with him towards Libya, and that the Thesprotians had meditated a like design.² To enumerate no other instances, Laomedon menaces Apollo and Poseidon with servitude, observing that he will have them bound and shipped to some distant island for sale.³

Neither war, however, nor piracy sufficed at length to furnish that vast multitude of slaves, which the growing luxury of the times induced the Greeks to consider necessary. Commerce by degrees conducted them to Caria and other parts of Asia Minor, particularly the southern coasts of the Black Sea, those great nurseries of slaves from that time until now.⁴ The first Greeks who engaged in this traffic, which even by the Pagans was supposed to be attended by a curse, are said to have been the Chians, and we shall presently see how ill it prospered with them. They purchased their slaves from the barbarians, among whom the Lydians, the Phrygians, and the natives of Pontos, with many others were accustomed, like the modern Circassians, to carry on a trade in their own people.⁵ We find mention made

¹ Odyss. o. 427. 482.

² Odyss. ζ. 340.

³ Iliad. φ. 453, seq. Feith observes that the Romans afforded no encouragement to those low and sordid villains who stole and sold their fellow-creatures, and kept none as slaves, but such as were lawfully captured in war. Antiq. Hom. ii. 20.

⁴ Female slaves were obtained from Thrace, Phrygia, and Paphlagonia. Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 261. Philost. Vit. Apoll. Tyan. viii. 7. 12. Cf. Plut. Sympos. v. 7. 1.

⁵ Philost. Vit. Apoll. Tyan. viii. 7. 12. The demoralising effects

of this traffic were never perhaps better illustrated than by Barbot. This writer, while describing the arts by which men entice their own children, kindred, or neighbours, to the European factories for the purpose of selling them, relates an anecdote exhibiting the ne plus ultra of human depravity: "I was told of one
" who designed to sell his own
" son; but he, understanding
" French, dissembled for a while,
" and then contrived it so cunningly as to persuade the French
" that the old man was his slave,
" and not his father, by which
" means he delivered him up into

in the *Anabasis* of a Macronian, who having been a slave at Athens and obtaining his liberty, afterwards became a soldier and served the Ten Thousand as an interpreter at a critical moment during their passage through his native country.¹

Before proceeding, however, with the history of the slave-trade, it may be proper to describe the power possessed by masters over their domestics during the heroic ages. Every man appears to have been then a king in his own house, and to have exercised his authority most regally. Thus we find the young Telemachos taking pleasure in the idea that he shall be king over his slaves;² and Andromache, with a mother's fondness, fears lest her son should become the drudge of an unfeeling lord.³ Power generally, when unchecked by law, is fierce and inhuman, and over their household, gentlemen, in those ages, exercised the greatest and most awful power, that of life and death, as they afterwards did at Rome.⁴ This is illustrated by an example in the *Odyssey*, where the hero being, while in disguise, insulted grossly by Melanthios, threatens the slave that he will incite Telemachos to cut him in pieces. Afterwards, when he has recovered his authority, the terrible menace is remembered and fulfilled. The culprit is seized and mutilated with savage barbarity, his members, torn from the body, are thrown to the dogs, and even the poet, upon the whole so humane, does not seem to consider the punishment too great for the offence.⁵ It has even been supposed that

“captivity; and thus made good
 “the Italian proverb, a furbo
 “furbo e mezzo; amounting to
 “as much as ‘set a thief to catch
 “a thief,’ or ‘diamond cuts dia-
 “mond.’” *Descr. of Guinea*, i. 4.
 The son immediately after was
 relieved of his ill-got gains and
 himself sold for a slave.

¹ *Xenoph. Anab.* iv. 8. 4.

² *Odyss. α.* 397.

³ *Iliad. ω.* 734.

⁴ See Joach. Hopp. *Comment. Succinct. ad Instit. Justin.* l. i. Tit. viii. § 1. p. 61. Grot. *De Jur. Bell. et Pac.* ii. 5. 28. iii. 7. 3.

⁵ *Odyss. ρ.* 369. *χ.* 475, sqq. In most parts of the ancient world the punishments of slaves were

this kind of mutilation was a punishment peculiar to slaves; for Laomedon, while menacing the gods in the manner above described, adds, that he will cut off their ears.¹ When supposed to deserve death they were executed ignominiously by hanging, as in the case of the domestics of Odysseus, whose offences, though grave, would scarcely in any free country be visited with capital punishment.² This was regarded as an impure end. To die honourably was to perish by the sword.³

The practice of manumission already in the heroic ages prevailed.⁴ Odysseus promises their freedom to his herdsman and swineherd if by their aid he should slaughter the suitors; and, according to Plutarch, Telemachos actually bestowed on Eumæos and his companions both their liberty and the rights of citizenship, and from them, he adds, the celebrated families of the Koliades and Bukoli were descended.⁵

Nor does the illustrious race appear to be yet ex-

to the last degree disproportionate and unjust: "Cibum enim adurere, mensam evertere, dicto tardius audientem fuisse, cruce, aut flagellis ad minus expiabantur. (Cf. Plut. De Cohibend. Irâ. § 13. 15.) Dixisses, omnes penitus dominos professos fuisse Stoicam sectam, adeò illis altè insederat, omnia servorum peccata æqualia esse. Quo factum est, ut servi nuper empti non quærerent an superstitiosum, vel invidum, sed an iracundum herum nacti essent. Seneca; (de Irâ. iii. 28) quid est, quare ego servi mei hilarius responsum, et contumaciorum vultum, et non pervenientem usque ad me murmuratorem, flagellis et compedibus expiem." Pignor. De Servis, p. 5.

¹ Feith. Antiq. Hom. ii. 20.

² Odyss. x. 462.

³ Eustath. ad loc. p. 1934. Cf. Virg. xii. 603.

⁴ In later times freedmen accused of ingratitude returned, if convicted, to slavery. Etym. Mag. 124. 53, seq. This also was the practice under the Roman law, but among our own ancestors, a bondsman, once disenthralled, could never again be reduced to servitude. Fortescue de Laud. Leg. Angl. cap. 46. p. 108 b. Under certain circumstances, we find Athenian emancipated slaves accounted honourable and permitted to marry free women. Dem. in Steph. i. § 20. Mention occurs in Demosthenes of a magnificent monument made in honour of the wife of one of these freedmen. § 22.

⁵ Plut. Hellen. Problem. 14.

tinct, Professor Koliades¹ claiming to be a lineal descendant from Eumæos, which may very well be since he must be descended from somebody; and there is no reason why a descendant of Eumæos should not be a professor.

In addition to the slaves there were likewise free labourers who worked for hire, and were called Thetes.² These sometimes seem to have been placed on the extremities of estates, as the guardians of boundaries, a post which Eurymachos offers with good wages to Odysseus.³ And it is the condition of one of these hinds that Achilles prefers in Hades to the empire of the shades.⁴ The gods also in their sojourn upon earth sometimes submitted to the hardships of this condition. Thus Phoebos Apollo kept the flocks of Admetos, king of Thessaly,⁵ and the belief in this humble condition of the gods on earth is objected by Lucian and Dionysius of Halicarnassus,⁶ as blameworthy to the Greeks. Herodotus, too, relates that the three sons of Temenos—Gavanes, Aëropos, and Perdiccas—fled from Argos into Illyria and thence into Upper Macedonia to the city of Lebæa, where they served the king for hire, the first tending the royal stud, the second the cattle, and the third the sheep and goats.⁷

From the history of Minos, which, whether true or fabulous, still illustrates the manners of the times, we learn, that the tribute exacted by a victorious enemy sometimes consisted of slaves. Thus the Cretan king, having made a successful descent on the Attic coast, was propitiated (as by our own ancestors were the Danes and other Northern savages)

¹ See Mr. Nelson Coleridge, Introduction to the Study of the Greek Poets. Pt. 1. p. 306.

² Odyss. δ. 644. Cf. Clavier, Hist. des Prem. Temps de la Grèce. ii. 315. Suid. v. θῆτες.

1322, who says their hire was called θητώνιον.

³ Odyss. ρ. 356.

⁴ Odyss. λ. 488.

⁵ Iliad. v. 434, seq.

⁶ Antiq. Rom. ii. 19.

⁷ Herod. viii. 137.

by an annual offering of fourteen youths and virgins, who, being conveyed to Crete, were there said to be destroyed by a monster born of Pasiphaë, daughter of the sun.¹ Theseus, the great hero of the Ionic race, delivered his country from this obnoxious tax, and on his return to Athens was received by the people with unbounded gratitude; sacrifices and processions were instituted in his honour, and the memory of his noble achievement was religiously preserved as long as paganism endured.²

And in some such ways as the above, slaves, in early times, must have been procured; for, as Timæos of Taormina³ remarks, the Greeks of those ages obtained none in the regular course of traffic. He further adds, that Aristotle was generally accused of having misunderstood the usages of the Locrians, among whom, as among the Phocians,⁴ it was not of old the custom to possess slaves, whether male or female. The practice, however, prevailed in later times; and the wife of that Philomelos who took Delphi is said to have been the first who was attended by two servile handmaids.⁵ But when men commence evil courses, they seldom know where to stop. Mnason, a Phocian, and friend of Aristotle,⁶ ambitious of rivalling Nicias, the son of Niceratos, purchased for his own service a thousand slaves, for which he was accused by his countrymen of lavishing upon them what would have supported an equal number of free persons.⁷ In that country, therefore, it is clear there existed a class of labourers like the Thetes described by Homer, who were ready to work for hire.⁸ In their domestic economy the simplicity of their manners enabled the Phocians and Locrians to dispense with the services of slaves, it being the custom among them, as among the rustics

¹ Isocrat. Helen. Encom. § 14.

² Mitf. Hist. of Greece, i. 70.

³ Ap. Athen. vi. 86. See, however, the testimony of Polybius, xii. 5.

⁴ Cf. Suid. v. δουλοσύνη. i. 769.

⁵ Athen. vi. 86.

⁶ Ælian. Var. Hist. iii. 19.

⁷ Athen. vi. 86.

⁸ Odys. δ. 644.

of Eubœa, whom we have described above, for the younger members of the family to wait on the elder.¹

The Chians, as I have already observed, are said to have been the first Grecian people who engaged in a regular slave-trade.² For, although the Thesalians and Spartans possessed, at a period much anterior, their Penestæ and their Helots, they obtained them by different means: the latter, by reducing to subjection the ancient Achæan inhabitants of Peloponnesos;³ the former, by their conquests over the Magnesians, Perrhæbians, and Bœotians of Arnè. But the Chians possessed only such barbarian slaves as they had purchased with money, in which they more nearly resembled the slave-holding nations of modern times.⁴ Other circumstances, likewise, in the history of slavery among the Chians,⁵ strongly suggest the parallel, and deserve to be studied with more care than appears to have been bestowed upon them. We have here, perhaps, the first type of the Maroon wars, though on a smaller scale, and marked by fewer outbreaks of atrocity. It is not, indeed, stated that the females were flogged, though throughout Greece the males were so corrected; but, whatever the nature of the severities practised on them may have been,⁶ the yoke of bondage was found

¹ Athen. vi. 86.

² Steph. Byzant. v. Χῖος. p. 758. b. Arrian. in Indic. p. 529.

³ Cœl. Rhodig. xxv. 19.

⁴ Athen. vi. 88.

⁵ The servile wars of Sicily assumed a far more important character, and resembled rather those civil commotions in states in which one division of the citizens carries on hostilities against the other; for the wealth of the islanders increasing rapidly after the expulsion of the Carthaginians, they purchased great multitudes of slaves, chiefly from the East, whom they employed in the

usual drudgery, and treated with extraordinary rigour, branding them in the body like cattle:—*Χαρακτῆρα ἐπέβαλλον καὶ σιγμὰς τοῖς σώμασιν.* Diodor. Sicul. 34. ap. Phot. Biblioth. Cod. 244. p. 384. Bekk.

⁶ We may probably, however, form some conjecture respecting the injuries they endured from the description of the atrocities practised by the Sicilians against their slaves. These unhappy men were compelled, as history informs us, to forego even the common reward of labour, and, though they toiled incessantly for their

too galling to be borne,¹ and whole gangs took refuge in the mountains. Fortunately for them, the interior of the island abounded in fastnesses, and was, in those days, covered with forest.

Here, therefore, the fugitives, erecting themselves dwellings, or taking possession of caverns among almost inaccessible cliffs, successfully defended themselves, subsisting on the plunder of their former owners. Shortly before the time of the writer, to whom we are indebted for these details, a bondsman, named Drimacos, made his escape from the city and reached the mountains, where, by valour and conduct, he soon placed himself at the head of the servile insurgents over whom he ruled like a king.² The Chians led several expeditions against him in vain. He defeated them in the field with great slaughter; but, at length, to spare the useless effusion of human blood, invited them to a conference,

owners, to provide for their daily subsistence by plunder and murder: — βαρέως δ' αὐτοῖς κατὰ τε τὰς ὑπηρεσίας ἐχρῶντο, καὶ ἐπιμελείας παντελῶς ὀλίγης ἡξίουσαν τε ἐντρέφεσθαι καὶ ὅσα ἐνδύσασθαι ἐξ ὧν οἱ πλείους ἀπὸ ληστείας τὸ ζῆν ἐπορίζοντο, καὶ μεστὰ φόνον ἦν ἅπαντα καθάπερ στρατευμάτων διεσπαρμένων τῶν ληστῶν. Diodor. Sicul. ap. Phot. ubi supra.

¹ They, as well as the Achæans, had a prison called Zetreion, where their slaves worked in chains. Etym. Mag. 411. 33.

² The history of the servile revolt in Sicily offers numerous points of resemblance to that of Chios, though Eunus, the leader of the Sicilian slaves, by no means deserves, either for character or abilities, to be compared with Drimacos. Eunus was an impostor, who, by visions and pretended prophecies, excited the slaves to insurrec-

tion. He obtained credit for his predictions by concealing a bored walnut-shell, filled with some fiery substance, in his mouth, and then breathing forth sparks and flames like a chimera. His mind, however, was capable of ambition, for, among the other events which he foretold, he was careful to introduce the fact, that he was one day, by the decrees of heaven, to be a king. Diodor. Sicul. 34. Ap. Phot. Biblioth. Cod. 244. p. 384. Bekk. The contrivances by which he supported his pretensions to miraculous powers are thus described by Florus, iii. 19: Syrus quidam nomine Eunus (magnitudo claudium facit, ut meminimus) fanatico furore simulato, dum Syriæ deæ comas, jactat ad libertatem et arma servos, quasi numinum imperio concitavit idquæ ut divinitus fieri probaret, in ore abdita nuce quam sulfure, et igne stipaveret, leniter inspirans flammam inter verba fundebat.

wherein he observed, that the slaves, being encouraged in their revolt by an oracle, would never lay down their arms or submit to the drudgery of servitude. Nevertheless, the war might be terminated. "For, if my advice," said he, "be followed, and we be suffered to enjoy tranquillity, numerous advantages will thence accrue to the state."

There being little prospect of a satisfactory settlement of the matter by arms, the Chians consented to enter into a truce as with a public enemy. Humbled by their losses and defeats, Drimacos found them submissive to reason. He, therefore, provided himself with weights, measures, and a signet,¹ and exhibiting them to his former masters, said, "When, in future, our necessities require that I should supply myself from your stores, it shall always be by these weights and measures, and having possessed myself of the necessary quantity of provisions, I shall be careful to leave your warehouses sealed with this signet. With respect to such of your slaves as may fly and offer themselves to me, I will institute a rigid examination into their story, and if, upon inquiry, they appear to have had just grounds for complaint, I will protect them—if not, they shall be sent back to their proprietors."

To these conditions the magistrates readily acceded, upon which the slaves who still remained

¹ In illustration of the ancient practice of sealing storehouses and other places where valuable things were kept, we may cite the following anecdote from Diogenes Laertius. (iv. 8. 3.) Lacydes, who succeeded Arcesilaus as principal professor in the New Academy, having, as it would appear, a set of thievish domestics, was in the habit of carefully sealing the door of his storeroom; but, in order not to run any

risk of losing the seal, he used, unobserved, as he thought, to slip it into the chamber through an aperture in the door. The slaves, however, diligently reconnoitering his movements, discovered the old gentleman's secret, and visiting his stores as often as they thought proper, they escaped detection by sealing the door again, and placing through the hole the signet where he had left it.

with their masters grew more obedient, and seldom took to flight, dreading the decision of Drimacos.¹ Over his own followers he exercised a despotic authority. They, in fact, stood far more in fear of him than when in bondage of their lords, and performed his bidding without question or murmur, as soldiers obey their commander. For he was severe in the punishment of the unruly, and permitted no man to plunder or lay waste the country, or commit any act of injustice,—in short, to do anything without his order. The public festivals he was careful to observe, going round and collecting from the proprietors of the land, who bestowed upon him voluntarily both wine and the finest victims; but if, on these occasions, he discovered that a plot was hatching, or any ambush laid for him, he would take speedy vengeance.

So far the affairs of the Chians and their revolted bondsmen proceeded smoothly. But things continued not always on this footing. Observing old age to be creeping upon Drimacos, and rendered wanton apparently by prosperity, the government issued a proclamation, offering a great reward to any one who should capture him, or bring them his head.² The old general, discerning, perhaps, signals

¹ The conduct of Eunos and his followers, when, immediately after their revolt, they took possession of the city of Euna, presented the most striking contrast with this moderation of the Chian slaves: they pillaged the houses, and, without distinction of age or sex, slaughtered the inhabitants, plucking the infants from the breasts, and dashing them to the ground. Over part of their atrocities the historian modestly drops a veil: *Εἰς δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας* observes he, *οὐδ' ἔστιν εἰπεῖν (καὶ τότε βλεπόντων τῶν ἀνδρῶν) ὅσα ἐνύβριζόν τε καὶ ἐνησέλγαινον,*

πολλοῦ αὐτοῖς πλήθους τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως δούλων προστεθέντος οἱ καὶ κατὰ τῶν κυρίων πρότερον τὰ ἔσχατα ἐνδεικνύμενοι οὕτω πρὸς τὸν τῶν ἄλλων φόνον ἐτρέποντο. Diodor. Sicul. ap. Phot. Biblioth. p. 385.

² The Romans, it must be owned, conducted the war against Eunos, who had adopted the style and title of a king, in a manner more worthy of the republic. The number of the insurgents amounted at one time to sixty thousand men, who, armed with axes, slings, stakes, and cooking-spits, defeated several

of treachery, or convinced that, at last, it must come to that, took aside a young man whom he loved, and said, " I have ever regarded you with a stronger affection than any other man, and to me you have been, instead of a son, a brother, and every other tie. But now, the days of my life are at an end, nor would I have them prolonged. With you, however, it is not so. Youth and the bloom of youth are yours. What then is to be done? You must prove yourself to possess valour and greatness of soul; and since the state offers riches and freedom to whomsoever shall slay me and bear them my head, let the reward be yours. Strike it off, and be happy!"

At first the youth rejected the proposal, but ultimately Drimacos prevailed. The old man fell, and his friend on presenting his head received the sum which had been offered by the state, together with his freedom, and thereupon after burying his benefactor's remains, he sailed away to his own country. Now, however, the Chians underwent the just punishment of their treachery. No longer guided by the wisdom and authority of Drimacos, the fugitive slaves returned to their original habits of plunder and devastation.; whereupon, remembering the moderation of the dead, they erected an

armies, and carried on hostilities during upwards of three years. Pursuing them, however, without relaxation, the state prevailed at length, utterly crushed the insurrection, and carried Eunus a prisoner to Rome, where, according to Plutarch, he, like the dictator, Sylla, was devoured by vermin: Εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ τῶν ἀπ' οὐδενὸς μὲν χρηστοῦ γνωρίμων ἄλλως ἐπιμνησθῆναι, λέγεται τὸν ἄρξαντα τοῦ δουλικοῦ πολέμου περὶ Σικελίαν δραπέτην, Εὐνουν ὄνομα μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀγόμενον ὑπὸ φθειριδ-

σεως ἀποθανεῖν. Vit. Syl. § 36. Cf. Diod. Sicul. 34. Ap. Phot. Biblioth. 386. The conclusion of the war by Perperna is thus related by Florus: Tandem Perperna imperatore supplicium de eis sumptum est. Hic enim victos et apud Eunam novissimè obsessos quum fame quasi pestilentia consumpsisset reliquias latronum compedibus catenis religavit, crucibusque punivit fuitque de servis ovatione contentus, ne dignitatem triumphi servili inscriptione violaret. iii. 19.

Heroön upon his grave, and denominated him the propitious hero. The insurgents, too, holding his memory in no less veneration, continued for ages to offer up the first-fruits of their spoil at his tomb. He was, in fact, honoured with a kind of apotheosis, and canonized among the gods of the island; for it was believed that his shade often appeared to men in dreams for the purpose of revealing some servile conspiracy while yet in the bud: and they to whom he vouchsafed these warning visits, more grateful than when he yet lived, never failed to proceed to his chapel, and offer sacrifice to his manes.¹

In another department of iniquity the Chians would appear to have been engaged about the period of Xerxes' expedition into Greece; I mean the making of eunuchs for the Eastern market. Panionios, a miscreant engaged in this traffic, who had mutilated and sold into slavery a young man named Hermotimos, at length expiated his offence against human nature by being himself, together with his four sons, subjected to the same operation.² His countrymen, also, in process of time, were, in like manner, compelled to drain the bitter cup of servitude. For, as we find recorded by Nicolaos the Peripatetic, and Posidonios the Stoic, having been subjugated by Mithridates of Cappadocia, they were delivered up to their own slaves to be carried away captive into Colchis, which Athenæus, a man not overburdened with religion, considers the just punishment of their wickedness in having been the first who introduced the slave-trade into Greece, when they might have been better served by freemen for hire. From this ancient villany of the Chians is supposed to have arisen the proverb—"the Chian has bought himself a master," which Eupolis introduced into his drama called the "Friends."³

¹ Nymphiodor. ap. Athen. vi. 88, sqq.

² Herod. viii. 105.

³ Athen. vi. 91.

The servile war which took place among the Samians, had a more fortunate issue, though but few particulars respecting it have come down to us. It was related, however, by Malacos, in his annals of the Siphnians, that Ephesos was first founded by a number of Samian slaves, who having retired to a mountain on the island to the number of a thousand, inflicted numerous evils on their former tyrants. These in the sixth year of the war, having consulted the oracle, came to an understanding with their slaves, who being permitted to depart in safety from the island, sailed away, and became the founders of the city and people of Ephesos.¹

In Attica, the institution of slavery,² though attended, as it everywhere must be, by innumerable evils, nevertheless exhibited itself under the mildest form which it anywhere assumed in the ancient world.³ With their characteristic attention to the interests of humanity, the Athenians enacted a law, in virtue of which slaves could indict their masters for assault and battery. Hyperides, accordingly, observed in his oration against Mantitheos, "our laws
"making no distinction in this respect between free-
"men and slaves, grant to all alike the privilege of
"bringing an action against those who insult or in-
"jure them."⁴ To the same effect spoke Lycurgus⁵ in his first oration against Lycophron; but Demosthenes has preserved the law which empowered any Athenian, not labouring under legal disability, to de-

¹ Athen. vi. 92.

² For the condition of the public slaves (δημόσιοι) see the notes on Demosth. Olynth. ii. 7. Orat. Att. t. v. p. 45.

³ Occasionally we find them sleeping with their masters in the same apartment, which, doubtless, resembled the *chambre de ménage* of the old French. Aristoph. Nub. 5, et Schol.

⁴ Ap. Athen. vi. 92.

⁵ Lycurg. Frag. xi. Orat. Att. iv. 482. Cf. Meurs. Them. Att. ii. 11. Petit. Legg. Att. vi. 5. 470. Plato was less just to them than the laws of his country. If, in his imaginary state, a slave killed a slave in self-defence he was judged innocent; if a freeman, he was to be put to death like a parricide. De Legg. t. viii. p. 150.

nounce to the Thesmothetæ the person who offered violence to man, woman, or boy, whether slave or free. The action was tried before the court of Heliaea, and numerous were the examples of men who had suffered death for crimes committed against bondsmen. Not, therefore, without reason did the orator eulogise the humane spirit of the law, or dwell upon the beneficial effects which a knowledge of its existence must produce among those barbarous nations who furnished Greece with servile labourers.¹ Another privilege enjoyed by the slave class in Attica was that of purchasing their own freedom, as often as, by the careful management of the peculium secured them by law, they were enabled to offer to their owners an equivalent for their services.²

Still, even in Attica, the yoke of bondage was a heavy yoke, the law itself, in other matters, drawing distinctions between freemen and slaves doubly galling because palpably unnecessary. Legally, for example, they were not allowed to wear long hair,³ or a garment with two sleeves,⁴ to drink wine, save at the festival of Pithœgia on the first day of the month Anthesterion; to anoint themselves as in the gymnasia, to be present at the procession in honour of the Eumenides, or in the case of females to enter the temple of Demeter during the celebration of the Thesmophoria.⁵ A similar spirit pervaded the servile code in other parts of Greece. Thus, in the island of Cos they were prohibited from joining in the sacrifices to Hera, and from tasting the victims. They were, likewise, forbidden to be present when offerings were presented to the Manes of Phorbas.

¹ Cont. Mid. § 14.

persons acting irrationally. Suid. Port. t. i. p. 769.

² Petit. Legg. Att. ii. 6, p. 179.

⁴ Etymol. Mag. 90. 55.

³ Schol. Arist. Vesp. 444. In rainy weather they wore dog-skin caps, id. ib. δούλος ὦν κόμην ἔχεις, was a proverb applied to

⁵ Meurs. Them. Att. ii. 11. 8δ, seq. with the authors there cited.

But from the very words of the law which authorised the temple wardens to exclude them on these occasions, it is clear that on all others they might freely enter.¹ At Athens, with the exceptions above mentioned, every temple in the city appears to have been open to them. Occasionally, moreover, certain of their number were selected to accompany their masters to consult the oracle at Delphi, when even they were permitted, like free citizens, to wear crowns upon their heads, which, for the time conferred upon them exemption from blows or stripes.² Among their more serious grievances, was their liability to personal chastisement, which, besides being inflicted as our punishment of the treadmill, or whipping,³ at the carts'-tail, by an order of the magistrates,⁴ was too much left to the discretion of their owners, whose mercies in many cases would be none of the most tender. In time of war, however, this planter's luxury could not be enjoyed,⁵ since the flogged slaves might go over to the enemy, as sometimes happened.⁶ They are said, besides, to have worked the mines in fetters; probably, however, only in consequence of the revolt described by Posidonios, in which they slew the overseers of the mines, and taking possession of the acropolis of Sunium,⁷ laid waste for a considerable time the whole

¹ Athen. vi. 81.

² Aristoph. Plut. 21.

³ The thongs of whips used in scourging slaves, had sometimes we find small pieces of bronze fastened at the end. Caylus, Rec. D'Antiq. ii. p. 334. Among the Tyrrhenians, slaves were absurdly beaten to the sound of music. Plut. De Cohibend. Irâ. § 11.

⁴ Meurs. Them. Att. ii. 11.

⁵ Xenophon, in fact, complains that they could not be struck:—*οὔτε πατάξαι ἔξεστιν αὐτόθι*. De Rep. Athen. i. 10. Cf. Muret. in Arist. Ethic. v. p. 434, sqq.

Elsewhere in Greece the beating of slaves would appear to have been a matter of every day occurrence. Plut. De Cohibend. Irâ. § 15.

⁶ Aristoph. Nub. 6, et Schol. When a slave once ran away from Diogenes he would not pursue him, but observed, that it would be a frightful thing if Diogenes could not do without the slave, since the slave could do without Diogenes. Stob. Florileg. Tit. 62. 47.

⁷ They would appear to have made every slave who joined

of the adjacent districts. This took place simultaneously with the second insurrection of the slaves in Sicily (there was, perhaps, an understanding between them) in the quelling of which nearly a million of their number were destroyed.¹ Other grievances they endured, which will be noticed as we proceed; but in addition to those that actually existed, a learned modern writer has imagined another, which, in his opinion, reduces their condition beneath that of the Helots. "Nearly all the ties of family were broken," he says, "among the slaves of Athens;" and further explaining himself in a note remarks, that the marriage of slaves was there an uncommon event.² We find, however, from contemporary writers, that except in cases of incorrigible perverseness, slaves were, on the contrary, encouraged to marry, it being supposed they would thus become more attached to their masters.³ The same bold and ingenious writer endeavours to give a reason for what has been quoted above, by saying, "it was cheaper to purchase than to bring up slaves." This was not the opinion of the ancients, "we," say they, "prefer and put more trust in slaves born and brought up in the house, than in such as are purchased."⁴

It has been observed that, from the most grievous

them a citizen of Sunium, whence the proverb, "Slaves to-day, and Sunians to-morrow." Athen. vi. 83. On one occasion certain slaves took possession of a number of galleys, and infested the coast of Italy as pirates. 87.

¹ Athen. vi. 104.

² Müll. Dor. ii. 37. Among the Romans, slaves were thought to be incapable of contracting marriage, properly so called. *Porro ad militaris contubernii similitudinem quandam factum est ut, cum inter servos jure Romano veræ nuptiæ dici ne-*

queant, servile connubium non matrimonium, ut inter liberos, sed, uti mera cohabitatio, contubernium diceretur. Torrent. in Suet. Vesp. p. 362.

³ Xen. Œcon. ix. 5. Aristot. Œcon. i. 5, (who says that slaves were to be bound by the pledge of children.) Columell. i. 8. 5.

⁴ Πεφύκαμεν γὰρ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν μᾶλλον πιστεύειν τοῖς οἴκοι γεννηθεῖσι καὶ τραφεῖσιν ἢ οὓς ἂν κτησώμεθα πριάμενοι. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 2.

insults and contumely, slaves were protected by the laws; but if, in spite of legal protection, their masters found means to render their lives a burden, the state provided them with an asylum in the temples of Theseus and the Eumenides.¹ Having there taken sanctuary, their oppressors could not force them thence without incurring the guilt of sacrilege.² Thus, in a fragment of Aristophanes' *Seasons* we find a slave deliberating whether he should not take refuge in the Theseion, and there remain till he could procure his transfer to a new master;³ for any one who conducted himself too harshly towards his slaves was by law compelled to sell them.⁴ Nay and not only so, but the slave could institute an action against his lord called *αἰχμᾶς δίκη*, or against any other citizen who had behaved unjustly or injuriously towards him. But the right of sanctuary was no doubt limited, and only extended from the time of the slave's flight

¹ Sch. Aristoph. *Eq.* 1309.

² Plut. *Thes.* § 36. With the commentators on Pollux. t. v. p. 232, seq. Cf. Phil. Jud. Lib. quisq. virt. Stud. t. ii. p. 467. ed. Mangey. Grot. *Le Droit de la Guerre et de la Paix*, l. iii. ch. 7. § 8, with the notes of Barbeyrac.

³ Pollux. vii. 13. Such as took refuge at the Altar of Hestia or the domestic hearth were denominated *ἐδπίραι*. Etymol. Mag. 316, 52.

⁴ In modern times the Turks claim the credit of superior humanity towards their slaves who, through marriage with their masters' sons or daughters, often rise to the highest degree of opulence and distinction. Most of the Pashas and great officers of state have sprung from a servile origin. The same thing may be said of the Sultanas and principal ladies

of the empire; for which reason the Circassian princes and nobles have always been ambitious to have one at least of their daughters established in a Turkish harem. Habesci, *State of the Ottoman Empire*, chap. 31. p. 396, sqq. A correspondent of the *Malta Times*, writing from Turkey, observes: "Should the slave object to remain with his master, he himself has the power to go to the market and declare he wishes to be sold. The master never opposes this, and it proves such a check upon him that he seldom dares even to scold his slave." *Times*, February 28, 1842. All this must be understood, however, with considerable reserve, since no traveller can pass through the Ottoman Empire without discovering numerous examples of the cruelty of masters towards their domestics.

to the next New Moon, when a periodical slave-auction appears to have been held.¹

On this occasion the slaves were stationed, as I have seen them in the bazaars of modern Egypt, in a circle in the market-place, and the one whose turn it was to be sold mounted a table, which seems to have been of stone, where he exhibited himself and was knocked down to the best bidder. Sometimes when the articles were lively they made great sport for the company, as in the case of Diogenes who bawled aloud "whoever among you wants a master, let him buy me."²

To the friskiness whether natural or assumed which the young barbarians often exhibited on this occasion, Menander alludes in the following fragment of his *Ephesian*:³

I scorn by the gods to be breechesless found,
And for sale tripping briskly the vile circles round.

Slaves of little or no value were contemptuously called "salt-bought," from a custom prevalent among the inland Thracians, of bartering their captives for salt;⁴ whence it may be inferred, that domestics from that part of the world were considered inferior.

Respecting the price of slaves an important passage occurs in the *Memorabilia*, where Socrates, conversing with Antisthenes, on the subject of friendship, inquires whether friends were to be valued at so much per head, like slaves, some of whom he says were not worth a demimna, while others would fetch two,

¹ Ἐν δὲ ταῖς νομηνίαις οἱ δοῦλοι ἐπωλούντο. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 43. The auctioneer or slave-broker (προπάτωρ) was answerable at law for the quality of the persons whom he sold; that is, that they corresponded with the description given of them in the catalogue. Poll. vii. 11. 12. Cf. Casaub. ad Theoph. Charact.

p. 257, and Scaliger on the word Propula ad Virg. Cul. 411. p. 1255, seq. Slaves were sometimes sold in the temple of Castor and Polydeukes. Dem. in Steph. i. § 23.

² Diogen. Laert. vi. 1. 4.

³ Harpocrat. v. κύκλοι. p. 108. Vales. Cf. Poll. vii. 11.

⁴ Poll. vii. 14, seq.

five, or even ten minæ,¹ that is, the price varied from forty shillings to forty pounds. Nay it is even said that Nicias, son of Niceratos, bought an overseer for his silver mines at the price of a talent, or two hundred and forty-one pounds sterling.² This passage is in substance quoted by Boeckh,³ who observes that, exclusively of the fluctuations caused by the variations in the supply and the demand, the market-price of slaves was affected by their age, health, strength, beauty; natural abilities, mechanical ingenuity, and moral qualities. The meanest and cheapest class were those who worked in the mills,⁴ where mere bodily strength was required, and therefore by setting Samson at this labour the Philistines intimated their extreme contempt for his blind energy. A very low value was set upon such slaves as worked in the mines, about 150 drachmas in the age of Demosthenes.⁵ Ordinary house-slaves, whether male or female, might be valued at about the same price. Demosthenes, in fact, considered two minæ and a half a large sum for a person of this class. Of the sword-cutlers possessed by the orator's father some were valued at six minæ, others at five, while the lowest were worth above three. Chair-makers sold for about two minæ.

¹ Cf. Demosth. adv. Spud. § 3.

² Xenoph. Mem. ii. 5. 2.

³ Pub. Econ. of Athens. i. 92.

⁴ Suid. v. *ἰμαίων φάρμα*, t. i. p. 1239. c. Poll. vii. 180. Of the mill-houses of the ancients we have the following description in Apuleius: "Ibi complurium juvenum multivii circuitus intorquebant molas ambage varia; nec die tantum, verum perpeti etiam nocte prorsus instabili machinarum vertigine lucubabant perviligem farinam." He then sketches a frightful picture of the slaves who work there: "Homunculi vibicibus livedinis

"totam cutem depicti, dorsumque
"plagosum scissili centunculo magis inumbrati, quàm obtecti;
"nonnulli exiguo tegili tantummodo pubem injecti, cuncti tamen
"sic tunicati, ut essent per panulos manifesti; frontes literati,
"et capillum semirasi, et pedes annulati." Metamorph. ix. p. 204, seq. Cf. Pignor. De Servis, p. 9, seq.

⁵ In Pantænet. §§ 2. 5. Barthelémy, however, who had curiously examined the subject, supposes, that a mina was worth from 300 to 600 drachmæ. Voy. du J. Anach. v. 35.

In his discussion on this point, Boeckh¹ charges Demosthenes with intentional falsehood, because, in his oration against Aphobos, he reckons fourteen sword-cutlers at forty minæ, something less than three minæ a-piece. But among those possessed by his father at his death some were reckoned at only three minæ. His guardians made use of them for ten years, that is, till they were grown old, by which time the best would have deteriorated, and the others become of no value.² This being the case, I do not see upon what ground Boeckh bases his accusation. The wages of slaves, when let out by their masters on hire, varied greatly, as did also the profit derived from them. A miner was supposed to yield his master an obolos per day, a leather-worker two oboli, and a foreman or overseer three. Expert manufacturers of fine goods, such as head-nets, stuffs of Amorgos, and variegated fabrics like our flowered muslins, must have produced their owners much greater returns.³

Slaves, at Athens, were divided into two classes, private and public. The latter, who were the property of the state, performed several kinds of service supposed to be unworthy of freemen: they were, for example, employed as vergers, messengers, apparitors, scribes, clerks of public works,⁴ and inferior servants of the gods. Most of the temples of Greece possessed, in fact, a great number of slaves or serfs, who cultivated the sacred domains, exercised various humbler offices of religion, and were, in short, ready on all occasions to execute the orders of the priests.⁵ At Corinth, where the worship of Aphrodite chiefly prevailed, these slaves consisted almost exclusively of women,⁶ who having, on cer-

¹ Pub. Econ. of Athens, i. 94.

² Orat. in Aphob. § 2.

³ Boeckh Pub. Econ. of Athen.

i. 92, sqq.

⁴ Rudig. ad Dem. Olynth. B. § 7. Etymol. Mag. 265. 29, seq.

⁵ Dissen. ad Fragm. Pind. p. 640.

⁶ See a representation of sacred female slaves dancing, in Zoëga, Bassi Relievi. Tav. 20, seq.

tain occasions, burnt frankincense, and offered up public prayers to the goddess, were sumptuously feasted within the precincts of her fane.

Among the Athenians, the slaves of the republic, generally captives taken in war, received a careful education, and were sometimes entrusted with important duties. Out of their number were selected the secretaries,¹ who, in time of war, accompanied the generals and treasurers of the army, and made exact minutes of their expenditure, in order that, when on their return these officers should come to render an account of their proceedings, their books might be compared with those of the secretaries. In cases of difficulty, moreover, these unfortunate individuals were subjected to torture, in order to obtain that kind of evidence which the ancients deemed most satisfactory.²

The servile vocabulary was necessarily abundant: *διάκονος*,³ a servant in general; *ὑπηρέτης*,⁴ a personal attendant or valet; *ἀργυρώ-νητης*,⁵ a slave bought with money; *ἄνιος*, the same; *οἰκότριψ*,⁶ *οἰκοτραφής*, a male slave born in the house. The name given to the female slave in the same condition was *σηκίς*, or *οἰκο-*

¹ Vid. Stock. ad Dem. Olynth. B. § 7. Ulp. ad loc. Harpocrat. v. *δημόσιος*. Vales. ad Maussac. p. 374.

² Lycurg. cont. Leocrat. § 9. Antiph. de Cæd. Herod. § 6. On the extreme uncertainty of evidence extracted by the torture, see Sir John Fortescue, de Laud. Leg. Angl. c. 22.

³ Etym. Mag. 268. 25.

⁴ Etym. Mag. 780. 40, sqq.

⁵ Etym. Mag. 285. 6. Suid. v. *ἀργυρώνη*. t. i. p. 416. a.

⁶ Suid. v. *οἰκότριψ*. t. ii. p. 278. b. Etym. Mag. 598. 15. Ammonius is more explicit: — *οἰκότριψ καὶ οἰκέτης διαφέρει. Οἰκό-*

*τριψ μὲν γὰρ, ὁ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ διατρεφόμενος, δὲ ἡμεῖς θρεπτόν καλοῦμεν· οἰκέτης δὲ, ὁ δούλος ὁ ὠνητός· παρὰ δὲ Σόλῳνι ἐν τοῖς ἄξοσιν οἰκεὺς κέκληται ὁ οἰκότριψ. De Adfin. Vocab. Differ. p. 101, seq. See, also, Valckenaër, Animadvers. c. iii. p. 172, sqq. Thom. Magist. v. *οἰκότριψ*. p. 645. The estimation in which they were held may be learned from Photius: — *οἰκότριβες, οἱ ἐκ δούλων δούλοι, οἱ καὶ οἰκογενεῖς λέγονται· ἐνομίσθητο δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν ἀτιμότεροι τῶν οἰκετῶν, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἐκ δούλων, οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἐλευθέρων ἐγένοντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν αἰεὶ δούλοι, οἱ δὲ ὕστεροι.**

γυνῆς.¹ The housekeeper, likewise a slave, received the appellation of ταμεία² from her office. A lady's maid they called παιδίσκη,³ though it be doubtful, according to Pollux, whether the orator Lysias, who uses the word, does so with reference to the girl's youth or condition.⁴ A slave born of slaves in the house is called οἰκοτριβαίος.⁵ Chrysippos makes a distinction between οἰκέτης⁶ and δοῦλος,⁷ but without much foundation. Clitarchus enumerates various names by which slaves were known in Greece: ἄζοι, θεραπεύοντες,⁸ ἀκόλουθοι,⁹ πάλμονες, and λάτρεις. Rural slaves were called ἐρκίται. Hermon, in his Cretan Glossaries, observes, that slaves, born of free parents (εὐγένεις), were, in the island of Crete, called μινῶται. Seleucus informs us, that ἄζοι signifies servants male and female.¹⁰ The latter were also denominated ἀποφράσαι and βολίζαι. A male slave, born of a slave, was termed σινδράν; a female attendant on a lady, ἀμφίπολος; a slave-girl who walked before her mistress, πρόπολος. Female slaves were, at Lacedæmon, called χαλκίδες. The term οἰκέτης was applied to any person employed about a house, whether slave or free.

A very pleasant and significant custom prevailed when a slave newly purchased was first brought into the house. They placed him before the hearth, where his future master, mistress, and fellow-servants, poured baskets of ripe fruit, dates, figs, filberts, walnuts, and so on, upon his head, to intimate that

¹ Sch. Aristoph. Vesp. 768. Etym. Mag. 590. 14. Suid. v. οἰκογενῆς. t. ii. p. 278. a.

² Cf. Etym. Mag. 745. 13, sqq.

³ Suid. v. παιδίσκη. t. ii. p. 472. a.

⁴ Poll. iii. 76. Annot. t. iv. p. 562, seq. There was over the female slaves of the household an inspector, called σκοπός. Etym. Mag. 718. 51.

⁵ Cf. Meurs. Cret. p. 192.

⁶ Οἰκέται οὐ μόνον οἱ δοῦλοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ, γυνὴ καὶ τέκνα. Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ ᾠγδόῃ ἦν κομίσας τοὺς οἰκέτας οἰκίῃ ἐκείνῃ ὥστε ὑποδεξάμενον τοὺς λόγους τὸν Πανιώνιον, κομίσαι τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα. Thom. Magist. p. 644. Suid. v. οἰκέται. t. ii. p. 276. b.

⁷ Etym. Mag. 284. 49.

⁸ Etym. Mag. 446. 41.

⁹ Dem. cont. Mid. § 44.

¹⁰ Athen. vi. 93.

he was come into the abode of plenty.¹ The occasion was converted by his fellow-slaves into a holiday and a feast; for custom appropriated to them whatever was thus cast upon the new-comer, and as there were sweetmeats among the rest, they had wherewith to make merry.²

Their food was commonly, as might be expected, inferior to that of their masters. Thus the dates grown in Greece, which ripened but imperfectly, were appropriated to their use; and for their drink they had a small thin wine called Lora,³ by the Romans made of the husks of grapes, laid, after they had been pressed, to soak in water,⁴ and then squeezed again, like our *Bunnet*, in the perry country.⁵ That they generally ate barley-bread in Attica was no peculiar hardship,⁶ since the citizens themselves frequently did the same. We find, moreover, that to give a relish to their coarse meal, plain broth, and salt fish,⁷ they were indulged with pickled gherkins.

¹ Sch. Aristoph. Plut. 768, with the commentators. Pollux, iii. 77.

² Cf. Vales. ad Harpocrat. p. 298.

³ Varro, De Re Rust. i. 54. Colum. xii. 40. Cato. 25.

⁴ See Dioscorid. v. 13.

⁵ A drink precisely similar, and manufactured in the same manner, is known in the wine districts of France under the name of *piquette*. Commonly, also, it is there appropriated to the use of the domestics. Among the ancient Egyptians the poor, and, *à fortiori*, it may be conjectured, the slaves were condemned to rely upon beer for the delights of intoxication. Athen. i. 61.

⁶ Nevertheless, Trygæos considers it, a misfortune to be confined to this kind of food, since he wishes that the armourers, who desire that their trade may

flourish, might fall into the hands of robbers, and be dieted on barley-bread: — ληφθεὶς ὑπὸ ληστῶν ἐθλοὶ κριθᾶς μόνας. Pac. Aristoph. 448. Küst. Vid. Schol. 447. But this was to wish them long life and sharp senses, since the longevity and keen sight of the Chaldæans, which enabled them, I suppose, to look into futurity, are chiefly attributed to their bannocks of barley-meal. Luc. Macrob. § 5. Cf. Poll. ii. 353. Thucyd. iii. 49. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 816. We find, from the same scholiast, (Eq. 488.) that barley-dough was designated by a particular term, φῦραμα. Cf. Athen. ix. 67.

⁷ Luc. Quomod. Hist. Sit conscrib. § 20, where the sophist ridicules a slave who, having inherited his master's property, neglected the dainties set before him, such as poultry, pork, and

In the early ages of the commonwealth they imitated the frugal manner of their lords, so that no slave who valued his reputation would be seen to enter a tavern; but in later times they naturally shared largely in the general depravity of morals, and placed their summum bonum in eating and drinking. Their whole creed, on this point, has been summed up in a few words by the poet Sotion.¹ "Wherefore," exclaims a slave, "dole forth these absurdities, these ravings of sophists, prating up and down the Lyceum, the Academy, and the gates of the Odeion? In all these there is nothing of value. Let us drink, let us drink deeply, O Sicon, Sicon!"² Let us rejoice, whilst it is yet permitted us to delight our souls. Enjoy thyself, O Manes! Nothing is sweeter than the belly, which alone is to thee as thy father and thy mother. Virtues, embassies, generalships, are vain pomps, resembling the plaudits of a dream. Heaven, at the fated hour, will deliver thee to the cold grasp of death, and thou wilt bear with thee nothing but what thou hast drunk and eaten! All else is dust, like Pericles, Codros, and Cimon."

The employment of household slaves necessarily varied according to the rank and condition of their lords. In the dwellings of the wealthy and lux-

game, and fell to on the articles of his former diet. Similar traits were exhibited by the French servants, who made great fortunes during the Mississippi scheme. For example, a footman who had enriched himself and purchased a carriage, instead of entering got up behind it. Lord John Russell. *Hist. of Europe*, t. ii. p. 217.

¹ Athen. viii. 15. Servile names were usually brief, as Mida, Phryx, &c. Schol. Arist. *Vesp.* 433. Cf. Strab. l. vii. t. i. p. 467. a. Casaub.

² Euripides describes in a few verses the two very different views taken of servitude by the freeman and the slave:

Orest. Δοῦλος ὧν φοβεῖ τὸν Ἄιδην ὅς σ' ἀπαλλάξ ἐκ κακῶν.

Phryx. Πᾶρ' ἀνὴρ κἄν δοῦλος ἦι τις ἡδεται τὸ φῶς ὀρώων.

Orest. 1537, sqq.

The observation of the Phrygian is just; for God, who tempers the wind to the shorn lamb, mitigates also the misery of the slave, and enables him to look upon the light with something like joy.

urious they were accustomed to fan their masters and mistresses, and to drive away the flies with branches of myrtle, instead of which, in the East, they make use of flappers of palm-leaves. Among the Roman ladies it was customary to retain a female attendant for the sole purpose of looking after the Melitensian lap-dogs¹ of their mistresses, in which they were less ambitious than that dame in Lucian, who kept a philosopher for this purpose.² Female cup-bearers filled the place of our saucy footmen.³ Ladies' maids were likewise slaves. They were initiated in all the arts of the toilette; and it is told of Julia, whose hair turned prematurely grey, that her ornatrix was sometimes surprised plucking out the white hairs by the entrance of her father.⁴ The offices of these ornamenters is thus described by Manilius:

Illis cura sui vultus frontisque decoræ
Semper erit, tortosque in plexum ponere crineis,
Aut nodis revocare, et rursus vertice denso
Fingere et apposis caput emutare capillis.⁵

In these arts they were regularly taught under masters, and there would likewise appear to have been a set of men who earned their subsistence by initiating slaves in household labours. An example is mentioned at Syracuse of a person⁶ who probably had an establishment of his own, where he instructed slaves in the whole round of their domestic duties, such as bread-making, cooking, washing, and so on. In the baker's business Anaxarchos, an Eudaimonist philosopher, one of the fitting companions of Alexander the Great,⁷ introduced an im-

¹ Pignor. De Serv. p. 190. In illustration of the fondness of certain persons for animals, it is related, that there was an old lady in Egypt who habitually slept with a crocodile. Plut. Solert. Anim. § 23.

² De Merced. Conduct. § 34.

³ Pignor. De Serv. p. 190. Athen. i. 20.

⁴ Macrob. Saturn. ii. 5.

⁵ Manil. v. p. 117. v. 28. ed. Scalig.

⁶ Arist. Polit. i. 2. Cf. Dem. adv. Leochar. § 20.

⁷ Diog. Laert. ix. 10. 60.

provement by which modern times may profit,—to preserve his bread pure from the touch, and even from the breath of the slaves who made it, he caused them to knead the dough with gloves on their hands, and to wear a respirator of some gauze-like substance over the mouth.¹ Other individuals, who grudged their domestics a taste of their delicacies, obliged them, while employed at the kneading-trough, to wear a broad collar, like a wheel, which prevented them from bringing their hands to their mouths.² This odious practice, however, could not have been general, as it is clear, from an expression

¹ This Anaxarchos, upon whom complaisant antiquity bestowed the name of philosopher, was in reality nothing but a libertine courtier, whose manners and tastes are thus described by Clearchos of Soli: Τῶν Εὐδαιμονικῶν καλουμένων Ἀναξάρχῳ διὰ τὴν τῶν χορηγησάντων ἄγνοιαν περιπεσούσης ἐξουσίας, γυμνὴ μὲν ὤνοχόει παιδίσκη πρόσηβος, ἡ προκριθεῖσα διαφέρειν ὥρα τῶν ἄλλων· ἀνασύρουσα πρὸς ἀλήθειαν τὴν τῶν οὕτως αὐτῇ χρωμένων ἀκρασίαν· ὁ δὲ σιτοποιὸς χειρίδας ἔχων, καὶ περὶ τῷ στόματι κημὸν, ἔτριβε τὸ σταῖς, ἵνα μὴδὲ ἰδρῶς ἐπιβρέῃ, μήτε τοῖς φυράμασιν ὁ τρίβων ἐμπνέοι. Athen. xii. 70.

² Poll. vii. 20. x. 112. Suid. v. παυσικάπη. t. ii. p. 467. b. This and similar practices are noticed by M. Grégoire. “Les
“ anciens mettoient aux esclaves,
“ (v. Fabretti Inscript. Antiq.
“ Explic. p. 522,) comme on met
“ aux chiens, des colliers ou cer-
“ cles de fer, sur lesquels étoient
“ gravés les noms, profession et
“ demeure du propriétaire, avec

“ invitation de les ramener à
“ leurs maîtres en cas de fuite.
“ Dans le Supplément aux Anti-
“ quités Grecques et Romaines
“ de Poleni, on peut lire diverses
“ inscriptions de ce genre. (U-
“ triusque Thesauri Antiquita-
“ tem, etc., nova supplementa, ab
“ J. Poleno, t. iv. p. 1247.) Les
“ colons avoient enchéri sur les
“ anciens en inventions, pour tor-
“ turer leur semblables: telle est,
“ par exemple, l’énorme triangle
“ de fer au cou des nègres, pour
“ les empêcher de fuir. Cepen-
“ dant, la coutume de museler les
“ esclaves, de leur cadenasser la
“ bouche afin qu’ils ne puissent
“ se désaltérer en suçante une
“ canne à sucre, n’est qu’une imi-
“ tation de l’antiquité, car Suidas
“ et Pollux nous apprennent qu’on
“ leur mettoit au cou une ma-
“ chine, nommé *pausicape*, en
“ forme de roue, qui les empêchoit
“ de porter la main à la bouche
“ et de manger de la farine
“ lorsqu’on les occupoit à tourner
“ la meule.” De la Domesticité
chez les Peuples Anciens et Mo-
dernes, p. 6. Cf. Pignor. de Ser-
vis, p. 15, seq.

in Aristophanes¹ and his scholiast, that slaves employed in making bread used to amuse themselves by eating the dough. This seems to be one of the principal causes of disgust to the rogues in the piece employed in preparing the delicacies with which Trygæos feeds the beetle whereon he is about to mount to the court of Zeus.

In the city of Abdera, as we find from an anecdote of Stratonikos,² every private citizen kept a slave who served him in the capacity of herald, and announced by sound of trumpet the appearance of the new moon, and the festival by which it was followed. A *bon mot* worth repeating is ascribed to this travelling wit. Being one day in the cemetery of Teicheios, a town of the Milesian territory,³ inhabited by a mixed population from all the neighbouring countries, and seeing on every tomb the name of some foreigner, "Come," said he to his slave, "let us depart from this place. Nobody dies "here but strangers."

One of the most steady and faithful of the domestics was usually selected to be the porter.⁴ Occasionally, moreover, in the establishments of opulent and ostentatious persons, as Callias for example, eunuchs, imported from Asia, were employed as door-keepers.⁵

¹ Pac. 12. seq. Ἰδού,
Ἐνδς μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες, ἀπολελῦσθαι
μοι δοκῶ.
Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν φαίη με μάττοντ'
ἐσθίειν.

Upon which the Scholiast remarks: εἰώθασι γὰρ ἅμα τῷ μάττειν, ἐσθίειν.

² Athen. viii. 41.

³ Athen. viii. 43.

⁴ Mention is also made of female porters. Dem. in Ev. et Mnes. § 10.

⁵ The scene in which Callias's eunuch-porter is introduced to us is painted in Plato's liveliest manner. This ancient Bababalouk exhibits

all the crabbedness of the keeper of an oriental harem; and as we listen to him bawling at Socrates through the door, we appear to be transported to the establishment of the Emir Fakreddin. Δοκεῖ οὖν μοι, ὁ θυρωρός, εὐνοῦχός τις, κατήκουεν ἡμῶν· κινδυνεύει δὲ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν σοφιστῶν ἀχθεσθαι τοῖς φοιτῶσιν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν. ἔπειδ' ἂν γοῦν ἐκρούσαμεν τὴν θύραν, ἀνοίξας καὶ ἰδὼν ἡμᾶς, "Εα, ἔφη, σόφισταί τινες· οὐ σχολὴ αὐτῷ. Καὶ ἅμα ἀμφοῖν τοῖν χεροῖν τὴν θύραν πάνυ προθύμως ὡς οἷός τ' ἦν ἐπήραξε. Καὶ ἡμεῖς πάλιν ἐκρούομεν. καὶ ὅς ἐγκεκλημένης

The directions, as Mitford justly observes, which Penelope's housekeeper gives to the menial servants for the business of the day, might still serve in the East without variation: "Go quickly," she said, "some of you sweep the house, and sprinkle it, "and let the crimson carpets be spread upon the "seats; let all the tables be well rubbed with "sponges, and wash carefully the bowls and cups. "Some of you go immediately to the fountain for "water."¹

Besides working at the mill, and fetching water, both somewhat laborious employments, we find that female slaves were sometimes engaged in offices still more unfeminine; that is, in woodcutting upon the mountains, where the impudent old fellow, in Aristophanes, takes advantage of Thratta.² Events of this kind, however, could only happen among the peasant girls. In the city both mistresses and maids were too domestic to meet with adventures in forest or on mountains. Towards the decline of the commonwealth, it became a mark of wealth and consequence to be served by black domestics, both male and female, as was also the fashion among the Romans and the Egyptian Greeks. Thus Cleopatra³ had negro boys for torch-bearers; and the shallow exclusive, in Cicero,⁴ is anxious to make it known

τῆς θύρας ἀποκρινόμενος εἶπεν,
ὦ ἄνθρωποι, ἔφη, οὐκ ἀκηκόατε
ὅτι οὐ σχολὴ αὐτῷ; Ἀλλ' ὦ γαθέ,
ἔφην ἐγώ, οὔτε παρὰ Καλλίαν
ἤκομεν οὔτε σοφισταί ἐσμεν, ἀλλὰ
θάρρει· Πρωταγόραν γάρ τι δεό-
μενοι ἰδεῖν ἤλθομεν. εἰσάγγειλον
οὖν. Μόγισ οὖν ποτὲ ἡμῖν ἄνθρω-
πος ἀνέφξε τὴν θύραν. Protag. t.
i. p. 159, seq.

¹ Odyss. v. 149. Hist. of
Greece, i. 186. Cf. Athen. iii.
73.

² Acharn. 272. The principle
on which names were bestowed
upon slaves is thus explained by

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Helladius: οἱ κωμικοὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας
τὸ μὲν πλεον ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ἐκά-
λουν οἷον Σύρον καρίωνα Μίδα
Γέταν καὶ τὰ ὅμοια, ἐκάλουν δέ
καὶ τὰ ἐξ ἐπιθέτων, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ
χρώματος μὲν Πυρρίαν καὶ Ξαν-
θίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τρόπου δὲ Παρμέν-
ωνα καὶ Πιστόν καὶ Δρόμωνα. ἐκά-
λουν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν
ᾗ ὠνήσαντο τὸν οἰκέτην, ἐξ οὗ καὶ
τοὺς Νουμηνίας ὠνόμαζον. Chres-
tomath. ap. Phot. Bib. 532. b.
36, seq. See also the note of
Meursius. p. 57.

³ Athen. iv. 29.

⁴ Rhetoric. ad Heren.

D

that he has an African valet. Juvenal, in his sarcastic style, alludes to this practice.¹

Tibi pocula cursor
Gætulus dabit aut nigri manus ossea Mauri.

The Athenian ladies, like our Indian dames, affected as a foil, perhaps, to be attended by waiting-maids rendered "by Phœbus' amorous pinches black."²

Travellers among the higher Alps are almost invariably attended by Swiss guides who, laden with their employer's baggage, climb before them up the rocks, and are less fatigued at the close of the day's journey than the rich pedestrians who carry nothing beyond their own weight. This is an exact image of the style of travelling in antiquity. It was then common even for opulent men, to "make their own legs their compasses," as Scriblerus phrases it; but, not to load their own delicate shoulders with a knapsack, they were attended, like Bacchos in the Frogs, by a steady slave, who carried the baggage, mounted on a porter's knot upon his shoulders. To employ more than one valet in this service was esteemed a mark of luxurious habits; and therefore Æschines reproaches Demosthenes that, during his embassy, he was attended by two domestics with each a carpet-bag.³ Both by Theophrastus and Xenophon this attendant is called an *Acoluthos*, or follower, because it was his duty to walk behind his master; but this name in general signified a youthful valet, kept in personal attendance on the great.⁴ The simplicity of republican manners at Athens condemned the habit of maintaining many of those elegant youths, which, moreover was prohibited by law.⁵

¹ Sat. v. 52, seq.

² Theoph. Char. p. 58, et ad Casaub. loc. p. 329, seq.

³ Συνηκολούθουν δ' αὐτῷ ἄνδρωποι δύο στρωματόδεσμα φέροντες, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ τούτων, ὡς

αὐτὸς ἔφη, τάλαντον ἐνῆν ἀργυρίου. De Fals. Legat. 31.

⁴ Demosth. cont. Mid. § 44.

⁵ Οὐκ ἐξῆν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀργὸν τρέφειν οἰκέτην διόπερ οἱ μὲν αὐλοποιούς, οἱ δὲ μαχαρο-

From the severity of manners, however, one evil arose—the single slave was sometimes condemned by vanity to carry the burden of two; and as their grumblings were proportioned to their hardship, their case was soon taken up by the comic poets, not, I fear, so much for the sake of humanity, as because it often furnished them with a good joke or two. By degrees, as no writers dwell so constantly on a fruitful topic or so frankly imitate each other, it became the fashion of the stage to introduce a miserable devil into every comedy, whose misfortunes, like those of the clown in our pantomimes, usually kept the theatre in a roar. The practice, however, had already grown stale in the time of Aristophanes, who both ridiculed and followed it; for while his sneers at the grumbling valet are repeated *usque ad nauseam*, much of the humour and interest of the *Frogs* arise out of the tricks and adventures of a melancholy wag of this description as Casaubon¹ long ago observed.

When men have usurped an undue dominion over their fellows, they seldom know where to stop. The Syrians themselves, enslaved politically, and often sold into servitude abroad, affected when rich a peculiarly luxurious manner: female attendants waited on their ladies, who, when mounting their carriages, required them to crawl on all-fours that they might make a foot-stool of their backs.²

ποιούς εἶχον τοὺς δούλους. Μειδίας δὲ τοὺς τοσοῦτους ἀργοὺς περιάγων, τοὺς τυράννους μιμεῖται, δορυφορούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν. Ulp. in Demosth. cont. Mid. § 44. Orat. Att. t. x. p. 225. Here we see the reason why Demosthenes

inveighed against Meidias on account of the number of his followers.

¹ Ad. Theoph. Char. p. 248.

² Montaigne, *Essais*, iv. 224. Athen. iii. 72. Plut. *De Adulat. et Amic.* § 3.

CHAPTER VIII.

SERFS OF SPARTA, CRETE, THESSALY, ETC.

IF we now pass from the consideration of slavery in the comparatively mild form which it assumed in Attica to an examination of the state of the Læconian Helots, we shall discover the spirit which actuated the two governments to present a still broader contrast in this, the lowest stage of its influence, than when operating upon the nobler citizens on the great arena of public life.

Among certain scholars on the continent it appears to be very much the fashion to oppose an invincible scepticism to the testimony of ancient writers, as often as that testimony makes against any theory they desire to establish; and on the subject of the Helots several of the ablest authors among them have adopted an opinion which cannot be supported without annihilating several Greek authors, who, in their opinion, prophesy as awkwardly as Calchas did for the peace of Agamemnon.

Among these the principal is Mr. Müller, from whom I have the misfortune to differ on many points, but without in the least disparaging his ability or his learning, for both of which I entertain the highest respect.¹

¹ When the words in the text were written Mr. Müller was still living, and there was every reason to expect from him a series of learned and able works on the history and antiquities of Greece. He has since, however, fallen a victim to the persevering ardour

with which he pursued his researches into the topography of that illustrious land; and in common, I believe, with every other admirer of the Hellenic people and literature I sincerely lament his premature death. My regret moreover is heightened by the know-

As, however, he has adopted a very peculiar system in the interpretation of antiquity, which, though plausible and ingenious, seems ill-calculated to lead to truth, I have found it impossible to participate on many important points the views which he maintains, more especially on the subject of the Helots. In fact, with all his talents and sagacity he has chosen rather to become an advocate than an historian, and pushes so far his eagerness to defend his favourite people, as not unfrequently to provoke a smile. In his derivation of the term Helot, however, he is perhaps correct,¹ it being more probable that it should have sprung from an ancient word signifying "The Prisoners" than from the name of the town. In the absence of all testimony we might likewise entertain the conjecture, "that they were an aboriginal race subdued at a very early period, and which immediately passed over as slaves to the Doric conquerors." But we have

ledge that Mr. Müller had projected a history of Greece which his profound investigations and extensive knowledge of the country would unquestionably have rendered highly valuable. His ashes repose among those of the most distinguished men of antiquity. He caught his death among the ruins of Delphi, and was buried at Athens.

¹ Dorians, t. ii. p. 30. Cf. t. i. p. 86, seq. Nevertheless the Scholiast on Thucydides maintains the old derivation: — "Ελος, πόλις τῆς Λακωνικῆς, ἧς οἱ πολῖται ἐκαλοῦντο Εἰλωτες. Οἱ οὖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ διαφόρους εἶναι ἀλλήλοις, τοὺς δούλους αὐτῶν ἐκάλουν Εἰλωτας, κατὰ ἀτιμίαν καὶ ὕβριν. t. v. p. 350. Cf. Clint. Fast. Hellen. ii. 412. Etymol. Mag. 300. 7. 332. 51. They were called also Heliatae. Athen.

vi. 102. Cf. Poll. vii. 83. "Ελος πόλις λακωνική. οἱ πολῖται εἰλωτες καὶ εἰλῶται, καὶ ἔλιοι, καὶ ἐλεάται. ἔστι δὲ καὶ "Ελος Αἰγύπτου. ταῦτα δὲ ὁ τὰ ἔθνη γράψας, εἰς τὸ ἕτερον "Ελος λέγει τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἐφεξῆς ὑπὸ τὸν Νέστορα. ἕτεροι δὲ ὅτι οὐ μόνον πόλις τὸ "Ελος ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς χώραν τινὰ πλατύνεται. ἀφ' ἧς καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ εἰλωτες. οἱ συνελθόντες τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις, ἦν ὅτε καὶ πράγματα παρασχόντες τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, εἶτα ὑπετάγησαν ὡσεὶ δούλοι. καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸ ὄνομα τῶν εἰλωτῶν εἰς δουλικὴν ἀπλῶν μετελήφθη κλήσιν. Eustath. ad Il. ε. p. 223. 28, sqq. Ἐν γοῦν τοῖς Ἡρωδιανοῦ, εὔρηται ὅτι εἰλωτες οἱ ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ σάτυροι. Idem, ad Il. ε. b. 225, 17. Cf. Capperonier Recherches sur l'Histoire des Hilotes. Mem. de L' Acad. des Inscript. t. xxiii. p. 272.

the weighty authority of Theopompos to oppose to this inference, and the words of this historian¹ attentively considered would lead to the etymology of the name given by Müller:—"having taken "them prisoners," he says, "they called them εἰλωτες." They were, however, Greeks of the Achaian race, who fell, together with the land, into the power of the new-comers, so that the excuse of only tyrannising over a foreign and half-savage race is wanting to the Spartans, which was the object aimed at by Mr. Müller's ingenious conjecture.

In considering the condition of the Helots, I shall not affect, with the historian of the Doric race,² "to range their political rights and personal treatment," under separate heads; in the first place because, strictly speaking, they had no political rights, and, secondly, because in the treatment they experienced consists whatever is peculiar in their position. Several of this learned historian's notions on the Lacedæmonian serfs appear to be in direct contradiction with those of the writers from whom all we know concerning the Helots is obtained. Of this he seems to be conscious, and in the following way endeavours to bring discredit on them; assuming as a settled thing, that the Helots must have possessed political rights, he concludes that they "were *doubtless exactly* defined by law and "custom, though the expressions made use of by "ancient authors are frequently vague and ambiguous."³ Whether this be the case or not we shall presently see. The remark of Ephoros is, that "they were in a certain point of view public "slaves. Their possessor could neither liberate them "nor sell them beyond the borders." On this passage which he quotes,⁴ the historian raises a su-

¹ Theopomp. l. xvii. ap. Athen. vi. 88. Cf. Strab. viii. 5. t. ii. p. 188.

² Hist. and Antiq. of the Dorians, t. ii. p. 31.

³ Dorians, ii. 31.

⁴ Or rather makes up from two or three *disjecta membra* of Ephoros. Strab. viii. 5. t. ii. p. 188, seq. Cf. Paus. iii. 20. 6.

perstructure which it will by no means support. "From this," he says, "it is evident, that they were considered as belonging properly to the state, which, to a certain degree, permitted them to be possessed, and apportioned them out to individuals, reserving to itself the power of enfranchising them."¹

The contrary I think is the inference. They were the property of individuals, but the state reserved to itself the right of enfranchising them and preventing their emancipation, lest persons should be found who, like Marcus Porcius, Cato,² and the Dutch at the Cape, would sell or give them their liberty when too old to labour. "But to sell them out of the country," says Mr. Müller, "was not in the power even of the state." It is true there was an ancient law prohibiting the exportation of

¹ Dorians, t. ii. p. 31. Ubbo Emmius takes the same view of the subject. iii.138.

² Καὶ τούτους (sc. δούλους) πρεσβυτέρους γενομένους (observes Plutarch, Vit. Cat. Maj. § 4.) ᾤετο δεῖν ἀποδίδοσθαι, καὶ μὴ βόσκειν ἀχρήστους. But what Cato practised he approved of theoretically, and in his works recommends to others; servum senem, servum morbosum, vendat, De Re Rustica, 2. He would also have the agriculturist dispose of his old oxen and everything else that was old. Vendat boves, vetulos, ferramenta vetera, &c. id. ibid. Upon which Plutarch in a fine spirit of humanity observes, Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ βοῦν ἂν ἐργάτην διὰ γῆρας ἀποδοίμην, μή τί γε πρεσβυτέρον ἄνθρωπον, ἐκ χώρας συντρόφου καὶ διαίτης συνήθους, ὥσπερ ἐκ πατρίδος, μεθιστάμενον ἀντὶ κερμάτων μικρῶν, ἀχρηστόν

γε τοῖς ὠνούμενοις, ὥσπερ τοῖς πιπράσκουσι, γεγενημένον. Vit. Cat. Maj. § 5. For what concerns the Dutch we have the testimony of Le Vallant: "On rencontre des Nègresses légitiment mariées, et des Nègres établis faisant corps avec la bourgeoisie; ce sont des hommes qui, par leurs services ou d'autres motifs ont été affranchis; la facilité avec laquelle on leur donnait la liberté était autrefois sujette à bien des abus, parce que ces gens, devenus vieux ou infirmes, ou privés de ressources pour subsister, finissaient par être des voleurs ou des vagabonds. Le gouvernement s'est trouvé forcé d'y mettre ordre; nul maître à présent ne peut affranchir son esclave qu'en déposant à la chambre des orphelins une somme suffisante pour sa subsistance." Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique, t. i. p. 112.

the Helots,¹ but the same authority which enacted that law could have abrogated it. Had Sparta then chosen to convert her Helots into an article of traffic, who or what was to prevent her? Since she arrogated to herself the right of beating, maiming, and putting them to death,² though completely innocent, is it to be supposed that, had it suited her policy, she would have hesitated to sell them? And after all are we quite certain that these unhappy people were not frequently sold into foreign lands? On the contrary, we find, that a regular trade was carried on in female Helots, who were exported into all the neighbouring countries for nurses.³ Thus it appears that the state both had and exercised the power to convert its serfs into merchandise.

That the males also were not exported like cattle, than which they were far worse treated, was owing simply to the calculation, that it would be more profitable to retain them. For, as the Spartans possessed estates, which personally they never cultivated, the Helots, who equally belonged to them, were stationed throughout the country upon those estates, which it was their business to till for the owners. To live it was of course necessary that they should eat, and therefore a portion of the produce was abandoned to them, according to Tyrtæos,⁴ the half, a division which must have borne very hard upon

¹ Ephor. ap. Strab. viii. 5. t. ii. p. 189.

² Over the Helots, not the state only but even private individuals, and much more the kings, possessed the power of life and death. Thus a Helot behaving offensively to Charillos, he said: "I would kill thee were I not in a passion." Plut. Apophthegm. Lacon. Charill. 3.

³ Plut. Alcib. § 1. Καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἔνιοι τοῖς τέκνοις Λακωνικὰς ἐωνοῦντο τιθάς· καὶ τήν γε τὸν Ἀθηναῖον Ἀλκιβιάδην

τιτθεύσαν Ἀμύκλαν ἱστοροῦσι γεγονέναι Λάκαινον. Lycurg. § 16. Cf. Ages. § 3.

⁴ Franck. Callin. et Tyrt. p. 193. In Attica the *θῆτες*, paid a sixth of the produce to the Eupatridæ, whose land they rented. Plut. in Sol. § 13. But this it should be remarked was considered one of the oppressive acts of the aristocracy. Ælian gives precisely the same account as Tyrtæos, (Var. Hist. vi. 1,) where see the note of Perizonius. Cf. Crag. De Rep. Laced. l. i. c. 11. p. 71.

them, since their numbers were five times greater than those of the Spartans.¹ However, even in this arrangement, the learned historian discovers something to praise "as this quantity had been definitively settled at a very early period (to raise the amount being forbidden under very heavy imprecations) the Helots were the persons who profited by a good and lost by a bad harvest, which must have been to them an encouragement to industry and good husbandry; a motive which would have been wanting if the profit and loss had merely affected the landlords."² But on the *res rusticae* the notions of this writer are somewhat confused. For in another place he remarks that, owing to the "usurpations of the successive conquerors of Peloponnesos, agriculture was kept in a constant state of dependence and obscurity, so that we seldom hear of the improvement of the country, which is a necessary part of the husbandman's business." It therefore did *not* flourish in Laconia. No, says the historian, that is not the conclusion we must come to, for, notwithstanding that we never hear of any improvements in it, "agriculture was always followed with great energy and success!"³

There appear to have been instances of Helots becoming comparatively wealthy in spite of the oppressions they endured: but so we have known peasants growing rich in the worst despotisms of the East, and such too was in the middle ages the case with the Jews, notwithstanding the terrible persecutions and cruelties they endured. This fact, therefore, only proves that no pressure of hardship or ill-usage can entirely destroy the elasticity of the spirit; and no doubt, like all slaves, the Helots sought to soften their miseries by the gratification

¹ Herod. ix. 28. They were in fact far more numerous in proportion to the citizens than anywhere else in Greece, and next to them in number were the slaves

of the Chians. Thucyd. viii. 40. Cf. Clint. Fast. Hellen. t. ii. p. 411.

² Dorians, i. 32.

³ Dorians, i. 86.

which a sense of property procures even in bondage to the sordid mind.¹ “By means of the rich produce of the land, and in part by plunder obtained in war, they collected a considerable property, to the attainment of which almost every access was closed to the Spartans.”² But of what value is property to a man who is himself the property of another? Besides, the expression of the historian in this place seems calculated to lead to erroneous conclusions respecting the Spartans, who, so far from being debarred the means of amassing wealth,³ rose frequently to extraordinary opulence, insomuch that this self-denying community came at length to be the richest in Greece.⁴ To assume that the Helots, like the Thessalian Penestæ,⁵ enjoyed means of augmenting their possessions superior to those permitted themselves by their masters, is to propagate an error which must vitiate our whole conception of the Lacedæmonian commonwealth.

It is confessed that very little intercourse between the Spartans and the Helots took place, at least in earlier times; for afterwards, when the masters themselves quitted the capital, resided on their estates,⁶ and took to husbandry, the link must ne-

¹ Herod. ix. 80. Plut. Cleom. § 23.

² Dorians, ii. 32.

³ Cf. Herm. Polit. Antiq. § 47.

⁴ Χρυσίον δὲ καὶ ἀργύριον οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν πᾶσιν Ἕλλησιν ὅσον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἰδίᾳ. Plut. Alcib. i. t. v. p. 342.

⁵ Καὶ ἐκλήθησαν τότε μὲν, μενέσται ὕστερον δὲ πενέσται. καὶ πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν κυρίων αὐτῶν εἰσὶν εὐπορώτεροι. Eustath. ad Il. v. t. ii. p. 933. 48.

⁶ Xenoph. Hellen. iii. 3. 5. Arist. Polit. ii. 2. 11. Pollux, upon I know not what ground, observes, μεταξὺ δὲ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων οἱ Λακεδαίμονιων

Εἰλωτες. iii. 83. Upon which Jungermann observes, “Ingenuæ fateor me non satis capere quare Pollux Helotas medios inter liberos et servos dicat:” in loc. p. 570. Cf. Crag. De Rep. Lac. i. 11. This difficulty Capperonier undertakes to remove, “Les Lacédémoniens mettoient une différence entre les Hilotes et leurs esclaves domestiques nommés οἰκέται; quoiqu’ils eussent tous deux une origine commune, les derniers étoient tombés dans un tel avilissement qu’ils n’avoient aucune sorte de considération; de la vient que Pollux dit que les Hilotes te-

cessarily have been more closely drawn. And this circumstance renders more probable the account transmitted to us of Spartan harshness towards them. Intercommunion would have begotten more humane feelings in the master, more attachment in the slave. For like other men the Spartans felt the influence of intimacy, as is proved by their practice of enfranchising the companions of their childhood. They paid, therefore, an involuntary compliment to their own hearts when they kept the Helots at a distance, that they might be able to tyrannise over them. They could not have resisted the power of close contact, and acted like Messallina, who fled in tears from the room where a man was pleading for his life, lest she should forgive him, whispering as she went to her instrument that the accused must not be suffered to escape nevertheless.¹ However, a certain number of Helots were retained in the city as personal attendants on the Spartans, and there waited at the public tables, and were lent by one person to another,² like so many dogs, or oxen; although it seems probable that all the drudgery of the capital was not performed by the Helots alone, but that along with them were associated other classes of domestic slaves,³ on whose history and condition antiquity

“noient le milieu entre les gens libres et les esclaves. Les esclaves domestiques avoient un rapport plus particulier au maître, et n’étoient employés qu’à des choses du ménage, comme leur nom même l’exprime. C’étoient eux que les Lacédémoniens forçoient de boire jusqu’à s’enivrer, et qu’ils offroient dans cet état aux yeux des jeunes gens pour leur inspirer l’horreur d’un vice qui dégrade l’humanité: peut-être excusera-t-on la conduite des Lacédémoniens par l’attention particulière qu’ils donnoient

“à l’éducation de leurs enfans. “Mais comment justifier la cruauté qu’ils avoient de les obliger à recevoir tous les ans un certain nombre de coups sans les avoir mérités, seulement afin qu’ils ne desapprenent pas à servir?” Capperonier, *Recherches sur l’Histoire et l’Esclavage des Hilotes*. Mem. De l’Acad. Des Inscript. t. xxiii. p. 282, seq.

¹ Tacit. Annal. xi. 2.

² Xen. Rep. Lac. vi. 3. Arist. Polit. ii. 2. 5. Plut. Institut. Lac. 23.

³ Their personal attendants for

affords us little or no light. But as the Spartans were constantly making prisoners in their wars with the neighbouring states, which were occasionally restored at the termination of hostilities, we appear to be authorized in concluding, that these captives were commonly reduced to servitude in Laconia, whether employed in household labours,¹ or dispersed among the Helots in the field.

✓ Another service the Helots performed for their masters, which necessarily produced some degree of intimacy, I mean the military service in which they fought and bled by their side.² The state was, no doubt, reluctant to admit them among the Hoplitæ, or heavy-armed, where the discipline was rigorous, and their weapons would have placed them on a level with their oppressors. But even this was sometimes hazarded, as in the reinforcements forwarded to Gyleppus, at Syracuse,³ when six hundred Neodomades and picked Helots were compli-

instance were called *μοθῶνες*, Suid. in v. ii. 175, and even born in the house like the Oikotribes of the other Greeks. Etym. Mag. 590. 14. According to Harpocration, (in v. p. 128,) they were slaves educated with the free boys at Sparta. The conjecture of Maussac, however, is, that they were male nurses like Phœnix in the Iliad. Similes forte hi fuerint Pappatibus, de quibus Juvenalis, aut gerulis, quos scholiastes Sophocles in Ajace Flagellifero *βαϊούλους* dictos refert id est baiulos: ut hodie Itali dicunt *balio* et *balia*. Not. p. 218.

¹ To this class probably belonged the *θεράποντες* of Demaratos, mentioned by Herodotus, vi. 70, though Mr. Müller conjectures them to have been Helots. Dorians, t. ii. p. 31.

² On this point the remark of Capperonier is ingenious: "On les voit rarement (les Lacédémoniens) se mettre en campagne sans eux; (les Hilotes;) la politique l'exigeoit; que n'auroient-ils pas en à craindre si, les contenant à peine lorsqu'ils étoient chez eux, ils les y eussent laissés seuls en leur absence?" Recherches sur les Hilotes, Mem. de l'Acad. Des Inscrit. t. xxiii. p. 285.

³ Thucyd. vii. 19. Cf. v. 57. 64. iv. 80. They were sometimes entrusted with important commands on foreign stations, which by the free confederates of Sparta, however, was regarded as an insult: *ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν εἰλωτας ἀρμοστάς*, observes the Theban ambassador at Athens, *καθιστάναί ἀξιοῦσι, τῶν δὲ ξυμμάχων ἐλευθέρων ὄντων, ἐπεὶ*

mented with this dangerous distinction. As light troops, however, they almost invariably formed the majority of the Lacedæmonian forces. In other countries, where the subject races were more humanely treated, no fear was entertained at entrusting them with arms. Among the Dardanians, for example, where it was not uncommon for a private individual to possess a thousand slaves, or more, they in time of peace cultivated the land, and in war filled the ranks of the army, their masters serving as officers.¹

From this circumstance one of two things must be inferred; either that the Dardanians considered them in the light of subjects, as we do the natives of India, where large armies are officered by Englishmen, or that that people understood better than any other in antiquity the art of ruling over men.

Plato, Isocrates, Aristotle, Plutarch, and a number of other writers agree in convicting the Spartans of great barbarity towards their bondsmen, differing, however, as to the degree of that barbarity. But their "philanthropic views"² are discarded by the historian, who with the skill of an able pleader, overlooks these great writers, whom he could not treat with so much want of ceremony, to bring forward the picture of Myron of Priene, whose history he denominates a romance, and whose testimony he contumeliously rejects. In order the more completely, as he thinks, to demolish this humble writer he quotes the following passage of his work preserved by Athenæus: "The Helots perform for the Spartans every ignominious service. They are *compelled* to wear a cap of dog-skin,³ to bear a covering of sheep-skin, and are severely beaten every year without having committed any fault, in order that they may never forget they are slaves. In addition to this, those amongst them

ἐντύχῃσαν, δεσπόται ἀναπεφῆν-
ασιν. Xenoph. Hellen. iii. 5.
12.

¹ Athen. vi. 103.

² Dórians, ii. 38.

³ On this cap see Meursius,
Miscell. Lacon. l. i. c. 17. p. 79.

“who, either by their stature or their beauty, raise themselves above the condition of a slave are condemned to death, and the masters who do not destroy the most manly of them are liable to punishment.”¹ The accusation here made is a serious one, and the apologist naturally feels his indignation kindle against its author. In this state of mind he employs very harsh language, charges Myron with “ignorance and partiality,” and altogether speaks as if he were in possession of facts wherewith to demolish the Pre-nian’s statement. But has he any? Not a single one. He misunderstands entirely the gist of Myron’s words, in the matter of the dog-skin cap, and then, on the strength of his own error, presumes to accuse him of misrepresentation. It is at the first blush evident that Myron considered the hardship to consist, not in the wearing of the cap, but in being compelled to wear it. Mr. Müller’s examples, consequently, are nothing to the purpose; they simply prove that other people had endured similar hardships, (the mention of Laërtes is superfluous,) nevertheless, without having uttered one syllable to justify his triumph, he proceeds with much self-satisfaction to remark, that “since Myron *manifestly* misrepresents this circumstance, *it is very probable* that his other objections are founded in error.”²

But the allegations of Myron, as the reader will perceive, remain not only untouched, but more confirmed and established than ever by such a defence. It happens, in fact, that they are true to the letter, and what is more, are by no means the gravest imputation which can be substantiated against the Dorian model-state. We shall proceed, however, step by step examining fairly, and in order, the charges and the defence. Plutarch,³ whose testimony,

¹ Athen. xiv. 74. Cf. Schol. Arist. Nub. 269. In the matter of food the slaves were in war reduced to live on half the quan-

tity allowed their masters. Thucyd. iv. 16.

² Dorians, ii. 39.

³ Lycurg. § 28. To this may

when favourable, is unhesitatingly accepted, "relates
 "that the Helots were compelled to intoxicate them-
 "selves, and perform indecent dances as a warning
 "to the Spartan youth."¹ Shall we credit Plutarch?
 No we must not; because "common sense is op-
 "posed to so absurd a method of education." But
 if everything in history which we may determine
 to be opposed to common sense were on that ac-
 count to be rejected, we should make sad inroads
 upon the domains of antiquity. That which in-
 creases the ridicule of the practice is, that from
 among those same Helots they selected tutors for
 their younger children,² as well as companions, so
 that in the very article wherein Xenophon³ disco-
 vered the superiority of Lycurgus's educational sys-
 tem, it was completely on a level with that of the
 other Greeks, habituating the youth to the intimacy
 and government of slaves.⁴

be added the testimony of Deme-
 trius Cydonius: *φασὶ καὶ, Λακε-
 δαιμονίους τῇ τῶν Εἰλώτων μέθῃ
 τοῖς πασὶν ὑποδεικνύναι τὸ τῆς
 νήψεως ἀγαθόν.* ap. Meurs. Mis-
 cell. Lacon. 11. 6. p. 128.

¹ Dorians, ii. 39.

² Mr. Müller's argument is put
 in the form of a question: "Is
 "it possible that the Spartans
 "should have so degraded the
 "men whom they appointed as
 "tutors over their young chil-
 "dren?" Dorians, ii. 39.

³ De Rep. Laced. ii. 1.

⁴ Plut. Vit. Ages. § 3. The
 evils of this intercourse are con-
 stantly dwelt upon by the an-
 cients: *ὅπου οἰκέτης ἐστίν, εὐθὺς
 διαφθείρονται οἱ γεγνόμενοι παῖ-
 δες.* Dion Chrysost. Orat. t. i.
 p. 299. Cf. Orat. 41. t. ii.
 p. 261. Though it be most true
 that domestic slaves are generally
 corrupt in manners and ignoble

in sentiments, yet we may be
 sure from an attentive observa-
 tion, of human nature, that, even
 were it not so, their masters
 would inevitably seek to justify
 their own cruelty and injustice
 by depreciating the moral charac-
 ter of their dependents. Thus
 the ablest of Spanish writers,
 actuated less perhaps by theory
 than by instinct, strives to exte-
 nuate the conduct of their coun-
 trymen towards the natives of
 America by attributing to them
 the most odious and repulsive
 qualities: "Les Indiens," ob-
 serves Ulloa, "sont moins à
 "craindre par leur valeur que
 "par leur perfidie, et par la ruse
 "avec laquelle ils commettent
 "leur attentats. Victorieux par
 "surprise, ils sont cruels à l'ex-
 "cès, ne connaissent aucun sen-
 "timent de compassion. Leur
 "cruauté est toujours accompag-
 "née de sang froid, leur plaisir

If, however, the relation of Plutarch stood alone, its force would be less, though with no face could we reject it while admitting in other respects his favourable testimony. But from many authors, besides him, it is clear, that to demoralise the Helots was the constant policy of Sparta. Thus when the Thasians brought a number of useless dainties to Agesilaos and his army: "Give them," said he, "to those Helots, whom it is better to corrupt than ourselves."¹ Consistently with the same system, and the more completely to debase their minds, they were commanded to sing obscene songs and perform indecent jigs, while the Pyrrhic dance and every warlike lay was forbidden them. In proof of this, it is related, that when the Thebans, under Epaminondas, invaded Laconia, and made prisoners a number of the Helots, they commanded them to sing them some of the songs of Sparta, of Spendon, for example, or Alcman, or Terpander. But the Helots² professed their inability, observing, that the acquisition of those lays was forbidden them. In short, to adopt the words of Theopompos, they were at all times cruelly and bitterly treated;³ deluded, sometimes, from the protection of sanctuary by perjury, and then coolly assassinated in contempt of religion and oaths, as in the case of those

"est le carnage ; mais vaincus
 "ce sont les gens le plus lâches
 "les plus pusillanimes qu'on pu-
 "isse voir. Dans le premier cas
 "ils ont un souverain plaisir à
 "répandre le sang des malheureux
 "qu'ils surprennent au dépourvu,
 "dans le second ils cherchent à
 "se disculper s'humilient jusqu'à
 "la dernière bassesse, condam-
 "nent eux-mêmes leur furie,
 "prient, supplient, et se mon-
 "trent dans toute leur conduite
 "les plus lâches des hommes.
 "Ce contraste est celui qui doit
 "résulter de la lâcheté et de

"la perfidie qui font le charac-
 "tère de ces barbares." Mé-
 "moires Philosophiques. Discours.
 xvii. t. ii. p. 21, et seq.

¹ Theopomp. ap. Athen. xiv.
 74.

² Plut. Vit. Lycurg. § 28. On
 their cruelty and perfidy towards
 the same unhappy men see Ælian.
 Var. Hist. vi. 1. Polyæn. i. 41. 3.

³ Critias, in fact, observes, that,
 as the freemen of Sparta were of
 all men the most free, so were the
 serfs of Sparta of all slaves the
 most slavish. Liban. Declam.
 xxiv. t. ii. p. 83, seq. Reiske.

suppliants who took refuge in the temple of Poseidon at Tænaros.¹

But all this harsh usage was mild compared with other injuries which the laws of Sparta inflicted on them. The reader will perceive that I am about to speak of the Crypteia, not one feature of which, to my mind, has been softened or explained away, or rendered doubtful by the ingenious but very useless special pleading of some distinguished scholars among our contemporaries.² Mr. Müller, with much intrepidity, leads the van of Sparta's defenders, and, by an artifice not unfamiliar to rhetoricians, seeks to beat down the authorities on which belief in the Crypteia rests. He affects to think slightly of their means of obtaining information, though certainly, in this respect, at least, the very meanest of them possessed incalculable advantages over himself. However, of Isocrates he thus unceremoniously disposes: "Isocrates speaks of this institution in a very confused manner and from mere report."³ On the contrary, this "old man eloquent," as Milton affectionately terms him, luminously, (would that Mr. Müller and I possessed equal art!) and upon the best authorities,⁴ sketches the history of the Lacedæmonian government, its injustice, its oppressions;

¹ Theopomp. ap. Athen. vi. 102. "Οτε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς ἐκ Ταινάρου ἰκέτας παρασπονδήσαντες ἀνέστησαν καὶ ἀπέκτειναν, (ἦσαν δὲ οἰκέται τῶν Εἰλώτων) κατὰ μῆνιν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος σεισμὸς ἐπιπεσὼν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, τὴν πόλιν ἀνδρειότατα κατέσεισεν, ὥς πέντε μόνας ἀπολειφθῆναι οἰκίας ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς πόλεως. *Æl. Var. Hist.* vi. 7. *Thucyd.* i. 128. *Suid.* v. *Ταινάριον.* t. ii. p. 874, F. Pausanias, however, relates, that the suppliants in question were not Helots but Lacedæmonians. iv. 24. 5. vii. 25. 3. Cf. Capperonier, *Recherches*

sur les Hilotes, *Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript.* t. xxiii. p. 275.

² Capperonier, in the last century, entertained something like scepticism on the point, though he could not deny that the moral temperament of the Spartans rendered the existence of the institution probable. "Le défaut de "preuves m'empêche, malgré la "ferocité connue des Lacédémoniens, de rien décider sur "l'usage de la Cryptie." *Mem. &c.* p. 284.

³ Dorians, ii. 40, seq.

⁴ Οἱ τὰ κείνων ἀκριβοῦντες. *Panathen.* § 73.

and concludes by describing the annual massacre of the Helots. It is worthy of remark, that, with Aristotle,¹ he attributes to the Ephori the direction of this servile war, in which the reins of slaughter were loosed or tightened by their authority.

The relation, however, of Isocrates, who probably descended to particulars, appears not to have come down to us entire. Plutarch, though he be the panegyrist, rather than the faithful historian, of Sparta, has supplied the deficiency. He does so, indeed, reluctantly; trumpets in the narration with epic flourishes, seeking, by all the art he is master of, to shield his beloved Lycurgus from the stern but deserved rebuke of Plato.² Too honest, however, was the old Boeotian entirely to suppress the truth. So that, at length, after much preparation, the massacre is described hurriedly, briefly, with vehement unwillingness, but, for that very reason, with the more terrible effect.

Having enumerated the regulations affecting the free citizens, "In these," he says, "there is no trace
" of that injustice and griping ambition which some
" object to the institutions of Lycurgus, considering
" them well adapted to beget bravery though not
" honest principles. It was probably the institution
" of the Crypteia (if as Aristotle contends, it pro-
" ceeded from Lycurgus) that inspired Plato with
" such an opinion of the legislator and his laws.
" According to this ordinance the rulers, selecting
" from among the youths those most distinguished
" for ability, sent them forth armed with daggers
" and furnished with the necessary provisions, to

¹ Ap. Plut. Lycurg. § 28.

² See the conversation with Megillos in the First Book of the Laws throughout. Opp. t. vii. p. 201, sqq. And, again, in Book vi. p. 460. Σχεδὸν γὰρ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰλωτεία πλείστην ἀπορίαν παρ-

ἀσχοιτ' ἂν καὶ ἔριν τοῖς μὲν ὡς εἶ, τοῖς δ' ὡς οὐκ εἶ γεγονυῖά ἐστιν. ἐλάττω δὲ ἢ τε Ἡρακλεωτῶν δουλεία τῆς τῶν Μαριανδυνῶν καταδουλώσεως ἔριν ἂν ἔχοι, τὸ Θετταλῶν τ' αὖ πενεστικὸν ἔθνος.

“ scour the country, separating and concealing them-
 “ selves in unfrequented places by day, but issuing
 “ out at night and slaughtering all such of the He-
 “ lots as they found abroad. Sometimes, indeed,
 “ they fell upon them while engaged in their rural
 “ labours in the fields, and there cut off the best
 “ and bravest of the race.”¹ Plutarch felt that con-
 nected with this system, as flowing from the same
 principle of policy and designed to effect the same
 purpose, were those extensive massacres recorded in
 history, by one of which more than two thousand
 of those unhappy men, having been insidiously de-
 luded into the assertion of sentiments conformable
 to the gallant actions they had performed in the
 service of the state,² were removed in a day. Lulled
 by the gift of freedom, crowned, smiled upon, they
 were conducted to the temples, as if to implicate
 the very gods in the treachery:—and then suddenly
 they disappeared; nor to this hour has the fate which
 overtook them been revealed.³ Compared with this
 the slaughter of the Janisaries appears less culpable.

But had Sparta no apology to offer, for these
 actions, to humanity? Her rulers discovered one
 which appears to have satisfied their own consciences.
 Every year, on taking office, the Ephori, formally, in
 their good city of Sparta, declared war against their
 unarmed and unhappy vassals, “ that they might be
 “ massacred under pretence of law.”⁴ Mr. Müller

¹ Plut. Vit. Lycur. § 28. Vid. Ubb. Emmium, iii. 127, seq. et Crag. de Rep. Laced. b. i. c. xi. p. 68.

² Among other nations where servitude was rendered less offensive, both by law and manners, men were enabled to place a more generous confidence in their slaves. Sarmatæ Limigantes Gotthorum vicinorum suorum armis oppressi, cum justas ad resistendum libero- rum hominum copias non habe-

rent, tanquam in extremo periculo servos suos armarunt, atque eos contra Gotthos duxerunt. Mox autem, cum à servis deficientibus appetiti, ac sedibus ejecti patriis essent auxilii ac consilii inopes ad Constantinum subsidium implora- tum, et sedes tutas petitem se contulerunt. Carol. Sigon. De Occident. Imper. l. iv. p. 67.

³ Thucyd. iv. 80.

⁴ Plut. Lycurg. § 28.

overwhelmed with the weight of these testimonies, does not yet yield up the point: "Were not these Helots, who in many districts lived entirely alone, united by despair for the sake of common protection; and did they not every year kindle a most bloody and determined war throughout the whole of Laconia?" The historian is pleasant upon the Helots. Kindle a war! How happens it that the Chinese, who, at many periods of their history, have rivalled the Helots in suffering, and like them, too, have rebelled occasionally, yet make annually no "bloody and determined war" against the Mantchoo Tartars? The answer is written on every page of the history of the world, and was put in form by Alexander when he inquired whether one butcher were afraid of many sheep? Nevertheless, even the spirit of slavery itself did sometimes revolt against oppression and cruelty, and kindled such "bloody and determined wars" as Sparta, without foreign aid, was unable to terminate. They were, in fact, during many years, prevented from disputing with the Athenians the supremacy in Greece, by contests with their own vassals.¹ And on the occasion of the great earthquake when nearly every house in Sparta was shaken to the ground,² did not the Helots rejoice at the calamity, and come flocking to the environs of the city from the whole country round, in order to put an end to their tyrants as they were escaping in terror from their tottering habitations? Revolt, then, was not unfamiliar to the Helots—again and again was the standard of freedom unfurled³—and the day, though late, at length came, when the Spartan saw his slave placed on a level with himself.⁴

To render credible this sketch of cruelty, the character and education of the Spartans must be kept in view:

¹ Πολέμοις οἰκέλοις ἐξαιργόμενοι. Thucyd. i. 118.

² Plut. Cim. §16. Diod. Sic. xi. 63.

³ Athen. vi. 87.

⁴ Strab. viii. t. c. 6. t. ii p. 190.

Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos,

was not their maxim.¹ They loved to trample on the fallen. Even in boyhood and among themselves, they practised *gouging* as an accomplishment, and as an Athenian did music—as a necessary consequence, even the writers most favourable to their state, confess them to have been brutal, inhuman, perfidious.² Nor among a people so ignorant, so prejudiced, so narrow-minded, whose understandings were possibly incapable of comprehending the idea of justice or liberality, can we altogether wonder at such an outbreak of barbarism. Men have been known in modern times to shoot slaves for their amusement; a king of France has been known from the same motive to shoot his subjects, and a learned professor,³ not very remarkable for cruelty,

¹ Ælian. vi. i.

² In justification of this harsh view of the Spartan character, numerous ancient authorities of the greatest weight may be cited. On their extreme licentiousness see the testimony of Agnon. Athen. xiii. 79. Plato de Legg. viii. t. viii. p. 90. On their tolerance of adultery, Plut. Paral. Num. § 3. On their inhospitality and sordid avarice, Aristoph. Pac. 623. Οἱ δ' ἄτ' αἰσχροκερδεῖς καὶ διειρωνόξενοι, κ. τ. λ. On the avarice of Gylippos, see Max. Tyr. Dissert. p. 133. In the Acharnes (v. 306, seq.) Aristophanes, again, briefly but energetically describes the character which the Spartans enjoyed in Greece:

Πῶς δὲ γ' ἂν καλῶς λέγοις ἄν,
εἵπερ ἐσπείσω γ' ἅπαξ,
Οἷσιν οὔτε βωμός, οὔτε πίστις,
οὔθ' ὄρκος μένει.

On which the scholiast remarks: ἐπὶ ἀπιστία γὰρ διεβάλλοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Εὐριπίδης ἐν Ἀνδρομάχῃ.

Σπάρτης ἔνοικοι, δόλια βουλευτήρια.

Τρία δὲ ἐγκλήματα παραβασίας προσέθηκεν αὐτοῖς· αἱ γὰρ συνθηκαὶ διὰ τριῶν τελοῦνται, λόγων, ἔργων, χειρῶν, λόγων μὲν, οἷον δι' ὄρκων, ἔργων δὲ, διὰ τῶν ἐν βωμοῖς θυσιῶν, χειρῶν δὲ, ἐπειδὴ αἱ πίστις διὰ τῶν δεξιῶν γίνονται. καὶ Ὅμηρος·

Δεξιαί, ἧς ἐπέπιθμεν.

The passage in the Andromachè referred to by the scholiast occurs at v. 445, sqq. Cf. Thucyd. i. 101. v. 35. See above, Book i. chapter ii. Book ii. chapter viii.

³ M. Ant. Muret. Orat. xvii. p. 153. The achievement of the king is thus related by honest Mezeray: Numbers of Huguenots having collected together on the banks of the Seine his most Christian Majesty, from an apartment of the Louvre “taschoit de les “canarder avec sa grande arque- “buse à giboyer.” Abrégé Chronologique, iii. 1083.

has pronounced the panegyric of that king. There is nothing, therefore, at all incredible in the Spartan *Crypteia*, which exactly harmonizes with all we know of the nation.

An attempt, however, has been made to explain the whole away, by the unauthorized inference, that in the casual glance which Megillos, in the laws of Plato, makes at this institution, we have a complete description of it in all its features. But very far is this from being the case. The Spartan interlocutor is there making out a defence of his own country, and consequently alludes only to such points as appear capable of a favourable interpretation. Of course he is careful to keep the massacre of the Helots in the back-ground; and merely says, "There is also amongst us what is called the "*Crypteia*, the pain of undergoing which is scarcely "*credible*. It consists in going barefoot in storms, "*in enduring the privations of the camp, perform-* "*ing menial offices without a servant, and wander-* "*ing night and day through the whole country.*"¹ This is the picture of a Spartan, dwelling on his own hardships; which, however, must have been endured for some purpose, and what was that? If exercise and military seasoning were alone aimed at, where was the necessity for that concealment, that lying in ambush, which the word itself signifies? It is well known that the Helots were a constant terror to their masters—that whenever occasion offered, they revolted—whenever any enemy to the state presented himself, they joined him—that they fled whenever flight was possible—and were, it is confessed, so numerous and so bold, that Sparta was compelled, in treaties with foreign states, to stipulate "for aid against her own subjects."² What more probable, therefore, under the circumstances,

¹ Plat. de Legg. i. t. vii. p. 196.
Bekk. Cf. Müller, Hist. of the
Dorians, ii. 41.

² Dorians, ii. 43. Thucyd. i.
118. v. 14. 23.

than the institution of the Crypteia? What more in harmony with the genius of the people?

There can be no doubt that on certain extraordinary occasions these chief of slaves obtained their freedom from the state; but that any "legal way" to liberty and citizenship stood open to them,¹ does not appear.² The chain of "probabilities" by which this conclusion is attempted to be arrived at is perfectly unique, and would lead with equal force to any other whatever. "The many intermediate steps, it is said, *seem to prove* the existence of a regular mode of transition from the one rank to the other." It has not, however, been proved that there were any intermediate steps; and the very attempt is based almost wholly on a fragment of that Myron of Priene, whose Messenian History Mr. Müller denominates a romance, and whose "partiality and ignorance" he considers so self-evident but a few passages back.

1. The Helots who were esteemed worthy of an "especial confidence were called ἀργεῖοι."³ This however, is no intermediate step, as it is not said that their being thus called was necessarily followed by any result.

2. The ἱερακτῆρες enjoyed the same "(especial confidence) in war."⁴ On points of this kind it is necessary to rely on some authority, and the historian adduces none.⁵ It has, indeed, been conjectured,

¹ Müll. Dorians, ii. 43.

² In fact Dion Chrysostom states most distinctly, that there was no such way: Οὐδὲ ὑπάρχει τοῖς Εἰλωσιν γενέσθαι Σπαρτιάταις, ὅθεν δὴ καὶ διατελοῦσιν ἐπιβουλεύοντες τῇ Σπάρτῃ. Orat. xxxvi. t. ii. p. 92. Reisk.

³ Dorians. ii. 43. Hesych. in ν. Ἀργεῖοι . . . ἐκ τῶν Εἰλώτων οἱ πιστευόμενοι οὕτως ἐλέγοντο. t. i. p. 514, seq. Albert. This

has previously been remarked by Capperonier: "On lit dans Hesychius, qu'on donnoit le nom d'Argiens à ceux qui se distinguoient par leur fidélité." Recherches sur les Hilotes, Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. t. xxiii. p. 285. Cf. Crag. de Rep. Laced. l. i. c. xi. p. 70.

⁴ Cf. Anim. ad Athen. t. viii. p. 603.

⁵ Cf. Athen. vi. 102.

from the derivation of their name, that this class of freedmen served as a body-guard to their former masters. Positively, however, nothing whatever is known of their condition.

3. The ἀφείρας were, *probably*, released from "all service." The expression of Eustathius¹ is, "being made free, they were called aphetæ."

4. "The δεσποσιοναύται,² who served in the fleet, resembled, *probably*, the freedmen of Attica, who were called the *out-dwellers*."³ This phrase is calculated to convey an erroneous impression, as though these freedmen necessarily took up their quarters in the country, whereas οἱ χωρὶς οἰκούντες merely signifies persons who have establishments of their own. With respect to the Desposionautæ, they would appear to have been slaves brought up in their masters' houses, and afterwards enfranchised, and ordered to be employed about the fleet.

5. "When they (the Helots) received their liberty, they also obtained permission *to dwell where they wished*, and, *probably*, at the same time, "a portion of land was granted to them without the lot of their former masters." This is drawing a general inference from a particular case. Thucydides,⁴ the authority relied on, speaks only of those Helots who having served in Thrace under Brasidas, obtained enfranchisement on their return, together with a portion of the lands recently taken from the Lepreatæ. On other occasions, as the whole of Laconia and Messenia had been divided among the citizens, it is difficult to understand whence the state could have obtained lands to bestow. The *probability*, therefore, is, that they bestowed none.

Of the Neodamodes or "new citizens," our knowledge is little less scanty than of the other classes of freedmen. That they were enfranchised Helots

¹ Ad Iliad. o. p. 1031. 10.
Cf. v. p. 933. 51.

² Cf. Eustath. ad Il. λ. 784. 15.

³ See Bœckh. Pub. Econ. of
Ath. i. 349.

⁴ l. v. § 34.

is confidently maintained by several learned writers, though others suppose them to have been the sons of enfranchised Helots.¹ This latter supposition, however, is inconsistent with the testimony of Myron, who observes, that "the Lacedæmonians often emancipated their slaves, some of whom were then called *aphetæ*, others *adespotæ*, others *eructeres*, others *desposionautæ*; there were others whom they designated *neodamodes*, different from the Helots."² Of those modern writers who have treated of the Spartan institutions, some elude the discussion altogether, while others acquiescing in the commonly received opinion contend, that the Neodamodes were those Helots who, having conducted themselves gallantly in war, had for some time enjoyed their freedom. But this decision, however plausible it may seem, is by no means satisfactory. For, wherever Thucydides, or any other historian of authority, has occasion to mention this class of freedmen, they appear to be carefully distinguished from the enfranchised Helots. Thus, when the companions of Brasidas, before spoken of, had received their freedom, and were sent as settlers into the Lepreatis, it is added, that they were accompanied by a number of Neodamodes.³ But if this term signified nothing

¹ Dr. Arnold, in Thucyd. v. 34. Hudson, in Var. Lect. on the same passage observes, that "Neodamodes fuisse Helotas, contra quam censet Cragius (de Rep. Lac. i. 12,) clare ostendit Meursius in Miscell. Lacon. ii. 7." Thucyd. t. iii. p. 492. Bip. Cf. Diod. Sic. xii.

² Athen. vi. 102. Cf. Herm. Polit. Antiq. §§ 24. 48. et Valckenaer ad Herod. ix. 11, where the condition of the Peræci is sought to be explained. Suid. v. νεοδαμ. ii. 215. Animad. in Athen. t. viii. p. 603. Ubbo Emmius, iii. 138.

³ Thucyd. v. 34. 67. vii. 58. Xenoph. Helen. i. 3. 17. iii. 1. 4. iii. 36. 6. v. 2. 24. vi. 1. 4. I cannot discern the force of Schneider's argument in his remark on Thucyd. vii. 58: "Sed locus Thucydidis clarissimus est: δύναται δὲ τὸ νεοδαμῶδες ἐλεύθερον ἤδη εἶναι. i. e. significat vocabulum νεοδαμῶδεις homines *nuper* libertate donatos." Not to insist on the opinion of Æmilius Portus, that the above words have crept from the margin into the text, the *recently* enfranchised Helots were as much "homines *nuper* libertate donatos," as

more than Helots who had been rewarded with liberty, in what did they differ from the other Helots who had likewise been made free? One learned commentator,¹ not without ingenuity, infers that they were a class of tributary subjects inhabiting the neighbourhood of the capital, on whom the right of citizenship had been conferred, though they did not enjoy perfect equality with the elder citizens. But, as it is distinctly stated, that they were enfranchised slaves, we are compelled to abandon even this hypothesis, and seek to discover some other clue to the truth.

It has already been observed, that the Spartans appear to have possessed numbers of slaves properly so called, besides their oppressed and miserable bondsmen, with whom they seem often to have been confounded. These, by being more constantly about their masters, were, doubtless, able to gain more upon their affections, and could not possibly be viewed with equal dread, since they were necessarily brought together from various countries, and connected consequently by no bond of union. As often, therefore, as the state required a fresh supply of citizens, it is from among these that they appear to have been selected; and that, too, in numbers so considerable, that Agesilaos, on one occasion, was enabled to select two thousand to attend him on an expedition wherein he was accompanied by only thirty Spartans.²

Another class of persons³ commonly ranked among the Laconian slaves were the Mothaces,⁴ to deter-

the Neodamodes. And yet, when sent together to Lepreon they are carefully distinguished. See Hudson. Var. Lect. Thucyd. iv. 460. Bip.

¹ Morus. ap. Schneid. Ind. Græc. ad Xen. Hellen. p. 468. Cf. Perizon. ad Ælian. xii. 43.

² Plut. Agesil. § 6. Cf. Xe-

noph. Hellen. i. 3. 15. iii. 1. 3. v. 2. 24. Diod. Sicul. xv. 20.

³ See Book ii. chapter vii.

⁴ Cf. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 632. Ubbo. Emm. iii. 132, seq. Mention is made in Plutarch of two Syntrophoi of Cleomenes, who were called Mothaces, and these we find at the head of a party of

mine whose origin, rank, and condition, appears to be a matter of no small difficulty. That they never, during the flourishing ages of the commonwealth, formed any part of the servile caste may be regarded as certain, whatever may be found to the contrary in the grammarians of later times. For the Mothaces, observes Athenæus, though not Lacedæmonians, were *free*. And to the same purpose speaks Philarchos, whose words are: "The Mothaces were the brotherlike companions of the Lacedæmonians. For every youthful citizen, according to his means, chose one, two, or more of these to be brought up along with him; and, notwithstanding that they enjoyed not the rank of citizens, they were *free*, and participated in all the advantages of the national education. It is even said that Lysander, who defeated the Athenians at sea, was one of this class of men, but raised to the rank of citizen for his valour."¹ To the same section of the Laconian population belonged also Callicratidas and Gylippos,² a circumstance which of itself appears completely to overthrow the hypothesis of those who derive the Mothaces directly from the Helots; for Cleandridas, the father of Gylippos,³ was chosen to accompany King Pleistoanax, as chief of his councillors, during an expedition into Attica, an honour which would not, I imagine, have been conferred upon a Helot. Again, Lysander, whom by one authority we are taught to regard as a Mothax, is by another spoken of not barely as a Spartan, but as descended from the Heracleidæ.⁴

soldiers. Vit. Cleom. § 8. Cf. Valck. Diatrib. p. 231.

¹ Athen. vi. 102. Müller, alluding to this passage, says, "In Athenæus they are called *free* in reference to their *future*, not their *past*, condition." Dor. ii. 44. n. b. By the same rule,

the vicious man who is one day to be virtuous, might, in the midst of his crimes, be pronounced a pattern of morality.

² Ælian. Var. Hist. xii. 43. Perizon.

³ Cf. Diod. Sicul. xiii. 106, who calls the father Clearchos.

⁴ Plut. Vit. Lysand. § 2.

How then are we to reconcile these seeming contradictions? Probably by supposing, that the *Mothaces* consisted, first of the sons of such Spartans as were too poor to defray the expenses of their maintenance and education,¹ which seems to have been the case with Aristocritos, the father of Lysander, whose early indigence is celebrated; secondly of bastard Spartans, who it is well known shared the education of their legitimate brethren; and thirdly, of the sons of persons of rank and distinction among the *Periœci*. To these perhaps, in very late times, the sons of favourite slaves born in the house may have been added, though there is no ground for believing that this was habitually the case in the earlier ages. Be this, however, as it may, it seems to be quite evident, that Lycurgus laid much less stress on "birth and blood" than on that steadiness and patience of toil which are the first qualities of a soldier. Whoever from childhood upward gave proof of these, by submitting uncomplainingly to the rigorous trial he enjoined the youth of Sparta, was elevated in the end to the rank of a citizen, while they who shrunk from the severity of his discipline, according to some even though they had descended from the blood royal, sunk into a state of degradation or were even confounded with the *Helots*.² Foreigners who enjoyed the privileges of this system of instruction

¹ Cf. Xenoph. *Cyrop.* i. 2. 15, where the regulations of the Persian system are evidently mere copies of those which prevailed, at least in earlier ages, at Sparta. Plut. *Institut. Lac.* § 21, seq. Müller, *Dor.* ii. 314, seq.

² Teles, ap. Stob. *Florileg.* Tit. 40. 8. *Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων ὄνειδος ἡγοῦνται· ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν μετασχόντα τῆς ἀγωγῆς καὶ ἐμμείναντα, καὶ ξένος,*

καὶ ἐξ εἴλωτας, ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀριστοῖς τιμῶσι· τὸν δὲ μὴ ἐμμείναντα, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τοὺς εἴλωτας ἀποστέλλουσι, καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ὁ τοιοῦτος οὐ μετέχει. The testimony of Dion Chrysostom (*Orat.* xxxvi. t. ii. p. 92), as we have seen above, is in direct contradiction with this of Teles; but if we suppose them to speak of different periods of Spartan history, they may both be right.

received among the Lacedæmonians the name of Trophimoi.

Of the Epeunactæ, a peculiar class of freedmen, we have the following curious account: Having in the Messenian war lost a number of Spartans, the government began to apprehend that the enemy might discover its weakness; to conceal which a Helot was substituted in the place of every fallen warrior. Shortly afterwards these men were raised to the rank of citizens and denominated Epeunactæ, because they occupied the beds (ἐύνας) of other men.¹

But wherever men are base-minded there will be slaves; and accordingly we find that, in all other parts of Greece, no less than at Sparta, this miserable class existed for the performance of servile drudgery. Posidonios, the Stoic,² observes, that persons lacking sense to provide for themselves, voluntarily became the slaves of any who would take care of them. Thus the Maryandinians submitted to the citizens of Heraclea,³ to be their perpetual serfs, stipulating only that they should always be furnished with the necessaries of life, and on no account be sold out of the country. They were in fact simply tributaries, as is implied in the verse of Euphorion, the epic poet,

“ Gift-bearers called, who cower before their chiefs.”⁴

This appellation of Gift-bearers—though their gifts, like the royal benevolences of our ancestors, were extorted from them—was no doubt however invented, as Callicratos⁵ observes, to disguise the true nature

¹ Athen. vi. 101.

² Ποσειδώνιος δέ φησιν ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς, πολλοὺς τινὰς, ἐαυτῶν οὐ δυναμένους προΐστασθαι διὰ τὸ τῆς διανοίας ἀσθενὲς, ἐπιδοῦναι ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὴν τῶν συνεωτέρων ὑπηρεσίαν, ὅπως, παρ’ ἐκείνων τυγχάνοντες τῆς εἰς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐπιμελείας, αὐτοὶ πάλιν

ἀποδιδῶσιν ἐκείνοις δι’ αὐτῶν ἅπερ ἂν ὦσιν ὑπηρετεῖν δυνατοί. Athen vi. 84. Cf. Grot. de Jur. Bell. et Pac. ii. v. 27.

³ Eustath. ad Il. ε. t. i. p. 223. 38.

⁴ Δωροφόροι καλεοίαθ’ ὑποφρίσσοντες ἄνακτας. Athen. vi. 84.

⁵ Athen. vi. 84.

of their condition. Besides engaging in agricultural labours, they likewise served on board ship, and consequently contributed greatly to increase the commerce and naval power of Heraclea.¹

The Thessalians denominated Penestæ,² not those who were born in servitude, but persons who were made captive in war. They were sometimes also known by the name of Thettaloiketes. Archemachos, in his History of Eubœa, affords illustration of a very curious point of ancient history mentioned briefly but with some variation, by Thucydides.³ According to him, certain Bœotians migrating northward, founded Arnæa in Thessaly; after which some returned to Bœotia, while, delighted with the land, others remained, and became the voluntary villains of the Thessalians. Here, however, as elsewhere in like cases, it was stipulated that they should neither be put to death nor sold beyond the borders; while on their part they agreed to cultivate the land and pay the requisite tribute.⁴ On this account they were called Menestæ,⁵ that is "those who remain," which appellation was by degrees corrupted into Penestæ. Of these serfs many were richer than their masters. Euripides,⁶ in his "Phryxas," ob-

¹ Aristot. Polit. vii. 5. 7. Müller, ii. 62.

² Valcken. Diatrib. in Perd. Dram. Eurip. p. 216. b. Ruhnke. ad Tim. Lex. v. *πενεστικόν*. Eustath. ad Il. β. p. 223. v. p. 933. π. p. 1120. Ammonius. v. *πελάτης*. Valcken. Animad. iii. 8. p. 192. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 1264. Suid. v. *πενέσται*. t. ii. p. 479. Strab. l. xii. t. ii. p. 817. Casaub.—Hesych. v. *πενέσται*. t. ii. p. 910. Albert.

³ See Poppo. Proleg. in Thucyd. ii. 306. 308. Cf. Aristot. Pol. ii. 9. 28.

⁴ Athen. vi. 85.

⁵ "But," says Hermann, "was the name derived from *μένειν*, Athen. vi. 88 (Cf. Welcker ad Theogn. p. xx.) or from *πένεσθαι*, Dionys. Hal. ii. 9. p. 255, "or were they a distinct race? "On this resemblance to the "Italian clients, see Niebuhr. vol. i. p. 318." (l. 277. Engl. Trans.) Niebuhr, however, remarks, that "the same relation "which, in Thessaly, was rude "and revolting, might, at Rome, "be refined by different manners and a better spirit."

⁶ Valcken. Diatrib. p. 216. b. Athen. vi. 85.

serves, moreover, that they were sometimes of very ancient families. Thucydides, on the other hand, represents them to have been the original inhabitants of Arnè, driven thence by the Thessalians sixty years after the Trojan war, though a portion of the nation had long before settled in Bœotia and joined in the expedition against Troy.¹

A state of things not greatly dissimilar² prevailed in Crete, where the servile caste was divided into several classes: first, those of the cities, called Chrysonetæ, or "bought with gold," who were doubtless barbarians; second, those of the country, who received the name of Aphamiotæ,³ from their being bound to the Aphamiæ, or estates of the landed gentry. These were the aboriginal tribes of the island reduced to servitude by a nation of foreign conquerors. They were sometimes likewise denominated Clarotæ,⁴ from their having been divided among the conquerors by *κλᾶρος*, or lot; or, according to others, from their being located on the lots of the citizens which were called *κλᾶροι*.⁵ In condition, the Aphamiotæ resembled the Helots,⁶ and differed from the peasantry, or Hypekooi,⁷ in much the same degree as the purchased private slaves of the Turks differ from their *rayahs*, or subjects. These are habitually protected from being sold out of the country; though in cases of revolt the captives are reduced to the level of the common slaves, and sold like cattle. Thus the markets of Egypt were crowded with Cretans after the late revolt against Mohammed Ali.

¹ Thucyd. i. 12. Steph. Byzant. v. "Ἀρνῆ.

² See on the subject Classes of Crete, Gœttling. Excurs. ad Aristot. Pol. p. 473, sqq. Müller. Dor. ii. The undertaker's business in this country was entrusted to slaves, who obtained the name of Ergatones. Hesych. ap. Meurs. Cret. ii. 13. p. 190.

³ Hesych. in voce. t. ii. p. 635.

Albert.—Strab. l. xv. t. ii. p. 1027. l. xii. t. ii. p. 817. Casaub.

⁴ Suid. in v. i. 1461.

⁵ Cf. Müll. Dor. ii. 51.

⁶ Cf. Eustath. ad Iliad. o. p. 1031.

⁷ Polyb. iv. 53. The Periœci of Crete bore the same relation to their lords as the agricultural caste did in Egypt to the nobility. Arist. Pol. vii. 9.

Third, there existed in every state in Crete a class of public bondsmen denominated *Mnoia* or *Mnoa*, because reduced to that condition by Minos.¹ These serfs cultivated the public lands, upon what conditions is not exactly known: it merely appears that they were compelled to furnish the body of the citizens a certain sum of money, together with a part of their flocks and herds and agricultural produce.² That they were sufficiently numerous and powerful to inspire their masters with dread, is evident from the regulation by which they were excluded from the gymnasia, and prohibited the use of arms.

Besides these, there was another class of the Cretan population which must by no means be confounded with the slaves or serfs,—I mean, the *Hypekooi*.³ These were the inhabitants of the smaller towns who had lost their political independence, but were permitted the use of arms, and allowed to frequent the public places of exercise, like the nobler citizens.⁴

In the city of Cydonia, during certain festivals of *Hermes*, the slaves were left masters of the place, into which no free citizen had permission to enter; and if he infringed this regulation it was in their power to chastise him with whips.⁵ In other parts of Crete customs similar to those of the Roman *Saturnalia* prevailed; for, while the slaves in the *Hermæan* festival were carousing and taking their ease, their lords, travestied into domestics, waited upon them at table, and performed, in their stead, all other menial offices. Something of the same kind took place during the month *Geræstion*, at *Træzen*, where the citizens feasted their slaves on one day of the great annual festival, and played at dice with them.⁶ Among the Babylonians, moreover, we

¹ Vid. Ilgen. *De Scol. Poës.* p. 108.

² *Athen.* iv. 22. Cf. *Goëttling.* ad *Arist. Pol.* Excurs. ii. p. 473.

³ *Athen.* vi. 84.

⁴ *Goëttling.* Excurs. ii. *De Rep. Cretens.* p. 474.

⁵ *Athen.* vi. 84.

⁶ *Athen.* xiv. 44.

find a similar custom ; for, during the Sacæan festival, which lasted five days, and was celebrated in the month of August,¹ the owners waited on their slaves, one of whom, habited in a royal robe, enacted the part of king.

Upon the whole it may be inferred, that the treatment and condition of the Cretan serfs were milder than in any other Doric state, though it would be incorrect to decide,² that they were less oppressed than in any other state in all Greece, since we discover in the song of Hybrias traces not to be mistaken of their abject state :

Great riches have I in my spear and sword,
And hairy shield, like a rampart thrown
Before me in war ; for by these I am lord
Of the fields where the golden harvests are grown ;
And by these I press forth the red red wine,
While the Mnotæ around salute me king ;
Approaching, trembling, these knees of mine,
With the dread which the spear and the faulchion bring.³

The Perioeci of Crete are said never to have revolted against their masters ; but this arose, as Aristotle observes, from the circumstance that every state having serfs of the same kind, it was not for the interest of any one in their wars to set their bondsmen a bad example by enticing any to join in those struggles.⁴ The Penestæ of Thessaly, and the Helots, often joined the enemy, because the neighbouring states possessed no similar serfs. But, in the case of the Cretan Perioeci, the circumstance already noticed of their not being allowed to frequent the gymnasia,⁵ or possess arms, will account satisfactorily for their perseverance in the ancient manners, without supposing in them any preference for those manners, which, as they were deprived of

¹ Ἀφῶς among the Macedonians. Suid. ii. 60. Anim. ad Athen. xiv. 44.

² Müll. Dor. ii. 53.

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³ Athen. xv. 50. Cf. Ilgen. de Scol. Poës. xxvi. p. 102, sqq.

⁴ Aristot. Pol. ii. 9. 28.

⁵ Cf. Arist. Pol. ii. 5. 20.

all the privileges of citizens, they could scarcely have felt.¹

Respecting the servile classes in other Grecian states our information is very scanty: we simply know that the serfs of the Syracusans were denominated *Killicyrii*,² and exceedingly numerous, so that "more in number than the *Killicyrii*," became a proverb. They would seem to have dwelt chiefly in the country like the Cretan *Mnotæ*. In process of time, however, their multitude inspired them with courage; they assaulted and drove out their masters, and, fortune favouring their enterprise, retained possession of Syracuse. Among several of the Italian states, the subject classes were known by the name of *Pelasgi*. The people of Rhodes reduced and kept in bondage the inhabitants of *Cynos*, and the celebrated painter *Protophenes*³ was the son of one of these bondsmen.

In the same relation stood the *Bithynians* to the people of *Byzantium*; the *Leleges* to the *Carians*, and the *Katanocophori* to the people of *Sicyon*.⁴ These last would seem to have been originally⁵ merely the rustic population deprived of their freedom by the tyrants, who compelled them to affect a mean and squalid appearance, and to wear sheepskin cloaks,⁶ that they might be ashamed to frequent the city, where they would have been exposed to the laughter and insults of the rabble.

The corresponding class among the *Arcadians*, de-

¹ Cf. Müll. *Dorians*, ii. 54.

² Herod. vii. 155. Plat. *De Legg.* t. vii. p. 205. Suid. in v. *καλλικυρίοι*, i. 1359. Eustathius, however, places the *Killicyrii* in Crete, and the *Ἀρόρται* (*μυῤῥται*?) in Syracuse, ad Il. β. t. i. p. 223. 37.

³ Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 36. Meurs. *Rhod.* p. 35.

⁴ Eustath. ad Il. π. p. 1120. Athen. vi. 101. The institution

of slavery among the *Argives* was denominated *ἄβουρον*, (Hesych. in v.) because their serfs originally, I suppose, were too poor to possess oxen.

⁵ Sch. Aristoph. *Concion.* 719. Poll. vii. 68. Cf. Steph. *Byzant.* v. *Χῖος*. p. 758. b.

⁶ The *Peisistratidæ* pursued the same policy in Attica. Aristoph. *Lysist.* 18, sqq. Suid. v. *καρυνά-και*, i. 1421.

nominated *Prospelatae*¹ were said to have amounted to three hundred thousand in number. Their treatment was probably more lenient than in many other parts of Greece, as we find them on public festivals sitting down at table with their masters, like our old farm-servants, eating of the same food, and drinking from the same cup.²

¹ Eustath. ad *Il.* π. p. 1120. Philost. *Vit. Apoll. Tyan.* viii. 7. 12, who observes that, in later times, the Arcadians though more attached to liberty than any other Greeks, yet maintained a great number of slaves, standing in need of husbandmen, goatherds, swineherds, herdsmen, and drove-keepers, and expert woodsmen. The Corinthians had forty-six myriads of slaves, for which reason the Pythian oracle called them *Chœnix*-measurers, probably because they allowed their slaves a *chœnix* of corn per day. *Athen.* vi. 103. Under the tyranny of Athenion the citizens of Athens were at one time reduced to the fourth part of a

chœnix of barley per diem, which, observes the sophist, was rather a cock's food than a man's. *Athen.* v. 53.

² Theopomp. ap. *Athen.* iv. 31. This historian speaks in another passage of people who in the present text of Athenæus are denominated *Arisei*, who possessing three hundred thousand slaves, (a favourite number with Theopompos,) were enabled to spend their whole lives in mirth and jollity: Ἀριαῖοι δὲ φησὶ, κέκτηνται προσκελατῶν, ὥσπερ εἰλώτων, τριάκοντα μυριάδας· καθ' ἑκάστην δὲ ἡμέραν μεθύουσι, καὶ ποιοῦνται συνουσίας, καὶ διάκεινται πρὸς ἐδωδὴν καὶ πόσιν ἀκρατέστερον. *Athen.* x. 60. Cf. vi. 101.

BOOK VI.

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY.

CHAPTER I.

CONDITION OF THE POOR.

RESPECTING the condition of the poor, in ancient nations, very little is commonly known, the great historians, the tragic poets, and the other classic writers who enjoy what may be termed popularity, not having bestowed their attention on the subject; and to mine, for this species of knowledge, amid the speculations of philosophers, or the dusky rubbish of scholiasts and lexicographers, being a task for which few have patience. Even those writers who might have been expected to enter fully into this matter, supply but slight and unsatisfactory information, either because they attached little importance to the question, or because it did not enter into their design to examine in all their details the poor-laws of Athens, or the numerous sources of private and public charity which circumscribed the operation of those laws. To the best of my ability I shall endeavour to supply the deficiency.

In the earlier ages of the commonwealth there existed no class of citizens so necessitous as to require the aid of charity.¹ The democracy was not

¹ Before the establishment, however, of the Athenian commonwealth, when Greece had not yet emerged from the period of barbarism, piratical expeditions

were, by many of the smaller states, undertaken for the sake of providing for the poor. Thucyd. i. 5.

disgraced by the beggary of one of its members; for, though many, compared with their neighbours, might be poor, none were reduced to sordid indigence, or so lacked credit as to be unable to command the means of engaging in some profitable branch of industry. Afterwards, however, through the calamitous events of war, and that deterioration seemingly inherent in all forms of government, the number of the indigent exceeded that of the wealthy,¹ (as in every modern country it does,) and distress and destitution occupying entirely the thoughts of the sufferers, corroded to the core that spirit of patriotism which had distinguished their ancestors. But the institutions of Athens, having been truly designed to promote the happiness and provide for the wants of the people, the attention of the legislature was immediately directed to the evil.

As this was the first developement of the spirit of charity, it naturally appeared feeble at the outset, and only acquired strength and volume by degrees. A beginning was made in the case of those who had been disabled in war,² and of the children left behind by citizens who fell in defence of their country.

To the former a pension, in early times of one obolos a-day, was allowed: the latter³ may be said to have been adopted by the state which maintained

¹ Τότε μὲν οὐδεὶς ἦν τῶν πολιτῶν ἐνδεὴς τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐδὲ προσαιτῶν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τὴν πόλιν κατήσχυνε, νῦν δὲ πλείους εἰσὶν οἱ σπανίζοντες τῶν ἐχόντων. Isocrat. Areop. § 38.

² Καὶ νόμους αὐτὸς ἑτέρους ἔγραψεν, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ τοὺς πηρωθέντας ἐν πολέμῳ δημοσίᾳ τρέφεσθαι κελεύων. Plut. Solon. § 31. See the other authorities collected by Meursius. Them. Att. i. 10. p. 27. Cf. Petit, Legg. Att. viii. 3. p. 559. Aristotle, in a passage of his Politics, (ii. 5. 4,) has been supposed to attribute

the honour of this idea to Hippodamos, who, he says, proposed public rewards for useful inventions, and maintenance and education for the children of slain warriors. But St. Hilaire, who translates him in this sense, seems to be mistaken. Aristotle says, that Hippodamos proposed such a law, as if it were new:—"Now such a law," he says, "existed at Athens, and in other states." Cf. Gœtting. ad loc. p. 327, sqq. St. Hil. i. 147.

³ Poll. viii. 91. Gœttlieb. ad Plat. Menex. p. 62, seq.

and educated them till the age of eighteen, when, having been taught some trade or business, they were considered able to provide for themselves.¹

With whom this humane institution originated is not agreed. In the case of disabled soldiers the honour has, by some, been attributed to Peisistratos, by others to Solon. Bœckh, though he acknowledges that the latter “certainly gave the example to Peisistratos,” considers it not improbable that, for the benefit of this important lesson, humanity is indebted to the tyrant, who, he observes, “was of a mild disposition; and usurpers are generally glad to seize every opportunity of conferring a benefit, with a view to make themselves popular; nor would the Athenians, with their hatred to tyranny, have attributed this honour to him if he had not deserved it.”²

Of this I am not sure. Peisistratos, a consummate politician, having unjustly rendered himself master of the state, was, no doubt, careful to appropriate to himself as many as possible of the honours due to Solon, the mildest of all legislators; and, if he abstained from abrogating such a law, might contrive to pass for its author. Certain, at all events, it is, that a tradition long existed among the ancients which attributed the institution to Solon;³ and however mild and popular in manners the tyrant may have been, it will still, perhaps, be acknowledged that in those qualities he was excelled by the great legislator.

By what steps the law, originally instituted with reference solely to citizens disabled in war, came afterwards to embrace the aged, the sick, the blind,

¹ Aristid. Panath. i. 190. Jebb. Μόντοι δὲ ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων τρία ταῦτα ἐνομίσατε· τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως τελευτησάντων αὐτῶν μὲν ἐπαίνους ἐπὶ ταῖς ταφαῖς καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος λέγειν· τοὺς δὲ παῖδας δημοσίᾳ τρέφειν ἄχρις ἡβῆς, καὶ τηνικαῦτα ἀποπέμπειν ἐπὶ

τοὺς πατρώους οἴκους μετὰ τῶν πανοπλιῶν· τοὺς δὲ ἀδυνάτους τῶν πολιτῶν δημοσίᾳ τρέφειν.

² Publ. Econ. of Athen. i. 324.

³ Schol. ined. ad Æschin. cont. Timarch. p. 14. 40. ap. Taylor, ad Lys. Orat. Att. t. ii. p. 537. Dobs.—Diog. Laert. i. 2. 8.

and infirm of every description, is not known. It did not, however, require them to be absolutely destitute before they could receive relief. Any citizen whose property did not exceed three minæ, or twelve pounds sterling,¹ was entitled to the allowance; to eke out which he might keep a small shop, or apply himself to any other branch of industry within his competence. The laws, in fact, were on this point exceedingly liberal, justly considering it to be the duty of society to make up as far as possible for the injuries of fortune. There was little danger of the state's humanity being abused. The people themselves examined into every case, which in a community so limited they could easily do, and afterwards it was still in the power of any citizen, who suspected imposition, to bring an action against the offender before the Senate of Five Hundred.

The speech of a defendant in a cause of this kind has come down to us. It was written for the unfortunate citizen by Lysias; and I own I can discover in it nothing of that "jesting tone," which, in the opinion of some writers, proves it to be a mere rhetorical exercise.² On the contrary, it breathes

¹ Harpocrat, v. ἀδύνατοι. Cf. not. Vales. et Suid. v. τ. i. p. 89, b.

² Boeckh. Pub. Econ. of Athens, vol. i. p. 325. It should here, perhaps, be remarked, that they who failed to be present on the day of examination, lost their allowance for a whole Prytaneia. Schol. ad Æschin. cont. Tim. § 21. At times it would appear a man required some skill and eloquence to plead his own cause; or a friend to speak in his behalf, perhaps, when the number of applicants was very great. We may gather thus much from the accusation of Æschines against Timarchos, who, though a rich

man, suffered, we are told, his old blind uncle to inscribe his name on the list of the destitute. On one occasion, moreover, when the uncle had omitted to attend on the proper day, and had addressed a petition to the Senate to be allowed his pay notwithstanding, Timarchos, who happened to be then in court, refused to support his application, by which means he lost his allowance for that Prytaneia. Æschin. cont. Tim. § 21. The Scholiast on this passage adds, that they who petitioned the Senate appeared in person, bearing in their hand an olive branch wreathed with wool.

of that manly confidence, which it became the citizen, however poor, of a republican state, to feel. We must not conceive of him as a miserable pauper whining to a board of guardians. He understood the intent and meaning of the law, and certain that his case entitled him to the relief it was designed to afford, he spoke before the Senate like a man claiming no more than was equitably due to him; and too well assured of the humanity and justice of his countrymen to be under much apprehension. He kept a small shop, it appears, in the vicinity of the agora, and one of the principal points dwelt on by the prosecutor was, that he there drew together a number of saunterers and newsmongers, such as usually at Athens frequented the shops of barbers, perfumers, &c., in that fashionable part of the town.¹ Another point was, that he sometimes rode on horseback, which, in the opinion of the accusers, a man receiving aid from the state should not have done. But, to this part of the accusation, he replies, that, being so lame as to be compelled to make use of crutches, he was wholly unable to answer the more distant calls of business without hiring a horse, the expense of which only augmented his difficulties.

From these circumstances we may learn, that the Athenian government was by no means penurious in its appropriation of those funds which the contributions of the wealthier citizens placed at its disposal.

On the amount of the daily allowance writers are not agreed, some pretending it was three oboli, others two, and others an obolos. The truth, probably, is, that, originally, it exceeded not a single obolos, but that, as prices augmented, or, rather, as the coin deteriorated in value, it was found necessary to double the amount.² Whether it was ever raised to three

¹ Andocid. de Myst. § 9. Plut. Timol. § 14.

² That this allowance was not very scanty may be inferred from

oboli seems doubtful; the affirmation of the Scholiast on *Æschines*¹ may be a mistake; but the mere fact that this was the pay of the dicasts is no reason at all for calling the testimony of the grammarian in question.² Be this, however, as it may, in the time of *Lysias*,³ one obolos only was bestowed, and *Boeckh* has attempted, with much ingenuity, to determine the date of the increased allowance. It had not taken place, according to *Harpocration*, in the time of *Aristotle*; but *Philochoros*, the next writer who touches on the subject, observes, that it was nine drachmæ a month, or fifty-four oboli,⁴ which, omitting the fractions, is equal to two oboli a day. The year in which *Aristotle* composed his treatise on the Athenian government is not exactly known; it was probably, however, after his return from *Macedon*, 334 B.C. *Philochoros* was *Hieroscopus* at *Athens* in the year of *Corœbos*, 306 B.C. He did not, however, publish his *Atthis* till about the year 260 B.C., at which time the poor allowance had been raised to two oboli. The date of the increase, therefore, falls somewhere within the preceding seventy years.⁵

the fact, that when the people of *Trœzen* publicly received the wives and parents of the *Athenians* on their retreat from the city during the *Persian* invasion, they allowed each individual only two oboli a day. *Plut. Themist.* § 10.

¹ *Ap. Taylor ad Lys. Orat. Att. t. ii. p. 537. Dobs.*

² *Boeckh's* over-acuteness has, probably, misled him on this point. i. 325.

³ *Pro Impot. §§ 4. 8.*

⁴ *Philoch. Fragm. p. 44, seq. with the notes of Lenz and Siebelis. Conf. Harpocrat. v. ἀδύνατον. cum not. Gronov. et Vales. Petit, Legg. Att. 558, seq.*

⁵ *Cf. Clinton Fast. Hellen. ii. p. 175. Siebel. ad Philoch. Fragm.*

p. 3. *Boeckh. Publ. Econ. of Ath. i. 327*, falls into an extraordinary error respecting the age of *Philochoros*, "who was "a youth," he says, "when *Eratosthenes* was an old man." This he states on the authority of *Suidas*. But, as *Siebelis* has already remarked, in exposing the erroneous imputations of *Vossius* and *Corsini*, *Suidas* was himself mistaken, or his text is corrupt; for *Philochoros*, to have obtained the important office of *Hieroscopus* in 306, B.C., must have been then at least twenty years old. Now *Eratosthenes* was born B.C. 275, *Clint. Fast. Hellen. iii. 5*, so that it seems he was a youth when *Philochoros* was an old man.

With respect to the number of persons blind, old, sick, maimed, or otherwise disabled, who received maintenance from the state, no exact computation can be made. Boeckh,¹ imagining that Meursius had reckoned them at five hundred, after remarking that the assumption is founded on a false reading in Suidas, accepts the number as the least that can be adopted. But Meursius,² in the passage referred to, assumes nothing; he does not even allude to the number at all. And, in fact, it will be evident, at the first glance, that no conjecture can hope to approach the truth where circumstances were constantly varying, adding to, or taking from, the number of those who required relief. This was chiefly affected by the general poverty of the state, which augmented rapidly towards its decline, when the number of the aged and infirm, not possessing three minæ, or twelve pounds sterling, per annum, must, no doubt, have been considerable. On the other hand, having no longer to defend its freedom, which was gone for ever, the children of citizens falling in battle were comparatively few, and, accordingly, the gain on this item went to balance the loss on the other.

The offspring of citizens thus bequeathed to the care of the state were at one time exceedingly numerous, and highly exemplary and honourable was the attention they received.³ To the females a maintenance, education, and a portion, were given; and the males having also been supported and educated until manhood, received in the public theatre a complete suit of armour, as a memento of their fathers' valour, to incite them to follow their example. The whole audience being assembled, the herald introduced the orphan youths clothed in panoply of "complete steel," and then, with a loud voice, pro-

¹ Pub. Econ. of Athens, i. 327.

² Lect. Att. vi. 5.

³ Isocrat. de Pac. § 29. To complete the humanity of the

laws, the parents, also, of such as fell in war were placed under the special protection of the Archons. Petit, Legg. Att. p. 559.

claimed what Æschines rightly regarded as a most glorious and valour-inspiring proclamation, viz., that the fathers of those youths, like brave and good men, had fallen in their country's battles, on which account the state had undertaken the charge of their bringing up, and now, on the verge of manhood, having adorned them with an entire suit of armour, dismissed them under happy auspices to watch over their own affairs, granting them, likewise, for the day, the most honourable seats in the theatre.¹

Petit² supposes this to have taken place on their attaining the age of twenty, before which they could not legally assume the management of their inheritance, or encounter the fatigue and peril of regular warfare; but, others, perhaps, with more probability, fix upon the age of eighteen.

The above legal provision, however, does not appear to have sufficed, and there sometimes occurred cases of distress which it could not reach. Many, too, would submit to great privation rather than have recourse to public aid. Such persons, where numbers were in similar circumstances, usually united and formed, what may very properly be denominated a Benefit Club (*ἔρανος*³), to which they contributed when in their power, that, should misfortune overtake them, they might still be sure of support. This description, however, of Eranos constituted only one branch of the numerous Clubs, Companies, Associations, Trades-unions, &c., which, like the Clubs of the Civil Wars⁴ and Associations of a

¹ Æschin. cont. Ctesiph. § 48, with the notes of the Scholiast, p. 395. Conf. Plat. Menex. § 21. p. 61. ed. Gættlieb. The *προεδρία*, which the Scholiast to Æschines supposes them to have enjoyed during the day on which they received the panoply, Lesboux seems to have regarded as perpetual. They were honoured, moreover, with particular marks

of public favour in the sacred choruses and in the gymnasia. Prot rept. i. § 5. Conf. Menag. in D. Laert. t. ii. p. 20. c. d.

² Legg. Att. p. 560.

³ Sch. Aristoph. Acharn. 1171. Poll. iii. 129. vi. 7. viii. 144. 157.

⁴ See Locke, Memoirs of Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury, Works, folio. vol. iii.

still later date, occasionally assumed a political character and impeded the movements of the machinery of the state.¹ These societies were instituted with various objects. In the first place they were established to defray by subscription the expense of certain sacrifices, offered up in behalf of their members who were called Eranistæ and Thiasotæ. But under cover of this pretext combinations of an evil tendency were sometimes formed,—among the aristocracy, for example, who established the tyranny of the Four Hundred,—and these obnoxious clubs, varying in character with the period, espoused the cause of freedom in Roman times, and were of course watched jealously by the conquerors.²

With respect to those associations which bore a legal character, they were by the laws of Solon permitted to enact whatever rules and regulations they judged proper for their own government and advantage, provided no public ordinance prevented.³ Sometimes the citizens of a whole Demos, or borough, formed themselves into a club, or a ship's crew,⁴ or an eating society, or persons having a right to the same burial-ground, or the partners in a mercantile expedition. Thus we find three several motives,—religion, gain, and pleasure,—impelling men into unions of this kind, all recognised by law. The curious and intricate internal structure of Athenian society lent itself readily to the formation of such clubs; the whole population having originally been divided into four tribes, each tribe into three phratriæ,⁵ each phratría into thirty

¹ Van Holst, de Eranis. c. ii. p. 35.

² Casaub. ad Theoph. Charact. p. 284.

³ Gaius. lib. iv. ad leg. xii. Tabul. in f. 4. d. Petit, Legg. Att. v. 7. 427. Potter, i. 200.

⁴ The words *ἡ ναῦται* omitted by some, converted into something else by others, are judiciously retained by Van Holst, de

Eranis, c. ii. p. 36, since they are in exact conformity with what Aristotle remarks. Ethic. Nicom. viii. 11. p. 470, seq. Victor.

⁵ Vandale having cited a passage from Pollux, iii. 52, stating that the temple in which the phratriæ assembled was denominated *φάρριον*, adds: — “*quas φαρρίας Athenis duodecim numero existentes, ibi tum ulterius*

clans (*γενή*), each clan containing thirty houses, among whom the honours of the priesthood were distributed by lot.¹

In these Attic associations we discover the germs of those companies of merchants, guilds, &c.,² so familiar to the modern world; or rather similar wants in both cases gave rise to similar institutions. But with the trading companies we have, in this place, nothing to do; and if incidentally the other associations are noticed, it is simply for the purpose of more fully developing a system of which the Benefit Clubs formed a part. These evidently rose out of the *Eranæ* established originally for purposes of pleasure: that is, a number of individuals desirous of enjoying a more splendid entertainment than they could generally afford at home,³ together with the society of their intimate friends, entered into a subscription⁴ for the purpose of getting up a public dinner during the celebration of the great national festivals. In some cases the associations thus formed, *pro tempore*, did not outlast the occasion, while in others the taste for social pleasures, or the accidental meeting of congenial tempers, led

describit atque inter alia notat, illorum ad illos introitu virum (procul dubio ab ipsorum parentibus) distributum cæteris *φράτορσιν* fuisse. Huic *δινηστήρια* sicut et Themistius, Orat. xiii. notat, illos ante introitum, convocata concione probatos et publico annulo signatos fuisse. Dissert. 9. p. 729.

¹ Harpocrat. v. v. *γεννηται* et *τριτῷς*. Herm. Polit. Antiq. § 98, seq. Schöm. Comit. p. 360.

² A corresponding distribution of the humbler classes was effected at Rome by Numa: 'Ην δὲ ἡ διανομή κατὰ τὰς τέχνας, αὐλητῶν, χρυσοχόων, τεκτόνων, βαφέων, σκυτοτόμων, σκυτοδεψῶν, χαλκέων, κεραμέων. Τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς τέχνας εἰς ταὐτὸ συναγαγὼν, ἐν

αὐτῶν ἐκ πασῶν ἀπέδειξε σύστημα. Plut. Num. § 17. Cf. Schol. Nub. Aristoph. 179.

³ The Thebans of Bœotia, intoxicated by the military glory they gained at the battle of Leuctra, shortly afterwards gave themselves up almost entirely to the pleasures of the table, which they appear chiefly to have enjoyed at their clubs. To support these establishments, therefore, numerous individuals were found who, notwithstanding that they had children, bestowed the greater portion of their fortunes upon them, thus manifesting, perhaps, the greatest enthusiasm ever exhibited in the cause of good-eating. Athen. x. 11.

⁴ Sch. Æsch. Tim. p. 380. a.

to the establishment of a permanent club, the members of which grew naturally among a warm-hearted people to take an interest in each other's welfare. The expenses of the sacrifices during these festivals were in part defrayed from the revenues of the sacred lands, but these not sufficing, it was generally necessary to raise a common fund by subscription.¹

Of all these clubs, whether temporary or permanent, whose object was the providing of funds for sacrifice, or to enjoy the pleasures of society, the generic name was *Erani*, though such as partook of a religious character received besides the appellation of *Thiasi*.² Their members were called *Eranistæ* and *Thiasotæ*. It was common among the Greeks to indulge in feasting immediately at the close of harvest, both on account of the plenty which then prevailed, and, because the great business of the year being finished, they had more leisure to devote to enjoyment.³ That these associations tended to generate and promote friendship and affection among their members was well understood; wherefore in the ancient tyrannies they were rigidly prohibited, together with all common tables, educational establishments, and whatever else, to adopt the expression of Aristotle, promotes reflection and mutual confidence.⁴ It was supposed to be their interest to keep men as far as possible in ignorance and distrust of each other. Hence all religions with a tendency to beget mutual love were proscribed (as among the Romans Christianity) as of an antimonarchical character. Thus Mæcenas, as ardent a patron of tyranny as of literature, urged Augustus to

¹ Cf. Bergmann and Coray ad Isocrat. Areop. § 11. Van Holst, de Eranis. c. ii. p. 87.

² Etym. Mag. 449. 53. Lucian introduces Pan calling himself the *Διασώρης* of Bacchos. Deor. Dial. xxii. Another name bestowed on these societies was

Ὀργεῶνες which appellation however, according to Pollux, was synonymous with *φράτορες*. *ἐκαλούντο δ' οὗτοι καὶ ὁμογάλακτες καὶ ὀργεῶνες*. iii. 52. Cf. viii. 107. Vandale, Dissert. ix. p. 734.

³ Aristot. Ethic. viii. 11.

⁴ Arist. Polit. v. 11.

persecute and proscribe all attempts at introducing new creeds, as favourable to innovation or, at least, to change; to sworn brotherhoods, associations, clubs, things in their nature hostile to monarchy.¹

The conjecture is probable, that the conversion of the Erani into charitable institutions was matter of accident. At first it seems clear, as I have observed already, that their object was sacrifice, feasting, and pleasure. But it sometimes happened that, of the funds subscribed, some portion would, after their objects had been fulfilled, remain; and if, when this was the case, any member of the club happened to fall into distress, it was perfectly natural to think of applying this surplus to his benefit.² From this the step was easy to subscribing expressly for the purpose of relieving indigent members, which, at length, was the practice, though the gradations by which they arrived at it have not been accurately marked.³ Arrian has left a curious account of a Celtic eranos established by a Hunting Club in honour of Artemis,⁴ to whom solemn sacrifice was annually offered up. A fund was created by the members of the club in the following manner: every one who caught a hare paid into the treasury two oboli: the capturer or destroyer of a fox a drachma, the fox being a mischievous animal and fatal to the hare; they therefore considered his destruction in the light of a triumph over an enemy. The sportsman who took a roebuck (*δορυκαῖς*), which among them was the noblest

¹ Dion Cass. l. ii. p. 490. e.

² Salmas. de Usur. c. iii. p. 50.

³ Cf. Plin. Epist. x. 93, seq. Van Holst, de Eran. p. 43.

⁴ The Thiasi, &c., among the Greeks, appear all to have had their patron divinities, of whom the most common were Heracles, Phœbos-Apollo, and Dionysos. This circumstance has been no-

ticed by Vandale: Plerumque, (sicut *ὀργεῶνων* collegia) cœtus ac fraternitates Baccho, Herculi, Apollini, aliisve Diis consecratæ: quibus Diis ab harum fratriarum membris, ut peculiaribus patronis sacrificabatur: atque hinc convivia inter *φράτορας* celebrabantur: ad quæ communes illi sumptus sive impensas pariter conferebant. Dissert. ix. p. 730.

game, and the largest animal hunted, paid four drachmæ. On the birth-day of the goddess the treasury was opened, and a victim, whether a sheep, a she-goat, or a calf, according to their means, was purchased. Sacrifice was then offered, after which both men and dogs regaled themselves with a banquet. Bitches were on this day crowned with flowers, to show that the feast was celebrated in their behalf.¹

In all these clubs the chest was the soul of everything; for this being removed the whole society fell to pieces.² Accordingly, to become a member it was necessary to subscribe a certain amount to the fund, and all payments were made monthly.³ As these clubs, moreover, were legal, the person who neglected such payments could be prosecuted at law, as for any other debt; and what shows the importance of these institutions at Athens, the ordinances referring to them formed a separate branch of jurisprudence,⁴ to enter into which, however, does not belong to my present inquiry. The president or chairman of the club was likewise treasurer, whether chosen by lot or elected by the members of the club, whose expenses and behaviour, while assembled, he appears to have regulated.⁵ It has been seen that the meetings of these societies took place during religious festivals; but whenever they were called

¹ Arrian de Venat. c. xxxiii. p. 383. Schneid.

² Van Holst, c. ii. p. 46.

³ Harpocrat. p. 85. Bekk. It would, however, appear that payment might be avoided by pleading poverty: speaking of the hypocrite, πρὸς τοὺς δανειζομένους, says Theophrastus, καὶ ἐρανίζοντας, ὥς οὐ πωλείφῃσεν. Charact. c. i. p. 5.

⁴ Poll. viii. 37, 101, 144.

⁵ Harpocrat. v. πληρωτής; where doubtless we must read

with Salmasius (Miscell. Defens. c. ii. p. 27) ἡρημένοις, for ἐωρημένοις, though Bekker retains the old lection, p. 155. Cf. Van Holst, p. 56.—Athenæus describes a festival called Phagesiposia in which every one who passed by was compelled to repeat a rhapsody in honour of Bacchos. (vii. 1.) There was also at Alexandria a curious festival called Lagene-phoria, in which every person brought his own portion, and his own bottle, and reclined on a couch of grass or reeds. (2.)

together, whether by business or piety, it was customary, as in all similar cases among ourselves, for the members to dine together. They do not appear, however, to have possessed club-houses; but, like our literary men of the last century, to have dined at taverns or alternately at each others' dwellings.¹ On these occasions it was customary to restrain their expenses within moderate limits, the object being rather the enjoyment of each others' society than the indulgence of a passion for luxury.²

On those occasions, when a member received the club at his house, he himself, it has been conjectured, took the chair,³ not, however, necessarily and by rule; for it has been seen that the president was sometimes chosen by lot, sometimes by vote. But this supposition is, probably, ill-founded; for, as the same individual was at once eranarch and treasurer, it appears exceedingly improbable that he should be changed every time the club dined together. It seems to me more likely, — and we are left to conjecture, — that an annual chairman was chosen to transact the general business of the society, while another individual might be selected to fill the office of chairman for any particular evening. Towards the close of the republic, when the worship of Serapis had been introduced, women would seem to have been received as members of Erani established in honour of that foreign divinity.⁴

But as these clubs were only accidentally connected with charity and the condition of the poor, I proceed to consider another species of Eranæ, conceived almost in the spirit of Christianity. Van Holst,⁵ whose researches on the subject of the Hellenic clubs, though pedantic and confused, are not without value, denies that any permanent charitable associations existed among the Greeks, though among

¹ Athen. vi. 35. Van Holst, de Eranis, pp. 30, 59.

² Arist. Ethic. viii. 11.

³ Van Holst, de Eranis, p. 60.

⁴ Bœckh, Corp. Inscip. pt. ii. p. 162.

⁵ De Eranis, c. iii. p. 73, sqq.

the Romans, he conceives, they did. At the same time, he confesses what it were difficult to deny, that the friendly subscription called *Eranos* derived its name and being from the clubs above-described. He contends that no club existed with permanent funds for the relief of distressed friends, and that the relief actually afforded was the spontaneous effort of beneficence and humanity. On this point he is at issue with Casaubon,¹ whom he appears, in some respects, to misunderstand. Salmasius, he conceives, comes nearer the mark where he says, that when any person was overwhelmed with debt or poverty, he found a ready refuge in his friends, who subscribed what they could, both to satisfy his creditors and provide for his future subsistence. It was in the discharge of debts, however, that men found most aid from their friends;² though such subscriptions were set on foot on many other occasions, to redeem a man from captivity, for example, or to portion a friendless girl, as was the practice also at Thebes.³

The mode in which this subscription was collected, and the principle on which the transaction was based, had something characteristic about them. In the first place, the money resembled a loan (which, strictly speaking, it was not), because, if the receiver afterwards became fortunate, he was bound to make repayment,⁴ though while in unfavourable circumstances his mind was not oppressed by the consciousness of being in debt, since no one regarded himself as a creditor, or could ask him for an obolos. Salmasius observes very justly, that the greatest proof of generosity is to give without any desire of a return, which the Greeks called *eleëmosynè*, or *eranos* of

¹ Ad Theoph. Char. p. 280, sqq.

² Salmas. de Usur. c. iii. p. 38.

³ Corn. Nep. Vit. Epaminond. § 3.

⁴ It ought, moreover, to be

remarked, that these eranistic loans were sometimes returned even to the children of those who advanced them. Isæus, De Hagn. Hered. § 10.

strict charity. The second grade is, where money is lent to be repaid without interest, which our Saviour calls *τὰ ἴσα ἀπολαβεῖν*.¹ The lowest, where you lend, but on condition of receiving interest.²

For the repayment of money collected by eranistic subscription, no exact time, it has been observed, was fixed. It appears to have depended entirely on the recipient's sense of honour or feelings of gratitude. But Petit,³ whose researches on this part of his subject were not sufficiently exact, confounds the monthly subscription paid by members of a trading company or ordinary club, with the money which a man, aided by his friends, might be supposed to owe them, and says, that such-a-one was required to pay it back by monthly instalments, or all at once within a month. The former would be the case were we to understand Harpocration to speak of this kind of eranos at all; the latter, if we accept his interpretation. But Van Holst⁴ is right in remarking that Petit here apprehends the sense of the grammarian "*minus recte*"; that is, he mistakes it altogether. However, that the money was at some time to be repaid appears from a variety of passages. Theophrastus, for example, in his Chapter on Grumbling, observes, that the querulous man, to whom a collection made for him by his friends is brought, will reply to the person who bids him to be of good cheer, — "Wherefore? when I must return as much to each of them, and be grateful, moreover, for the favour?"⁵

Among the other peculiarities in the construction of Athenian society which tended to better the condition of the poor, were the entertainments given by rich citizens to their tribes, on certain festivals or days of public rejoicing.⁶ And this was a matter

¹ Cf. Cicer. pro Rosc. Amer. § 7.

² Salmas. de Usur. p. 672.

³ Legg. Att. v. 7. 429.

⁴ De Eranis, t. iii. p. 75.

⁵ Theoph. Charact. xvii. Ca-

saub. p. 308. Cf. Ter. Phorm.

iv. 4. 22. Plaut. Asinar. i. 3. 92,

sqq. Van Holst, p. 77.

⁶ Athen. v. 2.

by no means left to the caprice of individuals, for if some one came not forward voluntarily to undergo the expense, the members of the tribe proceeded to cast lots,¹ and the citizen to whose chance it fell could not escape the performance of this duty, unless he pleaded, as his excuse, some cause deemed satisfactory by the public. Of course, the character of the entertainment depended on the wealth or munificence of the Hestiator.² Necessary, it was not, that he should regale his fellow-tribesmen sumptuously, as frugality was one of the characteristics of the nation; but, at the same time, it is quite evident that on many occasions³ the Feast of the Tribe was a magnificent banquet.⁴

Of the state of the poor at Sparta,⁵ our information is exceedingly scanty. We only know that, when they were unable to contribute their share to the maintenance of the public tables, they lost the privilege of being present, and had to provide for themselves at home in the best manner they were able.⁶ It would thus appear that their Phiditia differed very little, except in being more general, from the Erani of the Athenians. As Laconia abounded with game, it may be conjectured that the more indigent citizens frequently relied greatly for support on the chase,⁷ to which may be added the

¹ Harpocrat. in v. ἐστιάτωρ. Dem. cont. Mid. § 44. adv. Lept. § 7. adv. Bæot. § 5. Cf. Herald. Anim. in Salm. Obs. ad Jus. Athen. et Rom. l. ii. c. i. § 12.

² Ἐστιάτωρ, ὁ εἰς εὐφροσύνην καὶ εὐωχίαν καλῶν δαιτυμόνες δὲ οἱ ἀριστηταί, οἱ εὐωχούμενοι. Suid. v. t. i. p. 1052. d.

³ There occurred, however, but few holydays on which artisans abstained altogether from labour. Lucian. Parasit. § 15.

⁴ Poll. vi. 27. iii. 67. Bœckh, therefore, appears to be wrong in supposing that delicacies were

never used on these occasions. Pub. Econ. of Athens, vol. ii. p. 222. Cf. Wolf. Proleg. ad Lept. in Orat. Att. t. vi. p. 372.

⁵ Vid. Plat. De Leg. t. vii. p. 181. 201. seq. t. viii. p. 101. seq. De Rep. t. vi. p. 233. The institution of the Phiditia commenced in Italy. Arist. Pol. vii. 9. The members of these messes were balloted for. Plut. Lycurg. § 12. Even the relations of Agesilaos, by the mother's side, were poor. Agesil. § 4.

⁶ Aristot. Polit. ii. 9.

⁷ Cf. Athen. iv. 9.

charity of their wealthier neighbours, in whatever way bestowed. In Crete, the citizens being placed more upon an equality, there was little room for extreme poverty.¹ The population, moreover, by artificial restraints, was kept within due bounds; consequently, most persons lived plentifully, and possessed wherewith to exercise the most generous hospitality. But even here they multiplied in later times more rapidly than the means of subsistence, so that numbers of Cretans were fain to serve as mercenary archers in the intestine wars of Greece. The same remark will apply to the Arcadians, and several other people whose poorer members earned a subsistence by their hereditary valour.²

At Athens, when persons in easy circumstances made a feast, as on all occasions of sacrificing they did, the custom was to send some small presents, as parts of the victim, to their friends, more especially when poor.³ But most joyful for the indigent was the period of the Athenian jubilee, the Panathenaia,⁴ on which occasion the state received presents of oxen from all the colonies founded by Athenians, so that the whole city overflowed with meat and soup, of which every person might take his share. Sometimes, however, if not generally, the meat fell into the hands of those who least needed it, while the poor got nothing but a little soup with a scanty slice of bread.⁵ In times of great scarcity corn was distributed to the indigent in the Odeion, where, on ordinary occasions, it was sold.⁶ A similar distribution took place at the Peiræus in the arsenal, where loaves were given out at an obolos each. On extraordinary occasions, as when a famine raged in the country, the state applied for corn to its foreign allies, and, on receiving any, distributed

¹ Aristot. Polit. ii. 9.

² Id. Polit. ii. 10.

³ Theoph. Char. c. 17. Ca-saub. p. 259.

⁴ Meursius (in Panath. c. xv. p. 22) is very unsatisfactory.

⁵ Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 385.

⁶ Demosth. cont. Phorm. § 13. Cf. Meurs. Rhod. p. 127.

it equally among the citizens. This was the case when Psammitichos made the Athenians a present of a vast quantity of wheat, of which every citizen received five medimni.¹ A peculiar kind of wind-fall is commemorated by Athenæus, who relates, that when Ion, the dramatic poet of Chios, won the prize of tragedy, he was so overjoyed at his success, that he presented every Athenian with a jar of the best Chian. No doubt, foreign tragedians were not every day winning prizes, or, when they won, so rich and generous as Ion; but advantages of various kinds were enjoyed by the Athenian people not anywhere else known.²

Sometimes, when generals obtained any remarkable quantity of plunder, instead of laying it up to meet the serious exigencies of the state they lavished it in feasting the people. Thus, Chares is said to have expended more than sixty talents, or near 15,000*l.* sterling in entertaining his fellow-citizens,³ when the public tables were laid out in the agora; and Conon,⁴ having obtained a great naval victory over the Lacedæmonians at Cnidos, and surrounded the Peiræus with fortifications, offered a real hecatomb in sacrifice, and feasted the whole body of people. Of these thoughtless donations the poor, of course, obtained their share. Cimon acted more judiciously and more nobly towards the unfortunate among his countrymen. Looking upon wealth only as a means of recommending himself and obtaining friends, he set no guard upon his lands or gardens, from which every Athenian who chose might freely take what he needed. His house, likewise, in the city was open to all; a plain table being constantly laid for a number of men, so that whosoever was at a loss for a dinner might dine there. He willingly obliged those who came daily to demand some favour of him; and is said always to have gone

¹ Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 718.

² Athen. i. 5.

³ Athen. xii. 43. Money it-

self was sometimes distributed.

Dem. adv. Leochar. § 12.

⁴ Athen. i. 5.

abroad accompanied by two or three domestics bearing money, who were instructed to give to any citizen who approached him with a request. He contributed also to the interment of many; and, often, if he observed a poor Athenian meanly clad, ordered one of his attendants to change raiment with him. By these means, as may be supposed, he acquired marvellous popularity, and stood first among his rivals in public estimation.¹

But persons thus subsisting on the bounty of the opulent soon lost of necessity the dignity of sentiment which should belong to the citizens of a free state. Many, therefore, when reduced by misfortune, to a choice of evils, preferred the bread obtained by honest labour,² however mean or ill paid, to so humiliating a dependance on charity; and, unable to obtain more favourable conditions, actually worked for their food.³ To labour for hire they scarcely ac-

¹ Theopomp. ap. Athen. xii. 44.

² Alluding to the necessity of labour to the poor, Plato says:—If an artisan happen to fall sick, he demands a rapid cure of his physician by emetics or aperients, or cautery, or surgical operation. But if he be recommended a long and careful attention to regimen, to tie up his head and such things, he speedily replies, that he has no leisure to play the valetudinarian, and that it is of no advantage to him to preserve his life by such continual nursings, while his affairs are going to ruin. Thus dismissing his physician, and returning to his ordinary diet, if he recover he pursues his calling, if not he is delivered from all his troubles at once. De Repub. t. vi. l. iii. p. 145.

³ Ἐπισίτιοι. Plat. Rep. iv. § 1. t. i. p. 268. Stallb. Athen. vi. 50. Cf. Bœckh. Pub. Econ.

i. 156, on the lowness of wages. On the Pelatæ see the note of Rünkh. ad Tim. Lex. in v. Meris, p. 208. Bekk.—Plat. Euthyph. t. i. p. 356. Poll. iii. 82. Dionysius of Halicarnassus entertained a strange notion of the *θητες* and *πελάται* of the Athenians, whose condition he supposes to have been inferior to that of the Roman clients. He pretends, indeed, that clientship arose in Greece, and was only established by imitation at Rome: *ἔθος Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ Ἀρχαῖον*, he says, *ἃ Θετταλοὶ τε μέχρι πολλοῦ χρώμενοι διετέλεσαν καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καταρχὰς. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπιτάττοντες οὐ προσήκοντα ἐλευθέροις, καὶ ὅποτε μὴ πράξειάν τι τῶν κελευρομένων, πληγὰς ἐντείνοντες, καὶ τᾶλλα ὥσπερ ἀργυρωνήτοις χρώμενοι. ἐκάλουν δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν Θῆτας τοὺς Πελάτας, ἐπὶ τῆς λατρείας Θετταλοὶ δὲ, Πενέστας, ὀνειδίζοντες αὐτοῖς*

counted a hardship. A large class of citizens, including women,¹ appear by this means to have gained their livelihood, some as cooks, others as reapers, mowers, or any other description of labour which happened to offer itself.² Poverty sometimes drove the unprincipled poor to keep houses of ill fame. Others became itinerant flower-sellers, and cried "roses so many bunches the obolos;" or hawked radishes, lupines, or olive-dregs about the streets.³ And, after their death, the daughters of poor men sometimes joined the Hetairæ, not having been able to earn their livelihood by needlework, weaving, and spinning.⁴

In many respects the poor of southern climates have the advantage of those of the north.⁵ The atmosphere itself forms their clothing, and during a great part of the year it is immaterial to them where they sleep. But at Athens, however tem-

εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ κλήσει τὴν τύχην. Antiq. Rom. ii. 9. Reiske very justly remarks on this passage, that he does not see with what propriety the Thetes of Attica are classed with the Thessalian Penestæ, in comparing them with the Roman Clients. For it is most certain (as H. Stephens shows in his Schediasm. v. 15, seq.), that the condition of the Penestæ bore little resemblance to that of the Roman Clients. And as to the Attic Thetes and Pelatæ they were completely free, though inferior in rank to the artisans (οἱ βανανοὶ, Steph. Thes. v. 9ῆς); nor did they serve as slaves serve their masters (ut δοῦλοι δεσπόταις); but, as appears from the Scholiast on Odyss. δ. 644, as poor and debt-oppressed persons hire their services to the rich or to their creditors, who were denominated χρήστας, not προστάτας, or δεσ-

πότας. The condition of the Thessalian Penestæ was different: for they were nearly slaves, μεταξὺ δούλων καὶ ἐλευθέρων, as the ancients called them. (Pollux, iii. 83.) Those among them who served in families were named Σεπταλοικέται. (Reiske, ad Dion. Hal. t. i. p. 255.)

¹ Demosth. adv. Eubul.

² Demosth. de Coron. § 16. Cf. Plat. Rep. ii. 12. Stallb.

³ Diphilos ap. Athen. ii. 45.

⁴ Luc. Dial. Meret. vi. § 1. Plut. Arat. § 54.

⁵ Beggars sometimes sat down on the ground to eat what was given them at the doors of the charitable. Thus in Antiphanes one says, — "What dost thou say? Bring me hither to the door something to eat; and then, like the beggars, I will despatch it, seated on the ground, and who will see?" Athen. ii. 87.

perate the climate, a shelter from the cold in winter is desirable, and here, therefore, as in every other part of Greece, the practice was to erect houses where, as in the Caravanserais of the East, any man, native or stranger, might enter and obtain shelter for the night. These buildings were called *Leschæ*, erected without doors, to intimate that all were welcome; and in them, accordingly, beggars and wanderers of every description congregated round great fires in winter and bad weather, both to sleep and converse.¹ Even the citizens, particularly at Sparta, met in the *Leschæ*, to enjoy the delights of gossiping; whence any idle assemblage was called a *Leschè*.² In a fragment of the lost oration of Antiphon against Nicocles, mention is made of these edifices, which served as a refuge for the destitute. They were erected by the state; and, to cast over them an air of sanctity, dedicated to Apollo, who thence obtained the surname of *Leschenorios*.³ Nowhere were these humane institutions so numerous as at Athens, where, according to Proclus,⁴ there existed no fewer than three hundred and sixty, in which the indigent, who had no home, might congregate together and keep themselves warm at the nation's expense.

In addition to these the public baths served as an asylum to such of the poor as had no home, or were unable to provide themselves with fuel in their own dwellings. Here they would seem to have pressed so eagerly about the furnaces as to be sometimes scorched and blistered;⁵ and the crowd of poor

¹ Etym. Mag. 18. 1, seq. 561. 11. Odyss. σ. 328, et Eustath. ad loc. Cf. Hesiod. Opp. et Dies, 493, et 500, seq. with Boeckh. Inscript. i. p. 133. Horat. Serm. i. vii. 3.

² Pausan. iii. 14. 2. 15. 8. x. 25. 1. Siebel. ad loc.

³ Harpocrat. in v. λέσχαι.

Suid. in v. ii. 27, seq. Etymol. Mag. p. 18, v. ἀδολεσχία.

⁴ Ap. Meurs. Athen. Att. iii. vi. 158.

⁵ Πλὴν φώδων ἐκ βαλανείου. Aristoph. Plut. 535: φλυκταινῶν ἐκ βαλανείου δὲ διὰ τὸ τοὺς πένητας ἀποροῦντας ἐνδυμάτων διὰ τὸ ψύχος ἐν βαλανείοις καθεύδειν,

wretches in this necessitous condition would appear to have been occasionally so great as to deteriorate the state of the atmosphere by their breath,¹ on which account they were exposed to be driven forth by the bath-keepers.

In Homeric times, beggars and all other sorts of vagrants took refuge from the nightly cold in smiths' forges,² just as in former ages they did in the glass-houses of London. These fathers of sacrilege, as Plato³ calls them, when properly equipped for the road, presented a tolerably picturesque aspect with their close Mysian bonnet,⁴ ragged cloak, and bottle strapped to the thigh,⁵ and supporting themselves as they walked on a huge staff. To this worshipful society Dionysios, once tyrant of Syracuse, belonged in his old age.⁶

καὶ ἐκ θέρμης ἢ δέρος αὐτοὺς
ἐξιόντας παραχρῆμα προσβάλλον-
τος φλυκτόινας ποιεῖν· Ἀπολλα-
δωρος τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐρυθήματα,
ἢ ἐκ ψύχους, ἢ τοὺς τύλους, καὶ
τὰ ἐπικαύματα τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς,
ὥς τῶν πενήτων διὰ τὸ αὐτουργεῖν
τοῦτο πασχόντων. Schol. in loc.

¹ Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 956.

² Οὐδ' ἐθέλεις εὐδεῖν, χαλκήϊον
ἐς δόμον ἐλθῶν,

Ἢέ που ἐς λέσχην.

Odyss. σ. 327, seq.

Χαλκήϊος δὲ δόμος τὸ τῶν χαλκέων
ἐργαστήριον, ἐνθα εἰσιόντες ἀκω-
λύτως οἱ πτωχοὶ, ἐκοιμῶντο παρὰ
τῷ πυρί. Eustath. in loc. p. 672.
28. Basil.

Πάρ δ' ἴθι χάλκειον θῶκον καὶ
ἔπ' ἀλέα λέσχην

Ὡρῇ χειμερῇ, ὅποτε κρύος ἀνέρας
ἔργων

Ἰσχύανει, κ. τ. λ.

Hesiod. Opp. et Dies, 493, sqq.

³ De Repub. t. vi. p. 393.
Among the nations of antiquity
I remember none who looked

upon poverty in so venerable a
light as the inhabitants of Ga-
deira, now Cadiz. For these
worthy people erected, we are
told, an altar in its honour, prob-
ably supposing it to be near akin
to death, whose praises they also
sang in pæans. Philost. Vit.
Apoll. Tyan. v. 4, p. 190. Phot.
Biblioth. Cod. 241, p. 328, b.

⁴ Aristoph. Acharn. 440.

⁵ Lucian. Dial. Mort. i. § 2.
Vict. Var. Lect. i. 24. Schol.
Aristoph. Acharn. 410.

⁶ Ἀυτὸς δὲ Διονύσιος τέλος
μητραγυρτῶν καὶ τύμπανο φορού-
μενος, οἰκτρῶς τὸν βίον κατέστρε-
ψεν. Clearch. ap. Athen xii. 58.
Every just and upright man
would probably rejoice to behold
all tyrants in the same condition.
Cf. Tim. Lex. Platon. v. ἀγεί-
ρουν, with the note of Rühn-
ken. p. 16, who has collected
several passages illustrating the
life and manners of the begging
priests of Cybelè.

There was at Athens, in later times, a class of men who resembled the bone-grubbers and dung-hill scrapers of London and Paris. These were the grain-pickers of the Deigma and Agora, who hovering about where the farmers and corn-chandlers meted their grain, and collecting what dropped from the sacks,¹ or was spilled in measuring, thus earned a miserable subsistence. Persons of this description might eke out their livelihood by appropriating to themselves the coarse brown bread which pious and charitable persons placed in the propylæa of temples for their use.² Here Diogenes, the Cynic, who, carrying about provisions in his wallet, was independent of these offerings, sometimes dined; and, for the sake of uttering a *bon mot*, threw out the loaves that might have been useful to others; observing, that nothing coarse³ should be allowed to enter the temples of the gods.

Religion has everywhere been favourable to the poor. On the festival of the new moon, when the great and opulent offered up costly sacrifices to the gods, as to Hecatè, for example, on cross-roads,⁴ their more indigent brethren seized the occasion

¹ Eustath. ap. Casaub. Char. p. 197. In the Acts of the Apostles the Epicureans and Stoics contemptuously denominate St. Paul a *σπερμολόγος*, xvii. 18.

² The Alexandrians placed loaves in the temple of Chronos for the poor. Athen. iii. 74. Among the Ethiopians there was an institution called the Table of the Sun, which we may suppose to have been designed to supply the poor with food. In a meadow close to the suburbs of the capital a plentiful entertainment was laid out during the night, which as soon as day broke every person had permission to partake of.

This feast the natives affected to regard as a gift bestowed upon them incessantly by the earth. Herod. iii. 18. Cf. Pausan. i. 33. 4. vi. 26. 2.

³ Diog. Laert. vi. 2. § 64. *ῥυπαρὸς*, alone, signifies as the French translator has rendered it, "mal-propres," t. i. p. 358. But *ῥυπαρὸς ἀπρὸς*, means *du pain bis*, as Menage long ago observed, ad loc. ii. 146. b. c. Diogenes, as the reader will perceive, meant to pun upon the word *ῥυπαρὸς*.

⁴ These suppers were eaten by the poor, together with the eggs and other small offerings used in purifying places. Luc. Dial. Mort. i. § 1. Catapl. § 7. Lo-

when their hearts were thus softened, to ask them for something. Thus Homer, according to the legend attributed to Herodotus, went in Samos to the houses of the wealthy, chanting his *Eiresione*, for which he received a consideration.¹

There was a class of beggars who went about the country begging for the crow,² holding, apparently, a tame bird of that species like a falcon on their wrist, and chanting the following ditty:—

SONG OF THE CROW.

Good people, a handful of barley bestow
On the bearers about of the sable crow—
Apollo's daughter she—
But if the barley heap wax low,
Still kindly let your bounty flow,
And of the yellow grains that grow
On the wheaten stalk be free.
Or a well-kneaded loaf or an obolos give,
Or what you will, for the crow must live.
If the gods have been bountiful to you to-day,
Oh say not to her for whom we sing,
Say not, we implore you, nay,
To the bird of the cloudy wing.
A grain of salt will please her well,
And whoso this day that bestows,
May next day give (for who can tell?)
A comb from which the honey flows.

meier, de Lustrat. c. xxi. p. 258, seq. Cakes called *Amphiphontes* were offered to Artemis within a circle of burning torches. These offerings were made in the temples, and on cross-roads, at the full moon, when the sun, rising ere the moon sets, there is constant light throughout the twenty-four hours, which was signified by the ring of torches; the whole round of the day being filled with light. In the island of Hecatè, on the coast of Delos, the Delians used to dedicate offerings to Iris, of cakes called *Basynias*, made with wheaten

flour and honey, the offering called *cokkora*, a dried fig, and three walnuts. Athen. xiv. 53. The Athenians, when sacrificing to the Seasons, offered up boiled meat, and not roasted, as on other occasions; praying to be protected from the heats which dry up and destroy everything, and to be blessed with moderate warmth, to ripen and bring everything to perfection. Id. xiv. 72.

¹ Herod. Vit. Hom. § 33. t. ii. p. 362. Schweigh.—Meurs. Gr. Fer. p. 213, seq.

² Athen. viii. 59.

But come, come, what need we say more ?
 Open the door, boy, open the door,
 For Plutos has heard our prayers.
 And see, through the porch a damsel, as sweet
 As the winds that play round the flowery feet
 Of Ida, comes the crow to meet,
 And a basket of figs she bears.
 Oh may this maiden happy be,
 And from care and sorrow free ;
 Let her all good fortune find,
 And a husband rich and kind.
 And when her parents have grown old,
 Let her in her father's arms
 Place a boy as fair as she,
 With the ringlets all of gold,
 And, upon her mother's knee,
 A maiden decked with all her charms.
 But I from house to house must go,
 And wherever my eyes by my feet are borne,
 To the muse at night and morn
 For those who do or don't bestow,
 The mellow words of song shall flow.
 Come then, good folks, your plenty share,
 O give, my prince ! and maiden fair,
 Be bountiful to-day.
 Sooth, custom bids ye all to throw
 Whole handfulls to the begging crow ;
 At least give something ; say not, no,
 And we will go our way.

In Rhodes another kind of begging, which usually
 took place in the month of March, was denomi-
 nated Chelidonizein ;¹ or, to sing the

SONG OF THE SWALLOW.

The swallow is come, and with her brings
 A year with plenty overflowing ;
 Freely its rich gifts bestowing,
 The loveliest of lovely springs.
 She is come, she is come,
 To her sunny home.

¹ Athen. viii. 60. In the
 warmer atmosphere of the vol-
 canic islands of Lipari, the swal-
 low has, by modern naturalists,

been found stationary. Spallan-
 zani, Travels in the Two Sicilies,
 i. Introd. p. 32.

And white is her breast as a beam of light,
 But her back and her wings are as black as night ;
 Then bring forth your store,
 Bring it out to the door,
 A mass of figs, or a stoop of wine,
 Cheese, or meal, or what you will,
 Whate'er it be we'll not take it ill :
 Even an egg will not come amiss,
 For the swallow's not nice
 When she wishes to dine.
 Come, what shall we have? Say, what shall it be?
 For we will not go,
 Though time doth flee,
 Till thou answerest Yes, or answerest No.
 But if thou art churlish we'll break down the gate,
 And thy pretty wife we'll bear away ;
 She is small, and of no great weight.
 Open, open, then we say.
 Not old men but boys are we,
 And the swallow says, — " Open to me."

It was seldom, however, that the indigent in Greece could enjoy the luxuries here enumerated. Antiphanes¹ describes a poor man's meal as consisting of a cake (*μαζα*),² bristling with bran for the sake of economy, with an onion, and, for a relish, a dish of sow-thistle, or of mushrooms, or some such wretched produce of the soil, a diet producing neither fever nor phlegm. However, where meat is to be got, no man, he thought, would be contented with thyme, though he might pretend to rival the Pythagoreans.³ Mention, nevertheless, is made of two philosophers who voluntarily subsisted all their lives on water and figs, and grew very healthy and robust upon this fare, though their perspiration had so ill

¹ Athen. ii. 56.

² Cf. Foës. *Œconom.* Hippoc. v. *μαζα*. This bread, we find, was sometimes leavened. Schol. Aristoph. *Pac.* 557. Athen. xiv. 83.

³ Mention is made of some poor philosophers of this sect, who used to chew the plant called *ἄλυμα* to allay hunger, and might

be seen wandering about torrent beds, collecting this and similar herbs in their wallets. Athen. iv. 52. According to the comic poets, the Pythagorean sect allowed its disciples a loaf of pure bread and a cup of water per diem, which constituted the ordinary prison allowance. Id. *ibid.*

an odour, that every one avoided them when they entered the public baths. Pythagoras forbade his abstemious followers the use of the mallows, upon which the humbler classes in Greece were accustomed to feed, together with the roots of the day-lily, the *nympha nelumbo*, the nettle,¹ and various other wild plants. The *Kapparis*,² plentiful in Athens, was very commonly eaten by the indigent, and hence "to gather *kapparis*" was at length considered synonymous with "to be in want."³ Alexis furnishes us with a curious account of a poor Athenian family's provisions.⁴

Mean my husband is, and poor,
 And my blooming days are o'er.
 Children have we two,—a boy,
 Papa's pet and mamma's joy ;
 And a girl, so tight and small,
 With her nurse ;—that's five in all :
 Yet, alas ! alas ! have we
 Belly timber but for three !
 Two must, therefore, often make
 Scanty meal on barley-cake ;
 And sometimes, when nought appears
 On the board, we sup on tears.
 My good man, once so strong and hale,
 On this fare grows very pale ;
 For our best and daintiest cheer,
 Through the bright half of the year,
 Is but acorns, onions, peas,⁵
 Ochros, lupines,⁶ radishes,
 Vetches, wild pears nine or ten,⁷
 With a locust⁸ now and then.
 As to figs, the Phrygian treat,
 Fit for Jove's own guests to eat,
 They, when happier moments shine,—
 They, the Attic figs, are mine.

¹ Aristoph. *Equit.* 420.

² Schol. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 445.

³ Athen. xiii. 22.

⁴ Id. ii. 44.

⁵ Lucian. *Amor.* § 33.

⁶ Athen. x. 17.

⁷ Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 1260, enumerates apples and pomegranates among the ordinary articles of food used by the poor.

⁸ Cf. Schol. Aristoph. *Ach.* 1081. Athen. iv. 7. 10. Phot. Bib. 453. a. 32. Herod. iv. 172.

CHAPTER II.

INDUSTRY : MILLERS, BAKERS, VINTNERS,
MARKETS, ETC.

WE have examined the condition of the poor at Athens, and shall now consider how far the laws of the state interfered to better their circumstances by promoting industry, and rendering it honourable. Among the Spartans, idleness, the vice of soldiers,¹ was regarded as a proof of rank; whence the remark of that disciple of Lycurgus, who, being present at Athens during a trial for this offence, fatal to a democracy, observed, that they punished the man for being a gentleman.² Solon, however, entertained little respect for this mark of gentility. According to his laws, of which the whole design was to create and preserve that feeling of manliness bestowed by the consciousness of independence, the individual, who, possessing no property, refused to labour, was a bad citizen, against whom any one might bring an action of idleness.³ Draco, the most Utopian and savage of legislators, punished vagabondage with death, or, according to some, with infamy only. But Solon,

¹ Lord Bacon, whose opinions were chiefly based on the study of antiquity, observes, after Plato and Aristotle, that military nations will always be somewhat inclined to idleness, and should rather be indulged in it than otherwise. *Essays*, p. 79. But both the Athenians and Romans were a hardworking people, and better soldiers have never been

known. The best soldiers in the English army are drawn from the central provinces, where industry most abounds, and the laborious Normans are the best troops in France. Cf. *Plut. Ages.* § 26.

² *Plut. Lycurg.* § 24.

³ *Diog. Laert.* i. ii. § 53. *Plut. Sol.* §§ 22. 31. *Herod.* ii. 177. *Pollux.* viii. 40. *Ælian.* *Var. Hist.* iv. 1.

who would not require too much of human nature, reserved this latter penalty for those who should be thrice convicted.¹

It has been conjectured, that Peisistratos was author of the law against idleness; by which he sought to compel as many of the citizens as had no visible means of support, to take refuge in the country. Be this, however, as it may, it was not alone by severity, that the laws of Athens sought to recommend the pursuits of industry.² Superior excellence in any useful art entitled a man to very high honours, to maintenance at the public expense, in the Prytaneion, in company with the chief magistrates and generals of the commonwealth, and one of the first seats at all spectacles and popular assemblies. But to preserve this post, it was not enough to have once done well. The ambitious citizen could maintain it only by persevering in the career of invention and improvement, for if another man in the same line were judged to excel him, he relinquished to the new comer both his dinners and his seat.³

¹ Poll. viii. 40. Plut. Sol. § 17.

² In Plutarch's life of Pericles there occurs a very remarkable passage, describing the constant employment and plenty which were diffused through the city by the policy of that great statesman. As for the mechanics and meaner sort of people, they went not without their share of the public money, nor yet received it to maintain them in idleness. By the constructing of great edifices, which require many arts, and a long time to finish them, they had equal pretensions to be recompensed out of the treasury, (though they stirred not from the city,) with the mariners, soldiers, and garrisons. For the different materials, such as stone, brass,

ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress, furnished employment to carpenters, masons, braziers, goldsmiths, painters, turners, and other artificers; the conveyance of them by sea employed merchants and sailors, and, by land, wheelwrights, waggoners, carriers, rope-makers, leather-cutters, paviors, and iron-founders; and every art had a number of the lower people ranged in proper subordination to execute it, like soldiers under the command of a general. Thus, by the exercise of these different trades, was plenty diffused among persons of every rank and condition. § 12. Engl. Trans.

³ Aristoph. Ran. 761, ibique Schol. Cf. Meurs. Them. Att. p. 106.

From this, and other circumstances, it would appear, that there were annual exhibitions of works of art and industry, in principle like our cattle-shows, when a careful scrutiny of every improvement and invention took place, and the premium above described was awarded to the most ingenious. It is very certain that an assembly of the trades, more particularly of the bright-smiths, took place, on the thirtieth of Pyanepsion, in honour of Hephæstos, or Athena, when the festival of Pandemon, or Chalkeia, was celebrated; and the conjecture of Petit¹ is not improbable, that the δαῖσις, or exhibition, then took place. It was, perhaps, on the same occasion, that the Athenian potters exhibited their most beautiful works and models.² At Sybaris, the author of any invention in the art of cookery enjoyed by patent, during the whole year, a monopoly of the article; and in the same city, the dyers and importers of purple, as well as those who caught and sold eels, were exempted from all taxes and imposts.³

A further incitement to industry, and the apprenticing out of children, was the law which freed any one who had not been instructed in some trade, from the necessity of supporting his parents,⁴ to which otherwise all persons were strictly bound. Another law of Solon, which, at the same time shows the erroneousness of the common opinion respecting the condition of women at Athens, proves that to bring industry into good repute was a work of some difficulty. By this it was enacted, that any individual who reproached a citizen, whether male or female, with carrying on any business in the Agora, should be liable to a penalty.⁵

There were, however, certain callings which the laws considered disreputable, or, at least, unsuitable

¹ Cf. Legg. Att. vi. 6. 426, with Meurs. Gr. Feriat. p. 274, sqq.

l'Art, i. 28. Meurs. Gr. Fer. v. Δαίδαλα. p. 74, sqq.

³ Athen. xii. 22.

⁴ Plut. Sol. § 22.

² Cf. Winkelm. Hist. de

⁵ Demosth. cont. Eubul. § 10.

to a man. Thus, an Athenian citizen could not legally be a perfumer, that effeminate vocation being left to the women.¹ Fishmongers, too, with butchers, cooks, sausage-sellers, fishermen, were held in low estimation both at Rome and Athens. Of all these Attic *pariahs*, however, the poor wretch who hawked fish,² and was contemptuously said to wipe his nose in his sleeve, or with his elbow, engrossed the largest share of public scorn. To these we may add bird-catchers, and fruit-sellers, and those low black-legs who subsisted on gambling.³

As an encouragement to the citizens to addict themselves to industrious pursuits, foreigners, and all persons not free of the city, were legally incapacitated from carrying on business in the agora;⁴ but this came in later times to be disregarded, since we find Egyptians, Phoenicians, and other aliens, possessing shops, and growing rich there. It was conceived, moreover, that, if men confined themselves to one calling, they would arrive therein at greater excellence; and the law, accordingly, forbade them to be of two trades.⁵ Plato, whose ideal republic was modelled in so many particulars on that of Athens, adopted this law; and for the reason I have stated; comprehending thoroughly what advantages arise from the division of labour. He would not, he says, have the cordwainer meddle with husbandry, weaving, or architecture, that he might carry shoemaking to as great perfection as

¹ Athen. xiii. 94. xv. 34.

² In the Peloponnesos we find it was the custom for itinerant ichthyopolists to carry fish in baskets probably, suspended from both ends of a rough pole (*τραχειὰ ἄσπιλλα*) thrown across the shoulders. This fact is alluded to in an Olympic inscription preserved in part by Aristotle. Rhet. i. 7.

³ Casaub. ad Theoph. Charact.

p. 185. On sedentary trades, see Poll. i. 51, and Muret, ad Arist. Eth. p. 63.

⁴ Demosth. in Eubulid. § 10. The Lydians were said to be the first retail traders. Herod. i. 94. Cf. Huet, Hist. of Commerce, p. 52.

⁵ Demosth. in Timocrat. § 32. Ulpian ad loc. Arist. Polit. ii. 11. p. 55. Bekk. Petit, Legg. Att. p. 425. Potter, i. 199.

possible; and, in other branches of industry, men were in like manner to cultivate that only for which nature had fitted them, and wherein they might thus excel.¹ The same philosopher, while on the subject of industry, makes a remark worthy of consideration: It is not, he says, for the interest of the community, that men engaged in any branch of the arts should be so rich as to be independent of their business or profession, which, in such case, they will be apt to neglect; or so poor as to be harassed in mind, or cramped in the means of carrying on their occupations satisfactorily. In these things, as in every other, a comfortable competence is to be preferred to the extremes both of wealth and poverty.²

Another means of carrying the various arts towards perfection, which in India and Egypt prevailed from time immemorial, is supposed to have been a practice, whether founded on law or custom, resembling the system of castes.³ Theories, not destitute of ingenuity, have been constructed on this view of Athenian society.⁴ Thus, the Dædali are supposed to have formed the sculptor caste; the Eupyridæ a caste of husbandmen; the Boutadæ of

¹ Repub. ii. § 11. Stallb. Cf. iii. § 7. In the Laws he states these reasons more strongly, t. viii. p. 110.

² Repub. iv. 2. Stallb.

³ Cf. Plut. Sol. § 23.

⁴ The younger Ilgen, for example, has written a clever work, in which he endeavours to prove the existence of a system of castes in Athenian society. He sets out with giving an account of the four ancient tribes, and explains the appellations bestowed on them, viz. Γελέοντες or Τελέοντες, Ἀργαδεῖς, Αἰγικορεῖς, and Ὀπλητες, to denote the pursuits in which the members of those tribes were engaged. This done,

he draws his conclusion: "Quod si verum est," says he, "efficitur, Tribus hasce nihil aliud fuisse, quàm ordines variis negotiis distinctos et separatos, quales apud Ægyptos et Indos cognovimus, et quos Lusitano vocabulo Castas appellare solemus. Tale vero institutum num apud Atticos exstiterit, multum à viris doctis est dubitatum. At licet sint, quæ in contrariam sententiam aliquem ducere possint, tamen argumenta, quæ revera Tribus castis orientalibus similes fuisse suadent, tam sunt et multa et gravia, ut non debeat dubitari." Disquisit. de Trib. Att. p. 8, seq.

herdsmen; the Ceryces of heralds; the Hephœstiadæ of blacksmiths; the Poimenidæ of shepherds, and so on. Vestiges of this curious state of things are supposed to be discernible in the history of Attica, even so late as the age of Pericles, when we find Socrates a member of the Dædalian clan, by profession a sculptor. There were certainly in religious matters hereditary offices, which none could with propriety fill but the members of a certain family or clan. Thus, from among the Eteobutadæ was chosen the priestess of Athena Polias, who resided in the temple on the Acropolis; and the priest of Poseidon was drawn by lot from the same house.¹ To the Praxiergidæ were entrusted certain duties about the statue of Athena during the Plynterian festival.² The descendants of Buzyges performed those sacred ceremonies which thrice a year attended the ploughing of the soil;³ to mention for the present no more.

But we are not on this account to infer the existence in Attica of anything like the Hindù system of castes, which has itself never been rigidly observed.⁴ What happens everywhere took place at Athens: fathers generally found it more convenient to bring up their sons to their own calling,⁵ while the latter, observing constantly certain mechanical operations take place under their eye, were led first to admire and then to imitate. Thus the Potter's boy, as Plato⁶ remarks, long ministers to his father before he takes the clay into his own hands and begins to model a vase or tureen.

¹ Harpocrat. in v. Apollod. iii. 15. 1. Bossler, de Gent. et Famil. Att. Sacerd. p. 5, seq.

² Plut. Alcib. § 34.

³ Plut. Præcept. Conjug. § 42.

⁴ See the Hindoos, vol. i. p. 111, seq.

⁵ When, however, they were put out to other masters an agreement, corresponding to our inden-

tures, was drawn up, in which it was stated what they were to be taught. Xenoph. De Vectig. ii. 2. A further resemblance to our own manners is discoverable in the practice of giving premiums with apprentices, even in the case of the medical profession. Plat. Menon. t. iii. p. 369.

⁶ De Repub. v. c. 14. Stallb.

At Sparta, the heralds, cooks, and flute-players, constituted so many small castes, in which the profession passed down regularly from father to son. Of the absurdity of this practice Herodotus was fully sensible, for he observes, that a man was chosen to be a herald not for the loudness of his voice, but because he was a herald's son.¹ Upon the whole, however, the practice was no more general among the Greeks than it is in England. When it became fashionable to ape gentility, rustic hinds, like Strepsiades in the "Clouds," found their sons ashamed of the humble callings by which their childhood had been supported; a passion for aristocratic distinction infested the bosom of the vulgar; all desired to appear what they were not; and, despite the wise institutions of Solon, handicraftsmen and artificers sunk into hopeless contempt.² For this reason most trades by degrees were exercised by foreigners, who frequently acquired wealth and independence.

Notwithstanding this result, however, at which they arrived but slowly, both manufactures and every other branch of industry were in Greece, and at Athens more particularly, carried to a very high pitch of perfection. Even in the very lowest trades the love of gain, or the necessity of somehow earning a subsistence, led men to persevere. For example, in the occupation of a common fisherman, from which little beyond penury could be hoped for, and which impressed upon the countenance that

¹ Herod. vi. 60.

² Muret, in Arist. Ethic. i. p. 63. Plutarch, generally judicious and wise in his remarks, exhibits unequivocal tokens of his Bæotian soul by endeavouring in one part of his writings to class even poetry and sculpture among things disreputable to those who practised them: 'Ἡ δ' αὐτουργία τῶν ταπεινῶν, τῆς εἰς τὰ καλὰ ῥαθυμίας

μάρτυρα τὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀχρήστοις πόνον παρέχεται καθ' αὐτῆς· καὶ οὐδεὶς εὐφυῆς νέος, ἢ τὸν ἐν Πίσῃ θρασυάμενος Δία, γενέσθαι Φειδίας ἐπεθύμησεν, ἢ τὴν Ἑρὰν τὴν ἐν Ἀργεῖ, Πολύκλειτος, οὐδ' Ἀνακρέων, ἢ Φιλήμων, ἢ Ἀρχίλοχος, ἡσθεὶς αὐτῶν τοῖς ποιήμασιν. Οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον, εἰ τέρπει τὸ ἔργον ὥς χάριεν, ἄξιον σπουδῆς εἶναι τὸν εἰργασμένον. Vit. Pericl. § 2.

sordid aspect so successfully represented by Hellenic art,¹ there were always numbers ready to engage. And yet consider in Theocritus² their wretched life, sleeping in their weather-beaten hut on the bleak shore, amid heaps of nets, piscatory baskets, lines, &c., and there dreaming, as indigence often does, of discovered treasures and ingots of gold. The patient endurance of the hungry fishers, seated far above the water on steep rocks, watching the entrance of the huge prey into their nets, appears to have been proverbial.³

In the superior trades and manufactures there was among several cities an emulation, the result of which was to produce constant improvement. Athens, for example, which excelled in pottery, had rivals in Aulis, Rhodes, Megara, Corinth, Cnidos,

¹ See the statue of the fisherman, British Museum, Gallery of Antiquities, Room vi. No. 45, and an account of their operation in Pollux. i. 96, sqq. Lucian, with a few strokes, paints the misery of this wretched tribe casting their nets, toiling vigorously and then bringing up a large stone or an earthen pot full of sand, like the poor fisherman in the Arabian Nights. Hermot. § 65. The same author speaks of an old half-blind beggar of ninety, who partly earned his livelihood by the rod and line. Dial. Mort. xxvii. § 9. Persons of this caste were sometimes by poverty reduced to commit sacrilege. Jup. Trag. § 25.

² Eidyll. xxi. 6, sqq.

³ Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 313, conf. ad 361. 862. The transporting of persons to and from Salamis afforded employment to a hardy and skilful race of ferry-men whose operations were judged of sufficient importance to be the

subject of a Solonian law : *Εάν τις τῶν πορθμέων τῶν εἰς Σαλαμίνα πορθμεύοντων ἄκων ἐν τῇ πόρῳ πλοῖον ἀνατρέψῃ, τούτῳ μὴ εἶναι πάλιν πορθμεῖ γενέσθαι.* Petit, Leg. Att. v. 6. p. 427. Æschin. cont. Ctesiph. § 49. Montaigne speaking of the contradictory customs of different nations, observes à propos of fares : “ Les Romains payoient ce qui “ estoit deu aux bateliers, pour “ leur naulage (passage money) “ dès l’entrée du bateau, ce que “ nous faisons après estre rendu “ à port :

Dum æs exigitur, dum mula ligatur,

Tota abit hora. (Horat. I. 5. 13, seq.) Essais. t. iii. p. 173. On this passage Coste has the following note : “ En Hollande on “ paye dans le bateau, environ à “ mi-chemin du lieu où l’on va.” This last regulation, as most persons know, has been adopted by our coast steamers.

and several other cities; Sicily and Boeotia were famous for their chariots; Argos for the manufacture of arms; Thessaly for its easy chairs; Chios and Miletos for their beds; Etruria for its gold-plate and works in bronze.¹

It is to be regretted that into the practice of the several trades and useful arts we can see but a very little way. In order, however, to render our idea of Hellenic civilisation as complete as possible, I shall here bring together as many particulars as I have been able to discover on this subject, commencing with those trades which were of primary necessity.² Of these, that of the miller may doubtless be regarded as of the first importance. In very early ages men understood not the art of reducing corn into meal; but either roasted the unripe ears upon the fire, or parched the separated grains in small frying-pans.³ In process of time, however, the pestle and mortar were invented, by means of which,⁴ though at a great expense of labour, flour of the finest possible quality could be obtained. To these succeeded the handmill, an invention of very remote ages,⁵ which, notwithstand-

¹ Athen. i. 49, seq.

² Cf. Plat. De Rep. t. vi. p. 79. The president Goguet commiserates the ancients on their extreme ignorance of the useful arts. Orig. des Lois, t. v. p. 174.

³ Goguet, Orig. des Lois, i. 208, seq. 221. iii. 380. Beckman, History of Inventions, i. 227, seq. Cf. Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 580. Equit. 803.

⁴ Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 924.

⁵ There were those among the ancients who attributed the invention of mills to the Pelasgian Myles, son of Lelex, probably that they might have a hero from whose name they could conveniently derive the word *μυλῶν*.—

Ἄπ' αὐτοῦ (τοῦ ἱεροῦ Ποσειδῶνος) προελθόντι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ Ταῦγετον ὀνομάζουσιν Ἀλεσίας χωρίον, Μύλητα τὸν Λέλεγος πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων μύλην τε εὐρεῖν λέγοντες καὶ ἐν ταῖς Ἀλεσίαις ταύταις ἀλέσαι. Paus. iii. 20. 2. According to Hesychius, (v. Μυλάς) this hero Myles or Mylas was one of the Telchines: Μυλάς, εἷς τῶν Τελχίνων, ὃς τὰ ἐν Καμείρῳ ἱερὰ Μυλαντείων ἰδρύσατο. The tradition attributing to this personage the invention of mills is thus related by Stephanus: Μυλαντία, ἄκρα ἐν Καμείρῳ τῆς Ῥόδου. Μυλάντιοι, θεοὶ ἐπιμύλιοι. ἀπὸ Μύλαντος ἀμφότερα, τοῦ καὶ πρῶτον εὐρόντος ἐν τῇ

ing, continued in use down to the days of Cicero. This machine, both in Greece and Italy, was at first commonly worked by women,¹ more especially by female slaves. But afterward the rudest and worst conducted of the male domestics were condemned to this severe toil, which at length grew to be regarded in the light of a punishment,² as working at the treadmill with us. Among the wealthy, each master of a family possessed his own mill; but as civilisation advanced, the grinding of corn constituted a separate occupation, and the trade of the miller was established. Public mills³ were common at Athens in the time of Socrates, and it does not appear to have been unusual for strong and sturdy men of free condition to labour for hire in these establishments.

Thus we find that the philosophers Menedemos and Asclepiades, when young and poor, earned their subsistence, and were enabled to pursue the study of philosophy, by working at night in a mill.⁴ As few persons knew this circumstance, and they were observed all day among the learned in the schools, some one brought against them an accusation of idleness, for which they were cited before the senate of Areopagos. In order to prove that they gained their livelihood in an honest way, the miller for whom they worked was brought forward. His testimony

βίω τὴν τοῦ μύλου χρῆσιν. De Urb. et Popul. p. 570, seq. where we see the able and learned notes of Berkelius.

¹ Who very commonly sang at their employment. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 1339. Plut. Conviv. Sept. Sap. § 45.

² Poll. i. 80, informs us, that *σιτοποιικὸς οἶκος* was used by a kind of euphemism for *μυλῶν*.

³ Cf. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 253. Watermills were known in antiquity. Vitruv. x. 10. Dempster on Rosin. i. 14. p. 87. Pignor.

de Serv. 248. These mills were, doubtless, called into requisition in time of war, when the soldiers took along with them large quantities of cheese and meal. Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 304. The ancients appear to have been partial to small bread, since we find that four or even eight loaves were sometimes made from a *chœnix* of flour. Schol. Vesp. 440.

⁴ Cleanthes, the disciple of Zeno, earned his subsistence by drawing water during the night. Suidas, in v. t. i. p. 1467. b.

confirmed their statement; and he added, moreover, that he paid to each of them two drachmas per night. The Areopagites were so pleased with this proof of their industry and passion for philosophy, that, on pronouncing their acquittal, they at the same time made them a present of two hundred drachmas.¹ But these mills were not always put in motion by the hand of man. Yoked to beams projecting from the upper millstone, oxen and asses, moving about in a circle, blindfold, as at present, when similarly employed, sometimes turned the mill instead of slaves.² Upon the construction of these machines little exact information was possessed before the laying open of the ruins of Pompeii, where, in a baker's shop, four mills, still almost perfect, have been discovered. They consist of a round stone basement with a rim, from the centre of which springs a blunt cone: this is the nether millstone. The upper one consists of an imperfect cylinder, hollowed out within, like an hour-glass, one part of which fits like a cap upon the cone below, while the other expands its bell-mouth above. Into this the corn was poured, and, descending through four small apertures upon the nether stone, was, by the turning round of the upper one thereon, reduced to meal, which passed gradually down, fining as it went, and fell out upon the stone basement below. The corn having been ground, the next operation was, to sever the flour from the bran, though sometimes bread was made from it in the rough,³ and regarded, moreover, as extremely wholesome. First, and most simple of these contrivances, was the sieve,⁴ made with slender rushes, which separated the coarse bran and produced a meal sufficiently cleansed for household bread. A much superior sieve was manufactured with linen threads, by which the flour was

¹ Athen. iv. 65.

Aristoph. Nub. 952; and Athen.

² Lucian, Luc. siv. Asin. § 41.

iii. 83.

Tim. § 23.

⁴ Plin. xviii. 28. Goguet, i.

³ Cf. Dioscorid. ii. 107. Schol.

211. Sch. Aristoph. Vesp. 164.

bolted to a great degree of fineness. When it was required of still superior purity and whiteness, the bolter would seem to have been bottomed with threads of woollen, which, being woven close, allowed nothing but particles of the utmost tenuity to pass.¹ All the above operations were supposed to be placed under the superintendence of a particular deity named Eunostos,² of whom no mention, I believe, is made in modern systems of mythology.

The ancients employed in the making of bread a great many kinds of grain besides wheat³ and barley;⁴ as rye, millet, which was little nourishing, panic, which was still less so,⁵ sesame, olyra, spelt, rice, tiphe, and a sort of grain from Ethiopia, called orindion. Several other substances were likewise used for the same purpose, not for the sake of adulteration, but either to improve the taste, or from reasons of economy; such as the root of the lotos,⁶ and, perhaps, of the day-lily⁷ dried, and reduced, like wheat itself, to flour; and the root of the corn-flag,⁸

¹ Τὸ ἐργαλεῖον ἐν ᾧ τὰ ἄλευρα διεσθήθητο, τὸ μὲν ἐκ σχοίνων πλέγμα, κόσκινον· εἰ δὲ τῷ κοσκίνου κύκλῳ ἀντὶ τοῦ σχοίνου λινούν τι σινδόνιον εἴη ἐξηρητημένον, ὥς ἀκριβέστερον τὸ ἄλευρον καθαίροιτο, ἀλευρότησις ἐκαλεῖτο· ἡ δὲ ἐξ ἐρίου, κρησέρα. Poll. Onomast. vi. 74.

² Suid. v. Νόστος. t. i. p. 241. Athen. xiv. 10. Hesych. v. Εὐνοστος. Eustath. ad Il. ε. 162. 21. Ad Odys. γ. 754. 50. Etym. Mag. 394. 3. Poll. vii. 180.

³ A fine light bread was made of the three months summer wheat. Dioscor. ii. 107. Others speak of this wheat as requiring four months to come to maturity: Οἱ σιτάνιοι ἄρτοι, ἐκ τῶν σιτανίων πυρῶν, οἳ εἰσιν οἱ τετράμηνοι. Poll. vi. 73.

⁴ Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 816.

⁵ Dioscorid. ii. 119, seq. 113,

seq. Poll. i. 248. Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 1057. Herod. ii. 36.

⁶ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 88.

⁷ Ἀσφοδέλος. Id. Hist. Plant. vii. 13. 3. Cf. Hesiod. Opp. et Dies, 41. Plin. xxi. 68. In certain countries of the Levant, even dates were converted into a kind of bread. Theoph. Hist. Plant. i. 6. 10.

⁸ Φάσγανον. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vii. 12. 3. In their fondness for roots the modern Greeks appear to equal their ancestors: "Ce qui a donné lieu au proverbe, qui dit que les Grecs s'engraissent où les ânes meurent de faim: cela est vrai à la lettre, les ânes ne mangent que les feuilles des plantes, et les Grecs emportent jusques à la racine." Tournefort, t. i. p. 106.

which was previously boiled, and, for the sake of communicating a sweet taste to the bread, would appear to have been mixed with the dough as the meal of the potato is in modern times. This plant grew most plentifully in grounds frequented by the mole, which loved to feed upon it. Another ingredient often mixed with bread was, the pulpy seed of the Star of Bethlehem,¹ of which the root likewise was eaten, both raw and cooked.

The seed of the pepper-wort,² also, was sprinkled over cakes. Among the Thracians, about the river Strymon, they made bread from the flour of the water-caltron,³ a prickly root of a triangular form, which abounds in the lagoons about Venice, where it is sold commonly in the market-places, and roasted for the table in hot embers.⁴ The root of the dragon-wort,⁵ eaten both raw and cooked in Greece, was, in the Balearic isles, served up fried with honey at banquets instead of cakes. They gathered it in harvest time, and, having roasted, cut it in slices, which were then strung on a cord and dried in the shade for keeping. The seeds of the garden poppy were used in bread-making, perhaps like carraway-seeds with us, as were those of the wild poppy for medicinal purposes in honeycakes, and certain kinds of sweetmeats.⁶ They had in Syria a kind of bread made of mulberries, which caused the hair of those who habitually fed on it to fall off.⁷

Although in the establishments of the wealthy bread was usually made by the women of the family, whether servile or free, the art of the baker seems early to have been practised as a separate business,⁸ frequently at Athens by foreigners. The Lydian bakers, for example,⁹ like those of France

¹ Ὀρνιθόγαλον. Dioscor. ii. 174.

² Μελανθίον. Id. iii. 93.

³ Τριβόλος. Id. iv. 15.

⁴ Mathée, Notes sur Dioscoride, p. 348.

⁵ Δρακόντιον. Dioscorid. ii. 196.

⁶ Id. iv. 65.

⁷ Athen. iii. 83.

⁸ Lucian. Démon. §§ 23. 63.

⁹ Athen. iii. 77. At present

and Germany among us, enjoyed considerable celebrity, as did likewise the Cappadocians and Phœnicians, the art of the last having been able, it is said, to vary the qualities of the loaf every day in the year.¹

Of the form and structure of a baker's establishment we may acquire some conception from the ruins of Pompeii, where the mills, the ovens, the kneading-troughs,² small and great, would appear to have been sometimes of stone, though generally, perhaps, of wood. When the dough had been properly kneaded and leavened,³ it was removed to a table with a rim, and fashioned into a variety of forms by the hand or with moulds. The larger loaves were placed in rows in a capacious oven, in which wood had been burnt and raked out carefully. Sometimes, also, a fire would appear to have been kept up in an open space round the oven, having at the top a smoke vent. One kind of loaf was baked in a small fictile or iron oven, called *cribanos*,⁴ which was either placed on the fire, or surrounded by hot coals. There was another which they toasted before the fire on a spit;⁵ and a great variety of cakes were baked on the live coals, or in the ashes.⁶

These it would require a separate treatise to enu-

Greek bakers are in most request throughout the Levant. Wolf, *Mission. Research.* p. 12. Antiphanes, too, in his *Omphalè* celebrates the Athenian bakers. *Athen.* iii. 78. And Plato in the *Gorgias*, t. iii. p. 154, commemorates Thearion, who excelled in this art. On ancient bread-bags, Casaub. ad *Theoph. Char.* 297.

¹ *Athen.* iii. 77.

² Schol. *Aristoph. Nub.* 660, 666.

³ Cakes of leavened bread were called *ζυμίται*, those of unleavened bread *ἄζυμοι*. *Poll.* vi. 32.

⁴ Schol. *Aristoph. Acharn.* 86.

⁵ *Poll.* vi. 75. *Tzetz. Chiliad.* vii. 770.

⁶ *Athen.* iii. 76. Some of these were reckoned so delicate as to create appetite, and to have the power of removing drunkenness, 74. At Athens one of the most thriving departments of the baker's business must have been supplying the fleets and merchantmen with biscuits, *ἄπροι ναυτικοὶ ἔηποι*, a sample of which we find a sailor presenting to his mistress. *Luc. Dial. Meret.* xiv. § 2. Cf. *Poll.* vii. 23. *Athen.* iii. 74.

merate and describe, since fashion appears to have been constantly varying the materials, the forms, and the appellations, of loaves. Upon the whole, however, the bread sold in the market-place of Athens was esteemed the whitest and most delicious in Greece; for the Rhodians, speaking partially of the produce of their own ovens, supposed they were bestowing on it the highest compliment when they said it was not inferior to that of Athens.¹ The dimensions of loaves depended, of course, on the object of the baker, and varied from those of the smallest roll, prepared for people of delicate appetites, to those of the enormous obeliæ, sometimes containing upwards of three bushels of flour, borne in procession at the festival of Dionysos.²

The business of the confectioner was in scarcely less request, or less profitable, than that of the baker himself. In most cases, perhaps, the finer kinds of pastry were made by women,³ whose taste and skill enabled them to gratify the lovers of delicacies with an infinite variety of sweetmeats. The vocabulary connected with this division of the art culinary is singularly rich, but, in many cases, conveys to our minds very little precise information. It may be inferred, however, with something like certainty, that the stock of an Athenian confectioner contained most of those delicious trifles now to be found in the establishments of their successors in London or Paris. It will, consequently, be impossible to enumerate them, or to specify the several ingredients which entered into their composition. It has already, I believe, been observed, in speaking of wine, that the ancients were exceedingly partial to sweets, which, in the making of their confectionary, led them to the constant employment of honey. Most of their favourite cakes contained some portion of this ingredient,⁴ sometimes, indeed,

¹ Athen. iii. 74.

³ Poll. iii. 41.

² Poll. vi. 75. Tzet. Chiliad.
vii. 770.

⁴ Athen. xiv. 51, sqq.

found in company with other articles apparently little calculated to combine with it. Wine, too, and cheese, and milk, and seeds, and the juices of vegetables, entered into the composition of various sweetmeats, which were occasionally made to keep long, as when intended for exportation; occasionally to be consumed at the moment, as they issued hot from the oven or the fryingpan. To this latter class belonged those delicate pancakes, the paste of which was poured liquid into the fryingpan, then flooded atop with fresh honey, and sprinkled with sesame and grated cheese.¹ The taste for the *catillus ornatus* the Greeks appear to have borrowed from the Romans. This was a rich cake, composed of fine flour, kneaded with lard and the juice of lettuces, pounded in a mortar with wine, seasoned with pepper, and fried in boiling oil.² Among their pastry was a sort of pie made of vine-birds³ and beccaficoes,⁴ the undercrust of which, kneaded with honey, was sometimes moistened at table in chicken-broth.⁵

These cakes and sweetmeats were sometimes fashioned into very extraordinary forms; one sort, for example, representing the female breast,⁶ another a perfect sphere,⁷ a third the head and horns of an ox,⁸ while others were wrought into mystical figures, and appropriated to certain festivals of the Pagan calendar. The cake called Chærinè, made with the flour of parched wheat and honey, was bestowed as a prize on those who, during the Pan-nuchia, remained awake all night.⁹

The trade of the butcher¹⁰ was carried on at Athens by citizens,¹¹ whose shops in the Agora

¹ Athen. xiv. 55.

² Id. xiv. 57.

³ Ἀμπελίδες ἃς νῦν ἀμπελιῶνας καλοῦσιν. Poll vi. 52.

⁴ Συκαλίδες. Aristot. Hist. Anim. viii. 3. ix. 49.

⁵ Poll. vi. 77.

⁶ Athen. xiv. 55.

⁷ Athen. xiv. 56.

⁸ Poll. vi. 76.

⁹ Athen. xiv. 56.

¹⁰ Κρεωπώλης. Butchers were also called μαγείροι κρεωδαίτας and κρεουργοί. Poll. vii. 25.

¹¹ Athen. xiii. 43.

would seem to have been extremely well furnished, containing every variety of meat, from the chine of a prize ox,¹ to the hind quarter of an ass.² Sheep's and kids' heads were commonly sought to be rendered more attractive by having a branch of myrtle stuck between the teeth, whence one of the hetairæ was compared to a goat's head, because she often walked the street with a sprig of myrtle in her mouth.³ The information which antiquity has left us respecting butchers' shops and implements is extremely imperfect. We are told simply, that they had chopping-blocks and cleavers, large axes with which animals were felled in the slaughter-houses, flaying knives, hooks whereon to suspend and display their stock, with scales for weighing meat.⁴ A very curious anecdote is related of a Milesian butcher: there was a man named Killicon, who betrayed his native city Miletos, to the Prienians. Among his countrymen, who on this occasion became fugitives, was a butcher. This man fled to Samos, where he carried on his old business.⁵ Some time after Killicon himself came to that island, and going into the market to buy provisions, by chance addressed himself to the Milesian butcher, whose name was Theagenes. The man remembered the traitor, and when he would have bought of him a

¹ Jason of Pheræ once excited among the Thessalian cities a contention as to which of them should supply the finest ox: Ἐκέρυξε δὲ καὶ νικητήριον χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἔσεσθαι, εἴ τις τῶν πόλεων βοῦν ἡγεμόνα κάλλιστον τῷ θεῷ θρέψει. Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 4. 29.

² Poll. ix. 48.

³ Athen. xiii. 23. Plut. Dem. § 12 Id. Dion. § 1.

⁴ Poll. vii. 25. Suid. v. κρεάγγρα, t. i. p. 1521, seq.

⁵ Among the Romans in the good old days of the republic,

gentlemen killed their own meat. "Suis enim fundum colit nostrum, quin sues habeat, et qui non audieret patres nostros dicere, ignavum, et sumptuosum esse, qui succidiam in carnario suspenderit potius ab lanuario, quàm ex domestico fundo?" Varro, De Re Rust. ii. 4. From the same author, (ii. 9,) we learn that ancient, like modern butchers, were fond of being attended by large fierce dogs, which he advises shepherds when in search of a co-guardian for their flocks most especially to eschew.

piece of meat, desired Killicon to lay hold of the part he wanted, while he severed it from the carcase; then taking up an axe he smote off his hand, saying, "With that hand, at least, you shall never again betray your country."¹

The vintners and tavern-keepers, who were tolerably numerous in Greece,² appear to have acquired much the same reputation as they enjoy in modern times. It was regarded as a matter of some difficulty to discover a jar of pure wine beneath their roofs; and, indeed, the honest vine-growers of the country are accused of having understood the art of making Bacchos acquainted with the nymphs on his way to the city. In other words they sold from their waggons in the Agora³ a certain quantity of the Ilissos, mingled with the juice of the grape. The tavern-keepers, however, stood in very little need of their assistance, since they were not merely adepts in watering and doctoring their wines, but were skilful at giving short measure;⁴ and yet understood various contrivances for alluring people to their houses. Thus one of them, for example, used to present a club that dined at his tavern with a kid,⁵ reckoning upon paying himself by the profits of the wine.⁶ However, when an opulent and delicate company honoured them with their presence, they could, doubtless, supply wines of the finest flavour; and to render them still more delicious, they were accustomed in summer to plunge the flagons into snow,⁷ or, occasionally, to mingle it with the wine, as is still the

¹ Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 359.

² At the doors of these establishments then were probably, as at Pompeii, holes bored through the stones of the foot pavement, raised considerably above the road, to receive the halters of horses or mules. Hamilton, *Discov. at Pomp.* p. 12.

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³ Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. p. 244, seq. Athen. x. 38.

⁴ Cf. Schol. Aristoph. Thesm. 744.

⁵ Others defrauded their customers by mixing mutton with kid. Schol. Arist. Eq. 1396.

⁶ Athen. xiii. 43.

⁷ Athen. iii. 97. Prodic. ap. Xen. Mem. ii. 1. 30.

fashion at Naples and in Sicily. Taverns, therefore, were furnished with ice-cellars, where snow could be kept during the hottest weather. Alexander¹ found means of carrying along with him a quantity of this article of luxury into India, where he probably treated Taxilos and Poros with iced wines. This achievement was imitated many ages after by the Khalif Mahadi, who on his pilgrimage to Mecca traversed the desert accompanied by a numerous train of camels laden with ice and snow, the first, according to Oriental historians, ever beheld in the Holy Cities. In the island of Cimolos, people made use, as coolers, of deep pits, in which jars of soft and tepid water,² and, doubtless, wine also, were refrigerated.³

The wine was laid up in jars, skins, and flasks, which, like the oil-flasks of Florence and Lucca, were cased with fine basket-work.⁴ The measures in use were numerous, and somewhat difficult to be reduced with exactness to those of modern times: the metretes (ten gallons two pints) contained twelve choes; the chous (about six pints) six xestæ; the xestes (one pint) two cotylæ; the cotyla (half-pint) two tetarti; the tetarton (one quartern) two oxybapha; the oxybaphon, one cyathus and a-half;

¹ Athen. iii. 97.

² Σῆμος δὲ ὁ Δήλιος ἐν δευτέρῳ Νησιᾶδος, ἐν Κιμώλῳ τῇ νήσῳ φησὶ ψυχρεῖα κατεσκευάσθαι θέρους ὀρυκτὰ, ἔνθα χλιεροῦ ὕδατος πλήρη κεράμια καταθέντες, ὕστερον κομίζονται χιόνος οὐδὲν διάφορα. Athen. iii. 96. These coolers are rendered necessary by the entire lack of springs in the island, whose inhabitants wholly depend for water on what they can preserve in pits and cisterns. Tournefort, t. i. p. 170.

³ But see Beckmann, iii. 327.

⁴ Aristoph. Av. 799. These

flasks were in later times called φλασκία, whence the modern name. Suid. v. πυτίνη, t. ii. p. 672. d. These we find were frequently, as well as baskets, the work of prisoners, who probably thus earned a livelihood. Hesych. v. πυτίνη πλεκτή. Cf. Suid. v. Διίτρεφης, i. 729. In the cellars of Pompeii, the wine-jars were found ranged along the walls without stoppers, instead of which a little oil was probably poured on the top of the wine, as at present in Italy. Hamilton, Discov. at Pomp. p. 15.

the cyathus, two conchæ; the concha, two mystra; the mystron, one chema and a-half; the chema, two cochlearia.¹

Respecting the price of wines² our information is exceedingly imperfect; for although it be frequently stated how much a certain measure cost, the quality of the wine not being mentioned at the same time, we are very little nearer any real knowledge of the value. In Lusitania, ten gallons of pure wine were at one period sold for three-pence; at Athens the price of the metretes,³ appears to have varied from about one and eight-pence, to three and four-pence, though occasionally it rose as high as about ten shillings. Even of the Mendæan, a wine of very superior quality, the wholesale price did not, at one period, exceed two drachmas, the metretes; but as the innkeepers were accused of having made enormous profits, it is at the same time quite credible, that they should occasionally have charged an obolos for the hemicotyla, especially to tipling women. Elsewhere, however, we find the chous, or twelve cotylæ, sold for an obolos,⁴ the price, doubtless, depending partly on the quality of the wine, partly on the conscience of the innkeeper. For, notwithstanding that there were at Athens three magistrates charged with the inspection of wines,⁵ part of whose business it probably was to prevent adulteration and exorbitant prices, the vintners, male and female, in all likelihood were an overmatch for them.

Most of the means by which the ancients adulterated their wines appear to be unknown to us, though we find that they endeavoured to restore the taste of such as were spoiled, by mingling with them a certain quantity of boiled wine⁶ and preparations

¹ Eisenschmid. de Pond. et Mens. Vet. p. 166.

² Cf. Bœckh. Pub. Econ. i. p. 133.

³ Vid. Athen. iii. 86.

⁴ Athen. xi. 47. Cf. iii. 86.

⁵ Athen. x. 25. Poll. vi. 21.

⁶ Cf. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 1005. 878.

of lime and gypsum. To check the progress of the second fermentation, they were sometimes in the habit of casting a pumice-stone into the jar;¹ but where wine was so cheap, there was little temptation to have recourse to any other art than that of watering a little, which, according to the comic poet, might proceed from a benevolent desire to keep men sober and preserve their health.²

The stock of a respectable wine-merchant must have been peculiarly rich and varied,³ consisting of the Anthosmias, a wine of delicious fragrance; the Lesbian,⁴ a favourite wine of Alcibiades;⁵ the Pramnian,⁶ a strong rough wine, celebrated by Homer;⁷ the Lemnian, quaffed by the heroes before Troy;⁸ the Chian, light and delicate;⁹ the Kapnian, from Beneventum in Italy,¹⁰ a sharp red wine which made the eyes water like smoke;¹¹ the Mesogeites, from Mount Tmolos,¹² which, however delicious might be its taste, gave those who drank it the headache; the Phygelites, from Ephesos, equal to that of Lesbos; those of Cos and Clazomenè, pleasant when new, but which would not keep because mixed with sea-water; the Cydonian;¹³ the Maro-

¹ Conf. Beckmann, Hist. Invent. i. 402. sqq. Dioscor. v. 125.

² A. Ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοισιν οὐ πίνει'

Ἄκρατον. S. Οὐ γὰρ ῥᾶδιον πωλοῦσι γὰρ

Ἐν ταῖς ἀμάξαις εὐθέως κεκραμένον

Οὐχ ἵνα τι κερδαίνωσι, τῶν δ' ὠνουμένων

Προνοούμενοι τοῦ τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑγιεῖς ἔχειν

Ἐκ κραιπάλης.

Alex. ap. Athen. x. 38.

³ The Greeks gave fanciful names to their wines and their cups; but the English have been

still more fanciful in the names of their ales. See Bent. Dissert. on Phalaris, i. pref. xxi.

⁴ Xen. Hellen. vi. 6. 6. Athen. i. 24.

⁵ Athen. vii. 9. i. 55. Plut. Alcib. § 12.

⁶ Athen. i. 55.

⁷ Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 107. Etym. Mag. 683. 30, seq.

⁸ Il. η. 467, sqq.

⁹ Poll. vi. 15. x. 72.

¹⁰ Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 151; and Thurian. Nub. 331.

¹¹ Suid. v. Καπν. t. i. p. 1370.

¹² Dioscor. v. 10.

¹³ "The district of Cydonia must have been celebrated for its wine in ancient times, for

næan,¹ of great strength; the Mendæan;² the Mareotic;³ the Port; and the Thasian, which may be regarded as the flower of the whole for excellence and celebrity.⁴

There were several wines among the ancients which acquired peculiar qualities and flavour from the way in which they were made or preserved. Thus, in Galatia,⁵ where, as the grapes ripened but imperfectly, the wine had a tendency to grow sour, a hemicotyla of resin was poured into the metretes of wine, which gave it at first a harsh taste, though in time it acquired a better flavour. In this process the resin was pounded in a mortar, with a quantity of the pine-bark. Some persons allowed it to remain in the vessel, while others strained it off immediately after fermentation. The wine which was preserved by an infusion of pitch,⁶ was manufactured in the following manner: the pitch was washed with brine and sea-water⁷ until it whitened, then cleansed perfectly with fresh-water, after which an ounce or two was mingled with eight choes of wine. The saline wines were made⁸ either by dipping the bunches as gathered into sea-water, or sprinkling them therewith, or pouring it along with them into the press after they had been dried in the sun. But in whatever manner prepared, wines of this description were regarded with an evil eye by physicians.

Among the other riches of an Hellenic cellar were

“ we find on many of its coins a
 “ bunch of grapes, or the head of
 “ Dionysos. Some of them also
 “ exhibit a female head adorned
 “ with a chaplet of vine-leaves.
 “ I found a beautiful silver coin
 “ of Cydonia in the possession
 “ of the interpreter of the French
 “ Consulate, and the female head
 “ seen on its obverse was thus
 “ ornamented.” Pashley, *Travels*
in Crete, vol. i. p. 23.

¹ Athen. i. 95, seq.

² Id. viii. 67.

³ Id. i. 25.

⁴ Aristoph. *Lysist.* 196. Athen.
 x. 37. i. 24. Poll. vi. 15.

⁵ Dioscor. v. 43.

⁶ Schol. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 189.
 643.

⁷ Dioscor. v. 48.

⁸ Id. v. 10. 27. Athen. i. 24.

mead or metheglin,¹ and hydromel² and omphacomel,³ with perry and cider,⁴ and palm-wine⁵ and fig-wine⁶ and quince-wine⁷ and lotos⁸ and pomegranate-wine.⁹

Numerous odoriferous plants were likewise employed in communicating a variety of flavours and fragrance to wine, as the rose,¹⁰ thyme,¹¹ germander,¹² anis,¹³ œnanthe,¹⁴ wormwood,¹⁵ betony,¹⁶ southernwood,¹⁷ squills,¹⁸ myrtle,¹⁹ mastic,²⁰ terebinth,²¹ sycamore,²² fir-cones,²³ cedar-cones,²⁴ cypress-cones,²⁵ juniper-berries,²⁶ pitch, and larchtree-cones.²⁷ Almost every other aromatic plant, shrub, and tree, was in like manner, employed to communicate a flavour, or an odour, to wine, chiefly, however, for medicinal purposes; and among these was the hyssop, whose leaves were used in the following manner: a pound of them, having been well bruised, were tied up in a sort of gauze, and by the weight of a few intermingled pebbles sunk

¹ Aristot. De Mirab. Auscult. t. xvi. p. 185. *Tauchnitz*.—Max. Tyr. Dissert. xi. p. 138. The making of this delicious beverage is the simplest process imaginable. Speaking of the Ingushians,—"The excellent honey which they produce," observes Pallas, "is partly converted into mead, "having been previously diluted "with boiling water; partly used "with a fermented liquor made "of millet, and called Busa, and "partly eaten at the dessert." Travels in Southern Russia, ii. 204.

² Plin. xiv. 20. Beckmann, Hist. of Invent. iii. 373.

³ Dioscor. v. 31. The physician observes of this beverage:—*ἡ χρῆσις δ' αὐτοῦ μετ' ἐνιαυτόν.*

⁴ Pallad. iii. 25. Colum. xii. 45. Dioscor. v. 32.

⁵ The palm-wine of Æthiopia would appear to have been celebrated in antiquity, since a small cask of it was thought a fit pre-

sent for a Persian king. Herod. iii. 20. Plin. xiii. 4. Diod. Sicul. ii. 136.

⁶ Damm. Lexic. 2224. Cf. Eustath. ad Odyss. ω. t. iii. p. 839. 8, seq. Dioscor. v. 41.

⁷ Dioscor. v. 28.

⁸ Herod. iv. 177. Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 3. 2. Wines were sometimes flavoured by an infusion of wild carrot-root (*δαῦρος*). Dioscor. v. 70. There was a drink called *βρύρον*, made entirely with roots, which sometimes supplied the place of wine. Athen. x. 67.

⁹ Dioscor. v. 34.

¹⁰ Id. v. 35.

¹¹ Id. v. 59.

¹² *Χαμαλδρυσ*. Id. v. 51.

¹³ Dioscor. v. 75.

¹⁴ Id. v. 33.

¹⁵ Id. v. 49.

¹⁶ Id. v. 54.

¹⁷ Id. v. 62.

¹⁸ Id. v. 26.

¹⁹ Id. v. 37.

²⁰ Id. v. 38.

²¹ Id. v. 39.

²² Id. v. 42.

²³ Id. v. 44.

²⁴ Id. v. 47.

²⁵ Id. v. 45.

²⁶ Id. v. 46.

²⁷ Id. v. 45.

to the bottom of the amphora. Here they were permitted to remain forty days, after which the wine was racked.¹ Of these wines that which was tintured with rose-leaves was commonly drunk after dinner to promote digestion.² That which, about the Propontis and Thrace, was flavoured with worm-wood, people destined for their summer drink, considering it favourable to health.³

The greatest enemies of the vintners⁴ were the physicians who, by dwelling on the pernicious qualities of wine, deterred the reasonable part of the world from a too frequent use of it. Old wine, they maintained, shatters the nerves and produces headache; new wine is the parent of horrible dreams. That which is middling, however, for example, about seven years old, is liable to fewer objections, and may upon the whole be drunk with some degree of safety. White wine, too, according to their opinion, is better than red, since it corroborates the stomach, and is, probably, that kind which, when of a proper age, produces pleasant dreams.⁵ Pure wine, in general, moreover, was admitted to improve the health and beautify the complexion; and Pindar, whom most persons will allow to have been a good judge, though he could not, like Anacreon, dispose of a cask at a sitting,⁶ declares in favour of old wine and new songs.

Of beer, though, as we have elsewhere remarked, it was familiarly known to the Egyptians,⁷ as well as to the inhabitants of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, who manufactured it from barley and service-berries, as the people of Dantzic now do from the hips of the wild roses,⁸ we need say nothing, as the Greeks were

¹ Dioscor. v. 50.

² Id. v. 35.

³ Id. iii. 27.

⁴ Id. v. 7.

⁵ Athen. i. 47.

⁶ This achievement the Teian celebrates in one of his own odes, a fragment of which has been preserved by Athenæus, xi. 45.

Ἡρίστησα μὲν ἱγρίου λεπτὸν ἀποκλᾶς,

Οἶνον δ' ἐξέπιον κάδον.

⁷ Athen. x. 12. i. 61. Dioscor. ii. 110. Goguet. i. 231.

⁸ Voyages de la Comp. des Indes, i. 62.

so ignorant of its nature, that when the Ten Thousand met with a quantity in Armenia they diluted it with water as they were accustomed to do their wine, that is to say, entirely spoiled it.¹ The establishments of these vintners were almost of necessity most frequent in the neighbourhood of the agora,² where the rustics from the country congregated in crowds on market-days; where were held also, on many occasions, the public assemblies; and where newsmongers and loungers of every description most generally passed their leisure hours.

Making due allowance for difference of dimensions, and their greater or less magnificence, the same description will apply to the agoræ of all Grecian cities. But, as we are best acquainted with the features of that of Athens, if we can succeed in delineating a tolerably correct picture of it, some idea may, therefrom, be easily formed of all the others. We must imagine, therefore, a large circular open space,³ about the centre of the city, surrounded on all sides by ranges of shops, temples, porticoes, and other public buildings.⁴ It was traversed in various directions by avenues of plane-trees, planted shortly after the Persian war, which in summer constituted so many shady walks. About the middle stood the altars of Pity and the Twelve Gods, in a circle,⁵ and near them were the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton,⁶ the tyrannicides, whose memory was cherished by the republic with

¹ Xenoph. Anab. iv. 5.

² Cf. Plat. de Leg. t. viii. p. 114, seq. De Rep. t. vi. p. 176. Muret. ad Arist. Ethic. p. 415.

³ Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 137. Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. p. 125.

⁴ Cf. Demosth. cont. Con. § 3.

⁵ Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 295. Xenoph. de Off. Mag. Eq. iii. 2, with the note of Schneider.—Throughout Greece, persons to whom especial honour was de-

signed had their statues erected in the agora, as Theodectes at Phaselis. Plut. Alexand. § 17. The statue of the market Hermes stood near the Stoa Pœcile, and was usually smeared with pitch, from the practice of sculptors who came constantly to take casts from it with a preparation of that substance. Lucian. Jup. Trag. § 33.

⁶ Aristoph. Lysist. 678.

the most religious veneration. By far the greater part of the space, however, was covered by rows of sheds, booths, and tents, furnished with seats¹ (the construction of which formed a separate branch of industry),² where every article of use or luxury known to the ancient world was exhibited with the utmost attention to display. Here were the embroidered veils, and shawls, and mantles, and sandals, of the mercer's quarter;³ there the chains of gold, the armlets, the anklets, the jewelled circlets for the head, the golden grasshoppers, the seals, the rings, the agraffes, the brooches, the cameos, and every description of engraved gems which constituted the attractions of the jewellers' quarter. Here were waggons piled with jars, and skins filled with wine; there huge pyramids of apples and pears, and quinces and pomegranates, and dates and plums, and cherries and mulberries, black and white, and grape-clusters of every hue, and oranges and citrons, and rich purple figs, and melons and water-melons.⁴

Touching upon these booths were the stalls of the green-grocers, of Eucharides⁵ for example, where every vegetable produced in the kitchen-garden and the fields met the eye in profusion; among which were truffles of all kinds,⁶ with the roots of the caraway⁷ and jagged lettuce, which were eaten like those of the Egyptian bean⁸ and the papyrus,⁹ radishes,¹⁰ long and round, bunches of turnips,¹¹ asparagus, broccoli,¹² heads of garlic, and summer savory,

¹ Casaub. ad. Theoph. Char. p. 349.

² Poll. vii. 125. On the terms connected with settling and buying, &c. iii. 124, sqq.

³ ἱματιόπωλις ἀγορά or σπειρόπωλις. Poll. vii. 78. Cf. Xenoph. de Vectigal, iv. 8.

⁴ See Book v. chapter ii.

⁵ Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 680. Cf. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 420. Acharn. 166. Eq. 493. Athen. xiii. 22.

⁶ Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 189. 191. Dioscor. ii. 200.

⁷ Theoph. Hist. Plant. vi. 4. 8. Dioscor. iii. 76.

⁸ Dioscor. i. 115.

⁹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 1. 4.

¹⁰ Theoph. Hist. Plant. vii. 1. 2.

¹¹ Antich. di Ercol. t. ii. p. 52.

¹² "The ancients were acquainted with curled cabbage and even some of those kinds which we call *broccoli*. Under this term is understood all those species, the

for the poor, all kinds of beans and pease, the vervain¹ for purification and amulets, wild myrtle sprigs instead of asparagus,² shoots of the black briony,³ chokeweed to be boiled with vegetables for rendering them tender, tufts of the wild fig-tree, which performed the same service for beef,⁴ goats-beard, clematis for seasoning,⁵ with bunches of elm-leaves commonly used as a vegetable.⁶ Next to these, were, perhaps, the stands of the flower-sellers,⁷ where garlands of the richest colours and fragrance were ready wreathed for the brow,⁸ some produced by careful culture in gardens, and others gathered where they grew wild by the women, who in time of peace

numerous young flowery heads of which, particularly in spring and autumn, can be used like cauliflowers. Such young shoots are called *cymæ*, but not *turiones*; for the latter term denotes the first shoots that arise, like those of hops, asparagus, and other esculent plants. The broccoli used at present was, however, first brought from Italy to France, together with the name, about the end of the sixteenth century." Beckmann, iv. 266.

¹ Καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτοὶ ἱερὰν βοτάνην διὰ τὸ εὐχρηστον ἐν τοῖς καθαρμῆς εἶναι εἰς περιδμήματα. Dioscor. iv. 71.

² Ἀντὶ ἀσπαράγου δὲ οἱ κανυλοὶ νεοθαλεῖς λαχανευόμενοι ἐσθίονται. Dioscor. iv. 146.

³ Id. iv. 185.

⁴ Αἱ δὲ κράδαι βοείοις κρέασι καθεψόμεναι, εὐέψητα ταῦτα ποιούσι. Dioscor. i. 184. At Carthage, the same effect is produced by lemon-juice. "Une chose particulière qu'on remarque en cette ville à l'égard des limons, c'est que les habitants ayent cette idée, qu'il ne faut

"mettre la viande près du feu
"que trois quarts d'heure, ou une
"heure avant le repas. Suivant
"cette opinion ils ne mettent
"jamais de l'eau au pot avec la
"viande sans y exprimer en
"même tems le jus de trois ou
"quatre de ces limons plus ou
"moins, selon la quantité de
"viande; par ce moyen la viande
"s'amollit et se cuit si bien,
"qu'elle est en état d'être servie
"au bout de ce court espace.
"Ces gens là sont si accoutumés
"à cette facilité d'apprêter leurs
"viandes, qu'ils se moquent des
"Européens, qui employent toute
"une matinée pour faire une
"chose qui leur coute si peu de
"tems." Ulloa, Voyage au
Pérou. t. i. p. 68.

⁵ Dioscor. iv. 182.

⁶ Id. i. 111.

⁷ Cf. Plut. Arat. § 6. De Pauw, Rech. Phil. sur les Grecs, i. 3. p. 20. Flowers seem to have been brought to market in corbels on asses. Buonaroti, Oss. Istor. sop. alc. Medagl. Antich. p. 385.

⁸ Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 1320.

spread themselves in troops over the whole country for this purpose.¹ In one corner were droves of horses, asses, and mules,² ready to have their teeth inspected by the buyers,³ or groups of youthful slaves from all quarters of the world. In another, near a lofty poplar,⁴ stood the auction-mart where goods of every description,⁵ including even libraries,⁶ were knocked down by the hammer. Close at hand, perhaps, stood the tempting booths of the chapmen who purveyed for the kitchen of the Athenians with hams, and sausages, and black-puddings,⁷ and pickles, and cheese, and preserved fruits, and spices, from the farthest east. Here were the sellers⁸ of salt-meat and fish from the Black Sea,⁹ there the toy-shops and upholsterers, while ever and anon the crowds that thronged the passages were compelled to make way for a string of asses¹⁰ laden with vegetables or wood from Parnes or Cithæron, with the ends sticking out on both sides and threatening the eyes of the buyers. Sometimes a porter,¹¹ with a wooden knot on his shoulders, bore along, like Protagoras, a load of faggots, the size of which astonished the beholders. At times, near the corner of the street leading from the Eleusinian Gate, you

¹ Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 528.

² Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. p. 348. In wealthy states, says Xenophon, men applied their riches to the purchase of costly arms, fine horses, and magnificent houses and furniture; and the women to that of splendid dresses and ornaments of gold. De Vectigal. iv. 8.

³ Lucian Luc. siv. Asin. § 35.

⁴ Cf. Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. p. 257, seq.

⁵ Schol. Aristot. Eq. 103. An-docid. De Myrt. § 22.

⁶ Lucian. adv. Indoct. § 20.

⁷ Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 364. Athen. xiv. 75. See a pork-but-

cher's shop in Zoëga, Bassi Rilievi, tav. 28.

⁸ Herod. iv. 53. ii. 15. 113.

⁹ Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. p. 153. Dion Chrysost. i. 236. Cf. Leake, Topog. of Athen. p. 64.

¹⁰ Eurip. ap. Poll. x. 112. Cf. Demosth. adv. Phœnip. § 3. Lucian, Luc. siv. Asin. § 43.

¹¹ Or perhaps water-carriers, this class of men having been numerous in ancient cities, and remarkable for their insolence. Ælian. Var. Hist. ix. 17. Even the camels employed in water-carrying are more vicious than any other.

saw a half-starved Megarean¹ sneaking through the crowd and bringing along with him sucking pigs, and leverets, and cucumbers, and salt-fish, and garlic,² which if observed by the agoranomoi were, during war-time, seized as contraband. On the other hand the broad-faced jolly Boeotian³ came smirking and grinning, like a Neapolitan, with mule-loads of wild marjoram, pennyroyal, eaten by sheep, mats, lamp-wicks, fowls,⁴ ducks, locusts, jackdaws, francolins,⁵ coots, divers, geese, hares, foxes, moles, hedgehogs, cats, pyctides, otters, and eels, from Lake Copaïs. Here in rows stood, black as chimney-sweeps, the charcoal-sellers from Acharnæ, with their mallequins and rush-baskets full piled before them.⁶ Yonder were the cornchandlers,⁷ surrounded by piles of sacks, measuring their grain, while a horde of ragged spermologoi⁸ hovered round to collect what fell. Close at hand stood the flour-merchants, each beside his huge covered wooden trough,⁹ from which he mea-

¹ Aristoph. Acharn. 532, sqq.

² Sch. Aristoph. Acharn. 494, 500.

³ Aristoph. Acharn. 860, sqq.

⁴ See in Zoëga, Bassi Rilievi, tav. 27, the representation of a poulterer's shop.

⁵ Sch. Aristoph. Ran. 257.

⁶ Id. Acharn. 314.

⁷ Plat. De Rep. t. vi. p. 83.

⁸ On the number of the corresponding class in London I possess no exact information; but a modern writer who has displayed much curious industry in describing the mechanism of the lower stages of society in France gives the following estimate of *chiffonniers* of Paris:—En exposant quels sont les principaux
“ élémens de la classe pauvre
“ mais laborieuse, je ne dois pas
“ omettre de faire connaître le
“ nombre des chiffonniers, espèce
“ de manouvriers qui se rat-

“ tachent aux manufactures par
“ la nature même des objets sur
“ lesquels s'exerce leur indus-
“ trie. Ce métier, qui est un
“ des moins honorés, a, malgré
“ le dégoût qu'il inspire générale-
“ ment, un attrait particulier
“ pour certaines gens et surtout
“ pour les enfans, parce qu'il
“ n'assujettit à aucun appren-
“ tissage, et qu'en outre, il permet
“ à celui qui l'exerce, de vaguer
“ constamment sur la voie pub-
“ lique et de gagner aisément un
“ salaire raisonnable. On compte
“ 2000 chiffonniers, et à-peu-près
“ un pareil nombre de femmes et
“ d'enfans exerçant la même pro-
“ fession, en tout 4000.” Fré-
gier, Des Classes Dangereuses de
la Population dans les Grandes
Villes, t. i. p. 27.

⁹ Τηλ/α. Schol. Aristoph.
Vesp. 147.

sured forth flour or barley-meal to the buyers. Beyond these were the stalls of the fishmongers,¹ the flambeau-sellers,² and the shining jars of the oil-merchants, piled in heaps to the roof of the booths. In other rows were the shops of the potters,³ where every variety of jugs, vases, and tureens, was exhibited with vessels of glass, and bronze, and ivory. Here and there, threading their way through the multitude, you beheld the pedlar⁴ with his pack of small-wares, the hawker crying his fish or fruit,⁵ or vegetables, or sausages, or wild-fowl, laid out on a board on his head; the female bread-seller, with a variety of delicate loaves and cakes piled up before her on a tray; the pastry-girl with sweetmeats; the flower-girl with nosegays of fresh violets from the meadows of Colonos and the banks of the Eridanos and Cephissos. Sheltered from the warm rays of the sun, beneath some magnificent marble colonnade, or the portico of some temple or chapel, sat whole bevvies of female flute-players, citharists, or dancing-girls,⁶ calling forth, from time to time, whilst waiting to be hired for a party, bursts of music from their instruments, or humming a war-song, or a Palladian hymn, or a merry scholion, the favourite ditties of the Athenian people. Near these, as being folks of the same kidney, the jugglers, cooks, and parasites,⁷ took up their position; the former two ready to be hired for the day by the giver of some magnificent entertainment, the latter that they might discover in what direction they were to ply their

¹ Athen. vi. 5.

² Plut. Arat. § 6.

³ Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 318.

⁴ Cf. Poll. i. 51.

⁵ Athen. ii. 45. The travelling fishmongers even frequented the country-houses and villages. viii. 57. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 13, seq. Eq. 1241, sqq. It was probably persons of this class that most commonly used their mouths as

a purse, as the Siamese do their ears. Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. p. 194. Aristoph. Vesp. 791. Their baskets were commonly of rushes. Athen. vii. 72. See a representation of them, Antich. di Ercol. t. i. tav. 21. p. 111.

⁶ Lucian, Amor. § 10. Plut. Arat. § 6.

⁷ Poll. ix. 48. Athen. ix. 22.

craft and ferret out a dinner scotfree. Near the Eurysaceum in this neighbourhood stood that eminence called the Hill of the Agora,¹ or Misthios, because servants, in lack of a master, collected there to be hired, as they still do at fairs in most parts of England. Somewhere close at hand were the shops of those brokers who let out pots and pans, and lamps and plate, and the more delicate kind of crockery, to such persons as were too economical to keep such articles of their own.² In the midst of this profusion of wares might be seen, at all hours of the day, crowds of well-dressed persons³ sauntering to and fro, chatting with each other, cheapening the goods of the shopkeepers, or laughing and jesting with the flower-girls or fluteplayers. At other times individuals, by no means deserving the name of loiterers, came thither, either to post up a bill⁴ of some article which they had found, or in quest of some information respecting one they had lost, either from such bills or from the public criers who were there accustomed to make proclamation of treasure trove, or to cry that such or such an article of property had strayed from its lawful owner. Occasionally also people made known by criers what goods they had for sale.⁵ The young men of rank, when fatigued by these promenades, used to retire into a perfumer's or barber's or armourer's or bridle-maker's shop,⁶ overlooking the bustling scene, where they discussed nonsense or politics, according to their humour. Hither, too, the philosophers came with a view to inspire patriotic and manly sentiments into the minds of these future rulers of the democracy; so that at one period you might have beheld Socrates and Alcibiades and Critias, and Chæriphon and Crito, with Charmides

¹ Chandler. ii. 104.

² Athen. iv. 58.

³ Lucian. Bis Accus. § 16. Sch. Arist. Nub. 978.

⁴ Lucian. Demon. § 17.

⁵ Poll. iii. 124.

⁶ Andocid. De Myst. § 9, with the note of Reiske. Plut. Timol. § 14.

and the divine Plato, engaged in those animated dialogues, the echo of which still rings sweetly in the ears of posterity. In some shops opposite these, as if with a view to rival or eclipse them, or round one of the umbrellas,¹ beneath which, on an elevated platform, the perfumers dispensed their wares in the agora, stood a group of sophists with their followers, such as Hippias of Elis, Prodicos of Cos, or the Agrigentine Polos, or Gorgias of Leontium, habited in purple robes, embroidered vests, flowered sandals, and with glittering crowns of gold upon their heads. Even their florid discourses, however, would fail to command the attention of their auditors when the youth of equestrian rank,² mounted on their chargers and drawn up in military array, swept round the outer circle of the agora, paying devout homage to each divinity whose fane they passed. Here also in a future age might be seen, strutting to and fro, the orator Æschines with his arms akimbo and a fashionable little hat³ stuck knowingly on one side of his head, railing at Demosthenes, and pleading the cause of Philip. And here, too, the night after the fall of Elatea, a very different scene was witnessed when the citizens from every side of the Cecropian rock rushed tumultuously hither in the wildest alarm, and either not reflecting on what they did, or through ill-judged haste, set fire to the sheds and booths in order that they might find a clear space to deliberate on the public safety.

As there was a certain class of gods who presided over the market-place, so likewise were there particular laws enacted to regulate its transactions, with magistrates especially appointed to carry those laws into execution. These servants of the commonwealth, five in the city and five in the Peiræus, were denominated Agoranomoi, and paraded all day to and fro,

¹ Athen. xiii. 94.

³ Dem. de Fals. Leg. § 72.

² Xenoph. de Off. Mag. Eq. Cf. Athen. xi. 109. Winkel.
iii. 2. Hist. de l'Art. iii. 340.

armed with whips of many thongs,¹ amid the crowds of buyers and sellers, both to preserve tranquillity in the market, and prevent or punish those petty acts of fraud and injustice to which persons who subsist by humble traffic are too often in all countries addicted. Thus we find that, not the vintners only, but even the cornchandlers kept small measures;² though, as there was a public meter appointed by the state, it could only be when purchasers neglected to employ him, that they lay open to this sort of imposition. Chapmen detected in cheating, or otherwise behaving with impropriety, were scourged by the Agoranomoi on the spot; and it is to be presumed, that, as often as necessary, these officers were attended by a detachment of that powerful and vigilant Scythian police, at one period a thousand strong, which Athens constantly maintained, and which formerly pitched its tents in the agora.³ Another duty of the Agoranomoi⁴ was to collect the tolls paid by Boeotians, Æginetæ, or Megareans, upon whatever articles they brought to the Athenian market. It should here be observed, however, that neither corn nor bread was in later times, at least, placed under the inspection of these magistrates, since there were others called Sitophylaces,⁵ whose business it was to see that the public were not defrauded in such articles. The number of these officers, at first three, was afterwards increased to fifteen, of which ten presided over the city corn-market, and five over that of the harbour, where a portico was built by Pericles⁶ for the special use of the cornchandlers and flour-merchants.

¹ Aristoph. Acharn. 723. Schol. 689. Bekk. Plaut. Captiv. iv. 2. 43. These magistrates were afterwards called Logistæ. Schol. Acharn. 685. Bekk. Cf. Poll. ii. 119.viii. 45. 99. x. 44. There was in use among the ancients a horrid kind of whip in which small bones were intertwined with the thongs to render the strokes more

painful. Lucian, Luc. siv. Asin. § 38. Poll. x. 54.

² Aristoph. Eq. 1005.

³ Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 54.

⁴ Id. 861.

⁵ Harpocrat. v. σιτοφύλακες p. 162. Dem. adv. Lept. § 8. Lys. cont. Dardan. § 6.

⁶ Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 522.

On the prices of articles,¹ our information is extremely incomplete: it is said, however, that an ox in Solon's time, was sold for five drachmas,² a sheep for one; while about the same period, the former animal sold at Rome for a hundred oboloi, and the latter for ten. In the later, and what are called the more flourishing, ages of the commonwealth, a sheep, according to its age, size, and breed, fetched from ten to twenty drachmas, an ox from fifty to a hundred. The price of a fine saddle-horse, in the age of Pericles, was twelve minæ, or about fifty pounds sterling,³ but a common animal for draught might be obtained for three minæ. The price of thirteen talents paid by Alexander for Bucephalos was a mere arbitrary piece of extravagance. A yoke of mules sold from five to eight minas; asses sometimes for thirty drachmas;⁴ a sucking-pig for three drachmas;⁵ a dove or a crow fetched three oboloi; a jackdaw or a partridge one obolos, though the philosopher Aristippos chose to give fifty drachmas for a single bird of this kind; seven chaffinches for an obolos. A choenix of olives cost two chalci, and a cotyla of the best Attic honey five drachmas.

The weights and measures⁶ in common use at Athens were the talent (65 lbs. 12 dwt. 5 grs.) equal to sixty minæ; the mina (1 lb. 1 oz. 4 grs.) equal to a hundred drachmas; the drachma (6 dwt. 2 grs.) equal to six oboloi; the obolos (9 grs.) equal to three

¹ Cf. Bœckh. *Pub. Econ.* i. 101, sqq. *Diog. Laert.* vi. 35. *Dem. adv. Call.* §§ 7. 9. *Dionys. Halicarn.* i. 100.

² *Plut. Poplic.* § 11. *Sol.* § 23. On the low prices of provisions in Lusitania in the time of Polybius. *Athen.* viii. 1.

³ *Aristoph. Nub.* 20. 1226. *Lys. adv. Fam. Obrect.* § 4. Some men brought themselves to ruin by their fondness for magnificent horses. *Xenoph. Œcon.* iii. 8.

⁴ *Lucian, Luc. siv. Asin.* § 35.

⁵ The same price was sometimes given for a Copaïc eel. *Aristoph. Ach.* 960, seq. *Athen.* xiv. 69.

⁶ *Goguet.* ii. 196. *Herod.* i. 192. *Poll.* iv. 171. *Schol. Aristoph. Nub.* 450. *Acharn.* 108. See an exact representation of an ancient pair of scales suspended from a bird's bill in *Mus. Cortonens.* tab. 27.

keratia; the keration¹ three grains. The Athenian dry measures were the medimnos, equal to six hec-
teis;² the hecteus, equal to two hemihec-
teis; the hemihecton, equal to four chœnices; the chœnix,
equal to two xestæ; the xestes, equal to two cotylæ;
the cotyla, equal to four oxybapha; the oxybaphon,
equal to one cyathos and a half;³ the cyathos,
equal to ten cochlearia.

Of the other measures that occur in ancient au-
thors, it may be worth while to mention the Per-
sian artabe,⁴ (hodie ardeb,) which exceeded the Attic
medimnos by about three chœnices; the akanè,⁵
likewise a Persian measure, equal to forty-five Attic
medimnoi or a Bœotian measure equal to two bushels;
the addix⁶ equal to four chœnices; the dadix⁷ to
six; the capithe to two; the maris to six cotylæ,⁸
the cophinos, a Bœotian measure, to three choes.⁹

¹ Eisenschmid. De Pond. et
Mens. Vet. p. 156.

² Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 633.
Eq. 95.

³ Eisenschmid. p. 168.

⁴ Athen. xii. 73.

⁵ Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 108.

⁶ Etym. Mag. 16. 53.—17. 45.

⁷ Poll. iv. 168.

⁸ Id. x. 184.

⁹ Id. iv. 168.

CHAPTER III.

INDUSTRY: PERFUMERS, BARBERS, GOLDSMITHS,
LAPIDARIES, ETC.

It has been already observed that the shops of the perfumers¹ were, for the most part, situated in the Agora or its neighbourhood, and much frequented by newsmongers and young men of distinction. From this it follows, that they must have been of spacious dimensions; and it is extremely probable that they were fitted up with every attention to show and elegance. They necessarily contained a number of seats and chairs for the accommodation of customers, and there can scarcely be a doubt, that the various unguents, perfumes, oils, and essences, were ranged on shelves, along the walls, in fine jars, vases of Cyprian marble, and boxes of alabaster,² sometimes of one piece, with vessels of glass and silver,³ or fine earthenware, or porcelain, or beautiful sea-shells.⁴ The counters were probably of marble or polished stone, as at Pompeii; and the shopman was supplied with the usual paraphernalia of scales and weights,⁵ and measures, and ladles, and spoons, and spatulæ, as in modern times. Peron, an Egyptian, the owner of one of these shops, has been

¹ Demosth. in Olymp. § 3. Athen. i. 33. Poll. vii. 177.

² Herod. iii. 20. Pignor. De Serv. 192. Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 1015. 1027. Athen. xv. 39. Poll. x. 119.

³ Lucian. Amor. 39.

⁴ Horat. Carm. ii. 723. Dœring, however, supposes vessels in the shape of shells to be meant.

⁵ Poll. x. 126.

thought of sufficient consequence to have his name transmitted to posterity.¹

From the richness and variety of odours made use of by the ancients we may infer, that the fragrance of such an establishment at Athens, exceeded that of Araby the Blest. For every land and every sweet flower that grew supplied some ingredient to the endless stock of the perfumer.² There was incense, and frankincense, and spikenard,³ and myrrh, and oils of saffron and cinnamon,⁴ and sweet marjoram,⁵ and fenugreek,⁶ and roses,⁷ and hyoscyamos,⁸ and maiden's hair,⁹ and iris,¹⁰ and lilies,¹¹ and watermint, and rosemary, and eastern privet,¹² and baccharis,¹³ and thyme. In truth the Athenians, who were esteemed the inventors of all good and useful things,¹⁴ delighted exceedingly in the luxury of sweet smells, and therefore culled from Sicily, and Egypt, and Phoenicia, and Lydia, and Babylonia, and India, and Arabia, whatever could communicate a pleasing scent to their garments,¹⁵ their apartments,

¹ From the way in which this perfumer is mentioned by the comic poets, it may be inferred, that he demanded exceedingly high prices for his commodities. For, in order apparently to tax a person with excessive extravagance, he is said to have purchased unguents of Peron wherewith to anoint the feet of some friend or patron. Athen. xv. 40. xii. 78.

² Athen. i. 33. xii. 78. xiv. 50. Bochart. Geog. Sac. i. 272, seq. Max. Tyr. p. 10.

³ Athen. xv. 42. Dioscor. 1. 75.

⁴ Dioscor. 1. 74.

⁵ Ἀμάρακος. Dioscor. i. 68. Poll. vi. 104.

⁶ Dioscor. i. 57. ⁷ Id. i. 53.

⁸ Id. i. 42.

⁹ Ἀδιάντρον. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vii. 14. 1.

¹⁰ Poll. vi. 104.

¹¹ Id. vi. 105. Dioscor. iii. 116.

¹² Dioscor. i. 124.

¹³ Poll. vi. 104. Dioscor. iii. 51. Παρὰ πολλοῖς δὲ τῶν κωμικοποιῶν ὀνομάζεται τι μύρον βάκκαρις· οὗ μνημονεύει καὶ Ἰππώναξ διὰ τούτων·

—Βακκάρει δὲ τὰς ῥίνας
ἡλειφον· ἔστι δ' οἷη περ κρόκος.
Athen. Deipnosoph. xv. 41.

¹⁴ See on the various inventions of the Athenians, Frid. Creuzer, Orat. de Civit. Athen. Omn. Human. Parent. Francfurt. 1826.

¹⁵ This we are told the person itself of Alexander did, being by nature scented like a nosegay. Plut. Alexand. § 4. The same thing is related of Catherine de

or their beards. Even the doves and swallows that flew tame about the house had their feathers drenched with odoriferous essences, which they scattered with their waving wings through the air.¹ This excessive passion for perfumes rendered the favourite articles of it dear, so that of some kinds a cotyla sold for two or five minæ;² of others, for ten; while the balm of Gilead, even in the country where it was collected, was valued at double its weight in silver.³ There were, however, inferior kinds of perfume, some of which were cheap enough, since we find that an alabaster boxful, brought from the East, sometimes sold for two drachmas.⁴

Great use was made of saffron as a perfume.⁵ Halls, courts, and theatres were saturated with its odour,⁶ and statues⁷ were made to flow, like common fountains, with saffron-water. From a great number of other flowers, essences and unguents were likewise prepared; such as our lady's rose, southernwood,⁸ vine-flowers,⁹ the narcissus,¹⁰ anis-flower,¹¹ high taper, betel-leaf, and the jasmine, which, in Persia, was used at banquets and in the baths.¹²

In the preparation of unguents, numerous articles were made use of, either to give them consistency or to modify the scent: among these were the root of the anchusa,¹³ palm spatha,¹⁴ butter,¹⁵ sweet-scented moss,¹⁶ and the odoriferous reed.¹⁷

Medicis, and Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Blumenbach's Physiology, Note. p. 182.

¹ Cf. Il. ζ. 288. Athen. vi. 67. Poll. vi. 104. Plat. Rep. iii. p. 203. Stallb.

² Athen. xv. 44.

³ Dioscor. i. 18.

⁴ Lucian. Dial. Meret, xiv. § 2.

⁵ Κρόκος. Dioscor. i. 64.

⁶ Æl. Spart. Vit. Adrian. c. 18. p. 16.

⁷ Lucan. Pharsal. 809.

⁸ Ἀέρορόνον. Dioscor. i. 60.

⁹ Οἰνάνθα. Dioscor. i. 56. Theoph. de Caus. Plant. iii. 14. 8.

¹⁰ Dioscor. i. 63.

¹¹ Ἀνηθον. Dioscor. i. 61. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vii. 1. 2.

¹² Dioscor. Noth. p. 442. d.

¹³ Dioscor. iv. 23. Cf. Plin. xiii. 1.

¹⁴ Dioscor. i. 55. 150.

¹⁵ From which the unguent obtained the name of βουτύρινον. Dioscor. i. 64.

¹⁶ Βρύον. Dioscor. i. 20.

¹⁷ Dioscor. i. 17.

Several unguents received their names from the persons who invented them, or from the places whence they were imported, though others were distinguished by appellations which are no longer intelligible: thus, the Megalion or Megalesian derived its name from Megallos, a Sicilian perfumer;¹ the Plangonian from Plango, a female perfumer of Elis.² The black ointment, doubtless, received its name from its colour; but wherefore the Sagdas is so called is not known:³ both these were of Egyptian manufacture. From Lydia was imported the Brenthion,⁴ and from Babylonia the Nardon, which disputed the prize with the royal unguent. There was among the Egyptians a perfume called Cyphi,⁵ entirely appropriated to the use of the gods, into the composition of which entered the following ingredients; the cyperus, a quantity of juniper-berries, raisins, odoriferous reeds and rushes, the aspalathos, myrrh, wine, resin, and honey, mixed in certain proportions, and reduced to a fine paste. Unguent of roses was preserved by an admixture of salt.⁶

But the perfumers dealt not in odours and essences only, their stock containing every variety of cosmetic for the use of the ladies, who made a complete business of beautifying their faces,⁷ which at

¹ Athen. xv. 42. To this perfume Strattis alludes in his Medea:—

— Καὶ λέγ', ὅτι μύ-
ρον φέρεις αὐτῇ
Τοιοῦτον, οἷον οὐ Μέγαλλος
πώποτε
ἠψῆσεν, οὐδὲ Δινίας Αἰγύπ-
τιος
Οὔτ' εἶδεν, οὔτ' ἐκθήσατο.—

² Poll. vi. 104. Athen. xv. 42.

³ Poll. vi. 104. Athen. xv. 43.

⁴ Poll. vi. 104.

⁵ Dioscor. i. 24.

⁶ Id. i. 53.

⁷ We do not hear, however,

that they carried their rage against nature so far as certain Parisian dames commemorated by Montaigne, *Essais*, t. iii. p. 29, sqq.
“ Qui n'a ouy parler à Paris de
“ celle, qui se fit escorcher pour
“ seulement en acquérir le teint
“ plus frais d'une nouvelle peau?
“ Il y en a qui se sont fait ar-
“ racher des dents vives et saines,
“ pour en former la voix plus
“ molle, et plus grasse, ou pour
“ les ranger en meilleur ordre.
“ Combien d'exemples du mes-
“ pris de la douleur avons nous
“ en ce genre? Que ne peuvent-
“ elles? Que craignent-elles pour

length became wholly artificial, rather a mask than a countenance.¹ They whitened their foreheads, dyed their eyebrows, and fashioned them like arches, painted black the edges of their eyelids,² rendered their eyes humid and bright by powder-of-lead ore, spread over their faces the hues of the lily intermingled with the bloom of the rose, adorned themselves with false ringlets, changed the yellow into black, the black into auburn,³ gave a ruby tinge to their lips, and blanched their teeth into ivory. But the psimmythion,⁴ (ceruse or white lead,) which rendered them fair, undermined their constitution, and poisoned their breath. On the subject of rouge, the Greeks had a very poetical and beautiful saying:—“She plants roses “in her cheeks,” said they, “which, like those of “Locris, will bloom in an hour and fade in less.”⁵

One sort of rouge⁶ appears to have been obtained

“peu qu’il y ait d’agencement
“à espérer en leur beauté ?

‘Vellere queis cura est albos à
stirpe capillos,
Et faciem demptâ pellere re-
ferre novam.’

Tibull. i. 9. 45, seq.

“J’en ay veu engloutir du
“sable, de la cendre, et ce tra-
“vailler à point nommé de rui-
“ner leur estomac pour acquérir
“les pasles couleurs. Pour faire
“un corps bien espagnolé, quelle
“géhénne ne souffrent-elles, guin-
“dées et sanglées avec de grosses
“coches sur les costez, jusques
“à la chair vive? Ouy quelque-
“fois à en mourir.”

¹ Poll. v. 102.

Μὴ τοίνων τὸ πρόσωπον ἅπαν
ψιμύθῳ κατάπλαττε,
Ὅσπερ προσοπεῖον, κ’ οὐχὶ πρόσ-
ωπον ἔχειν.

Anthol. Græc. xi. 408.

² The pigment with which the interior of the eyelid is blackened at present is the soot of Ladanum,

or incense, which the ladies themselves procure by casting a few grains of those precious substances upon coals of fire, and intercepting the smoke with a plate, on which the soot speedily accumulates. Chandler, ii. 140.

³ Τὴν κεφαλὴν βάπτεις, τὸ δὲ
γῆρας οὐποτε βάψεις
Οὐδὲ παρειάων ἐκτανύσεις
ῥυτίδας.

Anthol. Græc. xi. 408.

⁴ See Book iii. chapter v. and Pollux, v. 102.

⁵ Ῥόδον παρειαῖς φυτεύει, ἀν-
θωρὸν ἀνθοῦν, καὶ θάττον ἀπαν-
θοῦν κατὰ τὸ Λοκρὸν. Poll. v.
102. This fugitive species of
rose is alluded to by Lycophron,
in his Cassandra, 1429:

Λοκρὸν δ’ ὅποια παῦρον ἀν-
θήσας ῥόδον.

See the note of Meursius, t. iii. p. 1347. ed. C. G. Müller; and Jungermann ad Poll. t. iv. p. 1010.

⁶ To this Lucillius alludes in the Anthology:

from a species of sea-moss or wrake,¹ which some have confounded with the anchusa,² though the grammarians enumerate them as things entirely different. One of the commentators supposes the *purpurissa* to be meant, by which the Romans understood a sort of cheek-varnish, vermilion, or Spanish paint. There was in use a pigment for the eyebrows, called Hypogramma,³ and the edges of the eyelids were tinged black with Stimmis,⁴ an oxyde of antimony, which still constitutes one of the articles of the female toilette in the East. Sometimes the eyebrows were blackened with resin soot,⁵ and the eyelashes caused to lie regularly by naphtha,⁶ and a sort of paste composed of glue and pounded marble.⁷ Another curious cosmetic was, the Adarces,⁸ a substance resembling congealed froth, found on reeds and the dry stalks of plants about the ponds and marshes of Cappadocia. It was said to remove freckles, and enjoyed, likewise, great credit in medicine. A preparation composed of the flour of turnip-seed, lupines, wheat, darnel, and chick-peas, was used for clearing the skin; so, likewise, were the Chian and Selinusian earths,⁹ which removed wrinkles, and rendered the skin smooth and shining. They were in constant use in the baths. Cassia,¹⁰ honey,¹¹ pepper,¹² and myrrh,¹³ cured pimples and effaced spots; fenu-greek¹⁴ whitened the hands and removed sunburns; briony,¹⁵ isinglass,¹⁶ costos,¹⁷ galbanum,¹⁸ lupines, rain-

Οὐποτε φύκος
Καὶ ψίμυθος τεύξει τὴν Ἑκά-
βην Ἑλένην.

Anthol. Græc. xi. 408.

¹ Poll. v. 101.

² Cf. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vii. 8. 3.

³ Poll. v. 101. vii. 95.

⁴ Ion, in his Omphalè. Poll. v. 101. Luc. Amor. 39.

⁵ Dioscor. i. 93. And lamp-black. Alex. Frag. ap. Athen. xiii. 23. Cf. Luc. Bis Accus. § 31.

⁶ Dioscor. i. 101.

⁷ Ἡ λιθοκόλλα, μίγμα οὐσα μαρμάρου ἢ λίθου Παρίου καὶ ταυροκόλλης, δύναται διὰ μελωτίδος πεπυρωμένης τρίχας ἀνακολλᾶν τὰς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς. Dioscor. v. 164.

⁸ Dioscor. v. 137.

⁹ Id. v. 175.

¹⁰ Id. i. 12. ¹¹ Id. ii. 101.

¹² Id. ii. 189. ¹³ Id. i. 77.

¹⁴ Τῆλις. Id. i. 57.

¹⁵ Ἀμπέλος μελαίνα. Dioscor. iv. 185.

¹⁶ Id. iii. 102.

¹⁷ Id. i. 15.

¹⁸ Id. v. 97.

water,¹ radishes,² and hare's blood,³ the biscutella didyma,⁴ truffles,⁵ cinnamon,⁶ linseed,⁷ ladanum,⁸ iris-roots,⁹ white hellebore,¹⁰ Sardinian honey,¹¹ onion-juice,¹² and spring-wheat, moistened with oxymel,¹³ were among the principal preparations for removing moles and freckles, and beautifying the skin. In some parts of Greece elm-juice,¹⁴ expressed at the first putting forth of the leaves in spring, was employed to give clearness and resplendency to the complexion. Almond-paste,¹⁵ also, with the roots of the bitter almond-tree, effaced spots from the skin. Others, for the same purpose, made use of the berries of the wild-vine,¹⁶ and a paste was prepared from lilies which induced fairness, and rendered the face smooth and shining.¹⁷ To protect the complexion from the sun, the whole countenance was varnished, as it were, with white of egg;¹⁸ and some women, possibly rustics, used goose and hen's grease as a cosmetic.¹⁹ The roots of the spikenard, when imported from the East, usually retained about them a little of the soil in which the plant had grown:²⁰ this was carefully rubbed off, and having been passed through a fine sieve, was used for washing the hands, as it probably retained something of the fragrance of the plant. Rose leaves, reduced to powder, were sprinkled over persons as they issued from the bath, particularly about the eyes, to heighten the freshness of the face.²¹ To communicate additional sweetness to their persons, Greek ladies sometimes wore about their necks carcanets of rose pastilles²² instead of jewelled necklaces, into the com-

¹ Dioscor. ii. 132.

² Id. ii. 137. ³ Id. ii. 21. 97.

⁴ Ἀλυσσον. iii. 105.

⁵ Dioscor. ii. 200. ⁶ Id. i. 13.

⁷ Id. ii. 125. ⁸ Id. i. 128.

⁹ Id. i. 1. ¹⁰ Id. iv. 150.

¹¹ Id. ii. 102. ¹² Id. ii. 181.

¹³ Id. ii. 107. ¹⁴ Id. i. 101.

¹⁵ Id. i. 176.

¹⁶ Id. iv. 183. From the roots

of the wild vine, also, a kind of paste was prepared, which was thought to cleanse the skin, and remove pimples and freckles. Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 20. 3.

¹⁷ Dioscor. iii. 116.

¹⁸ Id. ii. 55. ¹⁹ Id. ii. 93.

²⁰ Id. i. 6. ²¹ Id. i. 130.

²² These pastilles (τροχίσκοι) were about three oboloi in weight,

position of which, however, several other ingredients entered, as nard, myrrh, costos, Illyrian iris, honey, and Chian wine.

The dentifrices¹ of the Greeks consisted chiefly of the purple fish, burnt with salt, and reduced to powder;² the Arabic stone,³ calcined in like manner; and pumice-stone.⁴ Asses' milk was used as a gargle to preserve the teeth.⁵ The toothpicks⁶ most commonly used were small slips of cane, or green branches of the lentiscus,⁷ the ashes of which were likewise mingled with all kinds of tooth-powder. The citron,⁸ eaten as a remedy for longing, was thought to render the breath sweet. There was a kind of ointment prepared of saffron, which, mingled with water, they employed to restore brilliance to eyes which had lost their colour.⁹ A pomatum, composed of oil and the husks of filbert-nuts burnt and reduced to powder, was used in infancy to change blue eyes into black.¹⁰

The barbers, who, both in locality and repute, were next-door neighbours to the perfumers, enjoyed much the same sort of reputation as they do in modern times. In their shops scandal was fabricated, and news, good and bad, put into circulation. It was at a barber's in the Peiræus that some stranger first disclosed the intelligence of the defeat in Sicily, thereby bringing the long-tongued shaver into the greatest trouble; for as he straightway ran up to the

and the purpose for which they were worn is thus stated by Dioscorides:—*χρήσις δὲ αὐτῶν ἐστίν, ἐπὶ γυναικῶν περιτιθεμένων τῷ τραχήλῳ ἀντὶ ὀσμῶν, ἀμβλυνουσῶν τὴν τῶν ἰδρώτων δυσωδίαν.* i. 131.

¹ Lucian. Amor. § 39. The beauty, however, of the Grecian ladies' teeth was remarkable. Luc. Imag. § 9. False teeth were fastened in with gold wire. Rhet. Præcept. § 24.

² Dioscor. ii. 4. ³ Id. v. 149.

⁴ Id. v. 125. ⁵ Id. ii. 77.

⁶ Ear-picks were commonly of olive-wood. Poll. ii. 102.

⁷ Dioscor. i. 89.

⁸ *Ἐὰν τις ἐψήσας ἐν ζωμῷ ἢ ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ τὸ ἔξωθεν τοῦ μήλου ἐκπιέσῃ εἰς τὸ στόμα καὶ καταροφήσῃ, ποιεῖ τὴν ὀσμὴν ἡδεῖαν.* Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 4. 2. Dioscor. i. 166.

⁹ Dioscor. i. 64.

¹⁰ Id. i. 179.

city and gave vent to the evil tidings, he was apprehended and put to the torture, in order to discover the real author of what was supposed to be an atrocious fabrication.¹ But that which sometimes thus brought them into straits, proved most commonly a source of profit, since to hear their laughable stories and anecdotes many more persons congregated under their roofs than stood in need of new wigs or curling-irons,² and probably got shaved by way of compliment to the master of the house. Such of them as were remarkably unskilful sought to make up for their awkwardness³ by the number and elegance of their razors, and the large size of their mirrors.⁴ But it was not, we are told, unfrequent for men to get shaved by some humble practitioner,⁵ with one razor and a cunning hand, and afterwards to lounge into the more dashing shops, to put their curls in order before the large mirrors which adorned the walls.⁶

If we may judge by the works of art that have come down to us, however, the barbers of Hellas generally understood their business in great perfection, since nowhere do we find more shapely heads or finer curls than on the statues of antiquity.⁷ Even here, however, we discover few traces of that

¹ Plut. Nic. § 30.

² These irons were heated in the ashes. Pignor. de Servis, p. 194. Cf. Poll. ii. 31.

³ Luc. adv. Indoct. § 29. In Asia Minor, where numbers of ancient customs still linger, congealed blood is often used for shaving instead of soap. Chandler, i. 96. Can this practice plead a classical origin?

⁴ Cf. Artemid. Oneirocrit. ii. 7. p. 88. Gitone, *Il Costume Antico e Moderno di tutti i Popoli*, t. i. p. 24. Tav. 15.

⁵ We learn from an anecdote of Crates, that these barbers, like their descendants in modern

times, were accustomed to envelope their patients in linen or cotton cloths. The Cynic, thinking proper one day to walk the streets in his shirt, was reprimanded by the Astynomos. "I will show you Theophrastus in a similar garb," he replied. "Where?" inquired the magistrate. "There!" answered Crates, pointing to a barber's shop where the philosopher was undergoing the operation of shaving. Diog. Laert. vi. 90.

⁶ Lucian. adv. Indoct. § 29. Cf. Poll. ii. 27.

⁷ Zoëga, *Bassi Rilievi*. ii. 239.

variety in the manner of cutting and dressing the hair,¹ for which they were chiefly distinguished. While the beard² was worn, their principal occupation must have been the clipping, curling, and perfuming of it; but afterwards when persons shaved in order to appear young,³ and had learned to cover their bald pates with wigs,⁴ their business grew to be much the same as it is at present. Their arts were necessarily in great request among the ladies, for whom they contrived false eyebrows,⁵ and innumerable dyes for giving whatever colour they desired to the hair, rendering it luxuriant and preventing it from turning grey. Hog's lard and even bear's grease mixed with powder of burnt filberts⁶ were then in great request for strengthening and restoring the hair, together with onion-juice,⁷ olives steeped in wine,⁸ myrrh,⁹ wild-olive oil¹⁰ mingled with water, according to Aristotle,¹¹ the glutinous humour of snails obtained by passing a needle through them, and im-

¹ Cf. Plut. Thes. §. 5.

² Vid. Il. δ. 533. Plut. Thes. § 5. Dion Chrysost. i. 261, seq. *Καλυμματα*. Aristoph. Lysist. 530. et Schol. Eq. 578.

³ Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 118. The practice of shaving does not appear to have grown common until the times of Alexander of Macedon. Athen. xiii. 18.

⁴ Sch. Aristoph. Eq. 631. Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. p. 115. Luc. Dial. Meret. xii. § 5. Poll. ii. 30. Dutens, in his *Origines des Découvertes attribuées aux Modernes*, p. 290, seq. has collected an ill-digested heap of materials on ancient wigs, principally, however, on those of the Romans.

⁵ Pignor. De Serv. p. 193.

⁶ Όλα δὲ καέντα λεία μετὰ ἀξιουγγίου ἢ στέατος ἀρκτείου, ἀλωπεκίας ἐπιχρισθέντα δασύνει. Dioscor. i. 169.

⁷ Dioscor. ii. 181. Maiden-hair, black and white, pounded in oil to the consistence of a paste, prevented the hair from falling off. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vii. 14. 1.

⁸ Dioscor. iii. 25. ⁹ Id. i. 77.

¹⁰ Id. i. 140.

¹¹ This fact is mentioned in a very curious passage of the treatise *De Generatione Animalium*, v. 5: "Ότι δὲ γίγνεται ἡ κολιὰ σήψει τινί, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν (ὥστερ οἶονταί τινες) αὐανσις, σημεῖον τοῦ προτέρου ῥηθέντος, τὸ τὰς σκεπαζομένας τρίχας πύλοις ἢ καλύμμασι, κολιοῦσθαι θάττον (τὰ γὰρ πνεύματα κωλύει τὴν σῆψιν ἢ δὲ σκέπη ἀπνοίαν ποιεῖ) καὶ τὸ βοηθεῖν τὴν ἀλειψιν τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τοῦ ἐλαίου μιγνυμένων. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὕδωρ, ψύχει· τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον μιγνύμενον, κωλύει ξηραίνεσθαι ταχέως. Τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ εὐξήραιτον.

mediately applied to the roots of the hair,¹ a bruized cabbage-leaf,² a hare's head reduced to ashes,³ the ashes of the asphodel-root,⁴ burnt frogs,⁵ and goat's hoof,⁶ Naxian stone,⁷ halcyonion,⁸ burnt walnuts,⁹ and oil of pitch.¹⁰ The soot of pitch restored fallen eyelashes.¹¹ Among the depilatory preparations¹² used by ancient barbers may be enumerated the fumitory,¹³ the scolopendra thalassia,¹⁴ oak-fern,¹⁵ juice of vine-leaves,¹⁶ orpiment,¹⁷ flour of salt,¹⁸ sea-froth,¹⁹ and the blood of the chamelion.²⁰

To dye tresses auburn,²¹ a colour much admired by the Greeks, they pounded a quantity of the leaves of eastern privet²² in a mortar, and then steeping it in the juice of fuller's-herb, applied the preparation to the hair. The same effect was produced by a decoction of lotus stems,²³ or of the herb lycion.²⁴ As black hair, however, obtained the preference of the majority, partly²⁵ perhaps because it better suited their complexions, the number of recipes for giving it that hue is very great. Among the most remarkable substances employed for this purpose we may mention the ampelitis,²⁶ a black earth imported from Seleucia, in Syria, and the sory,²⁷ a mineral found chiefly in Egypt. To these may be added decoctions of wood-blade,²⁸ myrtle, and myrtle-berries,²⁹ ivy,³⁰ and dwarf-elder berries,³¹ sage,³² mulberries,³³ and palm-spathæ,³⁴ as also cypress cones, boiled in

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| ¹ Dioscor. ii. 11. | ² Id. ii. 146. | ²² Κύπρος. Dioscor. i. 124. |
| ³ Id. ii. 21. | ⁴ Id. ii. 199. | ²³ Dioscor. i. 171. |
| ⁵ Id. ii. 28. | ⁶ Id. ii. 46. | ²⁴ Id. i. 132. |
| ⁷ Id. v. 168. | ⁸ Id. v. 136. | ²⁵ Luc. Dial. Meret. xi. § 3. |
| ⁹ Id. i. 178. | ¹⁰ Id. i. 96. | ²⁶ Dioscor. v. 181. |
| ¹¹ Id. i. 96. | | ²⁷ Id. v. 119. |
| ¹² Sch. Aristoph. Acharn. 157. | | ²⁸ Φλόμος. Dioscor. iv. 104. |
| ¹³ Dioscor. iv. 110. | | Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 123. |
| ¹⁴ Id. ii. 16. | | ²⁹ Dioscor. i. 155. v. 37. |
| ¹⁵ Δρυοπτέρις, Dioscor. iv. 189. | | ³⁰ Dioscor. ii. 210. |
| ¹⁶ Dioscor. v. 1. | ¹⁷ Id. v. 121. | ³¹ Χαμαιδάκτης καρποί. Dios- |
| ¹⁸ Id. v. 129. | ¹⁹ Id. v. 127. | cor. iv. 175. |
| ²⁰ Id. iv. 170. | | ³² Dioscor. iii. 40. |
| ²¹ Poll. v. 102. ii. 37. Plat. | | ³³ Id. i. 180. |
| De Rep. vi. 87. | | ³⁴ Id. i. 150. |

vinegar.¹ There prevailed an opinion in Italy² that the birds which fed on the berries of the smilax or yew-tree became black, though we do not find, that the barbers had thought of introducing them among the hair dyes.

Another class of tradesmen who selected the Agora³ or its neighbourhood, for their residence, was the goldsmiths, silversmiths, jewellers, and lapidaries, who were possibly of more importance in the ancient than the modern world,⁴ since a much greater quantity of the precious metals was then wrought up into plate, whether for the temples, chapels and sanctuaries of the gods,⁵ or for private individuals.⁶ How much or how little of the articles they produced could be seen at one time in their shops, it is now impossible to determine; but if their practice resembled that of the moderns, it would be difficult to imagine a greater blaze of magnificence⁷ than must have met the eye upon entering their establishments,—where piles of gold and silver vessels⁸ of all forms and dimensions, some burnished⁹ and plain, others embossed

¹ Dioscor. i. 102.

² Id. iv. 80. The berry of the yew-tree, known to be perfectly harmless, was often eaten in antiquity. Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 10. 3.

³ Dem. cont. Mid. § 8.

⁴ The kings and courtiers of Persia even during the dangers of their military expeditions carried along with them not only bowls and goblets, but complete services for the table in silver and gold. Herod. vii. 119. These instruments of luxury appear often to have operated as an incitement to victory upon the enemies of Persia, at least they constituted its reward. Thus in the plunder of Mardonios's camp at Plataea, the Helots found, we are told, tents sumptuously decorated with sil-

ver and gold, bedsteads plated with the same precious metals, gold bowls, cups, and other drinking vessels, and carriages laden with golden and silver caldrons: *σάκκους τε ἐπ' ἀμαξίων εὕρισκον, ἐν τοῖσι λέβητες ἐφαίνοντο ἐνεόντες χρύσειοί τε καὶ ἀργύρεοι.* Id. ix. 80.

⁵ Thucyd. vi. 46.

⁶ Plut. Alcib. § 4.

⁷ Athen. vi. 17. xi. 105. Demosthen. adv. Tim. § 5. 7. Winkelm. Hist. de l'Art, i. 277. Poll. i. 28.

⁸ Plat. Tim. vii. 77. 19. De Rep. t. vi. p. 86. 164. Schol. Acharn. Arist. 1187. Among the cabinet ornaments of the ancients, we find ostrich eggs set in silver. Plin. x. 1.

⁹ Goldsmiths made use, in bur-

with every variety of figure in high or low relief, others crusted with seed pearls,¹ or brilliants, or set with gems² of every shade and hue, from the ruby, the emerald, and the hyacinth, to the turquoise, the chrysoprase, the amethyst, the beryl, and the jasper, might be beheld rising to the ceiling.

Occasionally articles of plate of enormous size were manufactured,³ such as cisterns,⁴ or vases, or tripods, or salvers, or goblets of gold or silver, presented as offerings by whole cities or communities to some divinity. In these cases the workmanship was very frequently so elaborate and exquisite as to be still more costly than the materials. Entire landscapes, including innumerable figures and objects were sometimes represented on the swell of a vase or goblet: Bacchanalian processions, for example, with whole troops of satyrs and mænades moving along some wooded valley, or desert mountain, or rocky shore, at the heels of the Seileni and Dionysos, groups of nereids, nymphs, and tritons, sporting in the warm sunshine, on the unruffled expanse of ocean; and sacrifices, marriages, chariot-races, and chorusses of youths and virgins, moving through the mazes of the dance, around the altar of Apollo or Artemis. It is also to Hellenic goldsmiths that we are evidently to attribute those marvellous productions of art reckoned among the most boasted possessions of the Persian kings, such as that vine of gold,⁵ with its vast grape clusters, imitated both in size and colour by the most precious gems, which formed a canopy over the royal couch, or that golden platane-tree⁶ and other vine,

nishing, of the Samian stone. Dioscor. v. 173.

¹ Athen. iv. 29. Casaub. ad. Theoph. Char. 311. These rich articles we find were sometimes pledged to raise money. Dem. adv. Spud. § 4.

² Athen. xi. 17.

³ Athen. ix. 75. From the

quantity of gold and silver plate laid up in the Egyptian temples, it is evident the same taste prevailed also in Egypt. Luc. Toxar. § 28.

⁴ Herodot. i. 51.

⁵ Athen. xii. 8. Herod. vii. 27.

⁶ Athen. xii. 55. The kings of America, guided by the same

which, rising from behind the throne, stretched its branches, tendrils, and leaves of gold aloft over the monarch as he sat in state to give audience to his people. Here the bunches of grapes in various stages of ripeness were represented by emeralds, Indian carbuncles, and other precious stones of the richest and most dazzling hues. These things we know were not the works of Persians, having been presented to Darius by Pythios, the Lydian, who, doubtless, caused them to be fashioned by Grecian artists. What may have been the exact dimensions of this platane-tree we know not; but, no doubt. Antiochos took an orator's licence, when, in an assembly of the Arcadians, he described it as too diminutive to afford shelter to a grasshopper.¹

We may here perhaps with propriety make mention of that multitude of golden statues² which thronged the temples of Greece. For it is not true, as Lucian pretends, that the Hellenic gods and goddesses were contented to shroud their beauty in marble, bronze, or ivory, while Mithras exhibited his rude visage, and Anubis his dog's snout, in gold.³ Even private individuals had statues erected to them of this precious metal; and there were not wanting

taste, far exceeded the Persian monarchs in magnificence. Montaigne, having spoken of the natural quickness and intelligence of the Indians, adds: "L'es-
"pouvantable magnificence des
"villes de Cusco et de Mexico;
"et entre plusieurs choses pa-
"reilles, le jardin de ce roy, où
"tous les arbres, les fruicts, et
"toutes les herbes, selon l'ordre
"et grandeur qu'ils ont en un
"jardin, estoient excellemment
"formées en or: comme en son
"cabinet tous les animaux, qui
"naissoient en son estat et en ses
"mers: et la beauté de leurs
"ouvrages, en pierrerie, en plume,
"en cotton, en la peinture, mon-

"trent qu'ils ne nous cédoient
"non plus en l'industrie." Es-
sais, l. iii. c. vi. t. viii. p. 33.
Cf. Solis, Histoire de la Conquête
du Mexique, l. iii. c. xiv.

¹ Xenoph. Hellen. vii. 1. 38.

² Poll. viii. 86.

³ Lucian. Jup. Trag. § § 8. 9.
Toxar. § 28. Cf. Alexand. § 18.
Not to mention other statues we
find, that there was at Procon-
nesos, and afterwards at Cyzicos,
an image of Dindymenè of mas-
sive gold, except the face, which
was wrought with the teeth of
the hippopotamos. Pausan. viii.
46. 4. See also Winkel. Hist.
de l'Art, on the statues of gold
and ivory found in Greece, t. i.

those who, like Gorgias, at their own expense did the same honour to themselves.¹

But the variety of articles thus composed of the precious metals was so great as almost to defy description.² There were candelabra,³ thrones,⁴ and chairs, shields,⁵ basins and ewers,⁶ flagons, censers, goblets in form of walnut-shells, ladles,⁷ spoons, vinegar-saucers,⁸ with almost every other article of the table. Crowns, likewise, for the heads of statues of princes, and successful generals, and other individuals whom the public desired to honour; with bread⁹ and work baskets probably in filigree, clasps,¹⁰ and spindles¹¹ for ladies, with armlets, anklets, bracelets, rings, necklaces of carbuncles,¹² earrings,¹³ and circlets for the head. That these articles were usually formed with much taste and elegance we may infer from the fact, that artists of the greatest respectability were employed to make designs for them, while

p. 35. The Minotaur, whether in picture or statue, was represented as a man with a bull's head. Lucian. Var. Hist. lib. ii. § 41.

¹ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 24. According to the general testimony of ancient writers, however, the golden statue at Delphi was erected to the Leontine sophist, by a general subscription. Eudoc. Ion. p. 101. Valer. Max. viii. 15. Ext. 2. But from a passage in the Phædros, it may be inferred, that the practice prevailed as described in the text: Καὶ σοὶ ἐγώ, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες, ὑπισχνοῦμαι χρυσῇν εἰκόνα ἰσομέτρητον εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀναθήσειν, οὐ μόνον ἐμαντοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ σήν. Plat. Opp. t. i. p. 19.

² Among the Athenian chasers in metal Lycios obtained celebrity. Demosth. adv. Timoth. § 7. Cf. Suid. t. ii. p. 66. d. e.

³ Gitone, Il Costume, tavv. 61, 62. Raccolta de' Monumenti più interessanti del Real Museo Borbonico, &c. tavv. 29, 30. 53, 54, 55. Athen. xi. 48.

⁴ Xenoph. Hellen. v. 1. 3. Plut. Lysand. § 9.

⁵ Pausan. i. 25. 7.

⁶ Athen. ix. 75.

⁷ Id. iii. 100.

⁸ Suid. v. Ὀξύβαφον. t. ii. p. 319. d.

⁹ Athen. vi. 15.

¹⁰ Ælian. Var. Hist. i. 18.

¹¹ Herod. iv. 162.

¹² Lucian. Dial. Meret. vi. i. Plut. Phoc. § 19. Among the necklaces in fashion were some of gold and amber beads intermixed. Luc. Heracl. § 3. A pair of earrings sometimes cost no more than five drachmas. Id. Somn. seu Gall. § 29. Cf. Athen. xii. 46. Hom. Odyss. σ. 290.

¹³ Il. ξ. 182. Poll. ii. 102.

even the engravers of cups and goblets, as Mys, for example, sometimes acquired great celebrity.¹

The ancients understood well the art of washing and plating articles formed of the inferior metals with gold and silver, as well as many ingenious devices for soldering, mixing, varying the colours, frosting the surface, and inlaying and flowering one metal with another. Statues in Attica were commonly lacquered with gold;² and, from the remotest antiquity, the art of gilding appears to have flourished in Greece, since we find mention of it in Homer, who speaks of gilding³ the horns of victims offered up to the gods. The ancients, unquestionably, employed much thicker gold leaf in this process than the moderns; from which it has been inferred, that they were incapable of reducing it to greater tenuity. But, besides that, when the leaves were too thin, the quicksilver which they employed as a glue appeared through, and dimmed the splendour of the gold, they seem to have aimed at that very duration which causes us to admire the fragments of their gilding that still exist:—in the subterraneous chambers, for example, of the Villa Borghese on the Palatine hill, where the figures in gold scattered over a ground of celestial blue, look as fresh as if just laid on.⁴ Metals of all kinds were likewise gilt—as copper, and silver, and bronze. In gilding marble the leaf was attached to the stone with white of egg, which was likewise employed, instead of quicksilver,

¹ Athen. xi. 19.

² That is if Pollux has been rightly interpreted, ii. 214. vii. 163, with the notes of the commentators, t. iv. p. 486. t. v. p. 472.

³ Odyss. γ. 437, seq. Macrob. Saturn. i. 17. Ovid. Metam. vii. 161, seq. x. 271, seq. Cf. Herod. ii. 63.

⁴ “ Les deux chambres souterraines du palais des empereurs sur le mont Palatin dans la villa Borghèse, nous offrent des orne-

“ mens dorés aussi frais que s’ils
“ venoient d’être faits, quoique
“ ces chambres soient fort humides à cause de la terre qui
“ les couvre. On ne peut voir
“ sans admiration les bandes de
“ bleu céleste en forme d’arcs,
“ et chargées de petites figures
“ d’or, qui décorent ces pièces.
“ La dorure s’est aussi conservée dans les ruines de Persépolis.” Winkelm. Hist. de l’Art. t. ii. p. 91.

by dishonest workmen, who could thus make use of a much thinner leaf.¹ The moderns in gilding marble substitute the juice of garlic and figs. The practice of gilding wood and leather was also common in antiquity, as we find mention of gilt wooden statues and beads,² and harness, and sandal-thongs. The walls and roofs of chambers were covered, moreover, with gilding, and this ornament was laid as well on wainscot as stucco.³ The conjecture of a modern writer,⁴ that the ancients were acquainted with the art of gilding in ormolu seems to be unfounded.

One of the minor, but most flourishing, branches of the goldsmiths' trade seems to have been the making and setting of rings,⁵ for which the Greeks indulged an extraordinary fondness. They accordingly had them of every form and material. Some persons, for example, wore a plain gold, or silver, or even iron, hoop; others a silver ring encircled by a narrow band of gold, or a gold ring with a band of silver, or an iron ring inlaid with gold.⁶ Some persons were satisfied with a bronze ring, or one of gilt iron,⁷ which they wore apparently in memory of Prometheus, who, to preserve Zeus' word unbroken, was fabled to bear on his finger an iron ring set with a piece of Caucasian stone as a signet, so that, by a divine sort of quibble, he might for ever be said to be chained to Caucasus.⁸ Others, again, delighted in rings of amber,⁹ white or yellow, or ivory, or porce-

¹ On the gilding of the ancients see Beckmann, *Hist. of Inventions*. Vol. iv. p. 176, seq. Winkelmann, *Hist. de l'Art*. t. i. p. 34. t. ii. p. 90, seq. 647. Goguet. t. iv. p. 53, sqq.

² Xen. *Œconom.* x. 3. 61.

³ Plin. xxxiii. 18. Senec. *Epist.* 115.

⁴ Dutens, *Orig. des Découvertes*, &c. p. 180.

⁵ Sch. Aristoph. *Nub.* 331.

756. Poll. ii. 155. See Kirchman, *de Annulis*, p. 12, and *passim*.

⁶ Plin. xxxiv. 4.

⁷ Kirchman, *de Annulis Veterum*, c. iii. p. 10.

⁸ Serv. ad Virg. *Eclog.* vi. 41.

⁹ Σούκινοι καὶ ἐλεφάντινοι, δάκτυλοι ταῖς γυναῖξιν εἰσι σύμφοροι. Suid. t. ii. 775. c. Artemid. l. ii. c. v. Plin. xxxvii. 2.

lain, at least these were fashionable in Egypt. Sometimes, they wore silver rings with signets of gold, or the contrary. Mention, too, is made of a ring formed entirely of carnelian, which, to preserve it, was encircled by a narrow hoop of silver, and set with a golden signet.¹

Jugglers sold to persons of large faith rings² that would cure the colic;³ and articles of this description with magic and talismanic virtues appear to have been at all times abundant and in great request.

Of signets⁴ the most ancient would appear to have been small bits of wood, which, having been worm-eaten in a grotesque or fanciful manner,⁵ were cut and polished, and used by some rough Thane for a crest, in memory of which practice precious stones were in after ages engraved so as to imitate exactly these rude materials.⁶ In process of time nearly every variety of precious stone⁷ came to be engraved for rings and seals.⁸ Of these the most remarkable was the carbuncle, in colour like a ripe mulberry, which when held up in the sun glows

¹ Kirchman, de Ann. Vet. c. iii. p. 16. The Egyptians were accustomed to wear little images of carnelian suspended from the neck. A specimen of these figures, representing Typhon, or the evil principle, I brought home with me to Europe. It had been found in the ruins of Thebes.

² Lucian speaks of a talismanic ring having engraved on it the figure of a Pythian Apollo. Philopseud. § 38; and of another made from the iron-work of a cross, § 17.

³ Athen. iii. 96.

⁴ Treasurer's ring. Athen. viii. 29. See Long. de Annul. Sig. p. 42, sqq. Gori. de Annul. Orig. Kornman. de Tripl. Ann. p. 44. We may here, by the way, mention that law of Solon which for-

bade a lapidary to retain in his possession the copy of any ring he had engraved. Diog. Laert. i. 2. 9.

⁵ Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. i. 2. *Θριπήδεστα, ξυλήφια τὰ ὑπὸ θρικῶν βεβρωμένα, οἷς ἐχρῶντο οἱ σφόδρα οἰκονομικοὶ ἀντὶ γλυπτῶν σφραγίδων.* Eustath. ad Odyss. a. t. iii. p. 37. 12. Suid. *θριπηδέστατον.* t. i. p. 1329. b. Etym. Mag. 456. 23.

⁶ "Dans le cabinet de Stosch il y a une pierre dont la gravure imite très-bien les sillons d'un bois rongé par les vers." Winkel. Hist. de l' Art. t. i. p. 43.

⁷ Plat. Tim. vii. 80. Plin. ii. 63. xxxiii. 1. Herod. i. 195.

⁸ Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 994. See Mawe, Treatise on Diamonds, p. 85—134. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 954.

like a flame or burning coal,¹ probably the reason why it was supposed to shine in the dark like a lamp.² Under this name many gems known at present by different appellations seem to have been included, as the ruby,³ whose proper colour is a cochineal red of surpassing richness, admitting, however, occasionally, various intermixtures of blue, producing the rose-red ruby, the former of a full carmine, or rose colour, the latter tinged with a mixture of blue; the rubacelle whose glowing red is dashed with a cast of yellow; the true and the sorane garnet; the rock ruby of a violet red; the almandine and the hyacinth, now confounded with the amethyst. Next to the above was the carnelian⁴ of a deep ensanguined hue, chiefly obtained from the island of Sardinia: the jasper of a dark green, with spots of many colours, the sapphire blue bespangled with gold.

Another gem held in high estimation by the ancients was the emerald,⁵ the exquisite colour of which, generally the most intense green, was supposed to be more grateful to the eye than the sight of vernal woods or meadows. For this reason many persons selected it for seals in preference to all other stones.⁶ Even the lapidaries employed in cutting it were believed to have their vision improved by its refreshing virtues. All emeralds, however, are not of one hue, but exhibit every possible shade of green, from the dusky tint of the

¹ Ἄλλο δέ τι γένος ἐστὶ λίθων ὥσπερ ἐξ ἐναντίων πεφυκός, ἄκαυστον ὅλως, ἄνθραξ καλούμενος, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὰ σφραγίδια γλύφουσιν, ἐρυθρὸν μὲν τῷ χρώματι, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἥλιον τιθέμενον ἄνθρακος καί-ομένου ποιεῖ χροάν. Theoph. de Lapid. § 18.

² "Is vulgo putatur in tenebris carbonis instar lucere; fortassis quia Pyropus, seu Anthrax appellatus à veteribus fuit." Anselm,

Boet. Gemmarum et Lapidum Historia, t. ii. c. viii. p. 140.

³ Sir John Hill, Notes on Theophrastus, de Lapidibus, p. 76, seq.

⁴ Theoph. de Lapid. § 23.

⁵ Plin. xxxvii. 16. Boetius, l. ii. c. lii. 195. Menand. ap. Athen. iii. 46. Luc. Saturn. Epist. § 29. Suid. v. σμάραγδος. t. ii. p. 769. a.

⁶ Theoph. de Lapid. § 24.

olive leaf to the pale verdure of the acacia.¹ The Greek jewellers appear to have judged of the genuineness of this stone by plunging it into clear water: for if it were a true emerald it would, they thought, impart its colour to the whole of the surrounding element; if not, a small part only of it would be tinged.²

The ancients possessed a species of bastard emerald, found in vast blocks, so that we read of an emerald obelisk in Egypt, which, though consisting of but four pieces, rose to the height of sixty feet.³ Of this stone, probably, was the famous pillar which adorned the entrance of the temple of Heracles at Tyre.⁴ Of real emeralds the largest known does not exceed six inches in length, and two in diameter. It may be observed, that much pains and labour were expended in bringing the emerald to its lustre.⁵

The lyncurios or modern hyacinth is enumerated among the seal gems.⁶ Its colour is that of flame with an intermixture of deep red, though it is sometimes found of a full saffron hue, or even resembling amber. It has by several writers been supposed to be the tourmaline. The lyncurios was exceedingly hard and difficult to work. They likewise cut and engraved for seals the amber, which Theophrastus describes as a native mineral; the hyaloides, the omphax, the crystal,⁷ the sardonyx, the agate, the onyx, and the amethyst.⁸ A gem of extraordinary beauty was once found in the gold mines of Lampacos, which, having been engraved by a Tyrian lapidary, was presented to the Persian King.⁹

¹ See Baldæus, description of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, chap. xxiv.

² Theoph. de Lapid. § 23.

³ Id. § 24. Plin. xxxvii. 19.

⁴ Theoph. de Lapid. § 25.

⁵ Id. § 27, seq.

⁶ Anselm. Boet. Gem. et Lapid. Hist. l. ii. c. 258, p. 477.

⁷ Winkelm. ii. 110.

⁸ Theoph. de Lapid. § 30. Poll. iii. 87. Luc. Dial. Meret. ix. § 2. Cf. de Syr. Dea, § 32. Precious stones of various kinds were employed to represent the eyes in statues, when the white was imitated by thin silver plates. Winkelm. Hist. de l' Art. t. ii. p. 94.

⁹ Theoph. de Lapid. § 32.

Respecting the various processes by which precious stones were engraved, the ancients have left us but a few scattered hints. It appears certain, however, that they polished precious stones with emery,¹ and possessed the lapidary's wheel, with all the finer tools at present in use, including the diamond point,² which there is reason to believe they likewise fixed on the wheel.³ At any rate, they contrived with the instruments they possessed to engrave figures, as of lions, heroes, bacchantes, caryatides, trophies,⁴ both in relief and intaglio, which for beauty and delicacy have never yet been equalled. It was at one time a question whether or not they were acquainted with the microscope,⁵ — though how they could engrave without it figures which we require its assistance distinctly to perceive, seems somewhat difficult to comprehend. The gem, for example, called the seal of Michael Angelo, in the French king's cabinet, though it does not exceed half an inch in diameter, contains fifteen figures most elaborately wrought.⁶ A private gentleman at Rome possessed a wolf's tooth on which was a representation of the twelve gods.⁷ Cicero commemorates an individual who had written the whole Iliad in characters so minute and in so small a compass, that it could be contained in a walnut-shell.⁸ Myrmecides, the Milesian, and Callicrates, the Lacedæmonian, manufactured ivory chariots so small, that they could be covered with the wing of a fly; and wrote two verses in gold letters on a grain of sesame.⁹

We find mention, however, of burning-glasses as

¹ Σμύρις λίθος ἐστίν, ἥ τὰς ψήφους οἱ δακτυλιογλύφοι σμήχουσι. Dioscor. v. 166.

² Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvii. 15, with the authors cited by Hardouin.

³ Winkelm. Hist. de l'Art. t. ii. p. 108.

⁴ Plut. Alexand. § 1. Timol. § 31. Herod. iii. 41.

⁵ Cf. Senec. Quæst. Nat. i. 6. Macrobian. Saturn. viii. 14.

⁶ Dutens, Origine des Découvertes, &c. p. 265.

⁷ Winkelm. Hist. de l'Art. t. i. p. 36. n. 4.

⁸ Plin. Hist. Nat. vii. 21.

⁹ Ælian. Var. Hist. i. 17.

early as the age of Socrates;¹ and a number of lenses, more powerful than those employed by our own engravers, have been found among the ruins of Herculaneum.² We may here, also, remark by the way, that the Greek astronomers appear to have been acquainted with the telescope.³

¹ Aristoph. Nub. 764, seq. Cf. Aristot. Analyt. Post. i. 31. 8. Barthélémy St. Hilaire de la Logique d'Aristot. t. ii. p. 367.

² Dutens, Origine des Découvertes, &c. p. 265.

³ Id. p. 115, seq. Nixon. in Phil. Trans. v. lii. p. 125.

CHAPTER IV.

INDUSTRY: SMITHS, CUTLERS, ARMOURERS, THE ART OF MINING, CHARCOAL-MAKING, ETC.

THE earliest smiths¹ in Greece wrought not in iron but in brass, of which, at first, both arms and domestic implements were fashioned. In Mexico and Peru, where, likewise, copper² was known before iron, they possessed the art of hardening it to so great a degree, that it would even cut stones and the closest-grained wood. The same or a similar process was known to the ancients, and might still, perhaps, be easily recovered were it any longer an object to be desired. The Greeks always retained a strong partiality for articles of brass, copper, and bronze, and besides statues,³ pillars,⁴ and trees, where the fruit was sometimes of gold,⁵ employed them in cups, urns, vases, and caldrons, with covers of the

¹ Cf. Il. ξ. 48. Magii, Var. Lect. p. 130. l.

² The hardness, however, would appear to have been produced partly by the interfusion of different metals, partly by the liquid in which the implements were quenched. Ulloa, Mémoires Philosophiques, &c., t. ii. p. 90. 94. Observations, p. 468. Cf. Voyages, t. i. p. 384.

³ Plut. Philop. § 8.

⁴ Thucyd. v. 47.

⁵ It is related of the bronze palm-tree at Delphi with fruit of gold, that the dates were imitated so exactly, that they were pecked at and destroyed by the crows: Ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖς Παλλάδιον ἔστηκε χρυσοῦν, ἐπὶ φοῖνικος χαλκοῦ βεβηκός, ἀνάθημα τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἀριστείων. Τοῦτ' ἔκοπτον ἐφ' ἡμέρας πολλὰς προσπετόμενοι κόρακες, καὶ τὸν καρπὸν ὄντα χρυσοῦν τοῦ φοῖνικος ἀπέτρωγον καὶ κατέβαλλον. Plut. Nic. § 8.

same metal.¹ We also find mention made of brazen mangers, and even maps.²

With tin, also, the Greeks, even in the Homeric age, were acquainted;³ and, among other uses which they, in later ages, made of it, was that of lining the inside of their cooking utensils.⁴

At a period beyond the reach of history they obtained a knowledge of the use of both iron⁵ and steel, the invention of which they attributed to Hephaistos.⁶ Homer, who speaks of axes and other implements of steel, or, rather, of iron steeled at the edge, describes the process of forming it by immersion in cold water.⁷ In the manufacture of the Homeric swords steel only would appear to have been, in most cases, employed, since they were extremely brittle, and often shivered to pieces by a mere blow upon shield or helmet. To guard against this effect the superior and more delicate articles were, in later times, cooled not in water but in oil.⁸ The Spartans, we are told, quenched their iron money in vinegar which rendered it, they supposed, brittle and unmalleable, consequently of no value but as a token.⁹

Among the earliest nations who excelled in the smelting of iron and the manufacture of steel were

¹ Herod. i. 48. iv. 81. 70. The extraordinary forms sometimes assumed by these vases are in part mentioned by Pollux, who, in describing the *προσωροῦρα* says, it was a vessel expanding above into the mouth of an ox, or the jaws of a lion. Onomast. ii. 48. In the Royal Prussian Museum there is found a vase, the mouth of which represents that of a griffin. *Racolta de' Monumenti più Interessanti del Real Museo Borbonico, e di varie Collezioni private, Pubblicati da Raffaele Gargiulo, Napoli, 1825, No. 113.* See in the

same collection a variety of other vases representing the faces of Hermes, the heads of dragons, hippogriffs, wild boars, &c. No. 75, sqq.

² Herod. ix. 70. v. 49.

³ Il. σ. 565. φ. 592. ψ. 561.

⁴ Beckmann, *History of Inventions*, iv. 13.

⁵ Palæphat. *Fragm. ap. Gal. Opusc. Mythol. &c.* p. 64, sqq.

⁶ Il. δ. 487. ⁷ Odyss. ι. 391.

⁸ *Tenuiora ferramenta oleo res-tingui mos est, ne aqua in fragilitatem durentur.* Plin. xxxiv. 41.

⁹ Plut. *Lycurgus*, § 9.

the Chalybes,¹ who are said to have collected the ore from the beds of their rivers, and to have mingled therewith a certain quantity of the mineral pyrimachos. Aristotle, in describing the process of smelting, observes, that steel, in passing through the furnace, not only diminishes in quantity but in specific gravity also, that is to say, becomes less valuable. It was one merit of the Chalybean steel that it was not liable to rust. The method of preparing this metal which prevailed among the Celtiberians was this:² they buried a number of iron plates in the earth, where they suffered them to remain until the greater portion was converted into rust.³ They then drew them forth and wrought them into various kinds of weapons, particularly swordblades, which were so keen that neither shields, nor helmets, nor sculls, were able to resist their edge. To this the complimentary Plutarch likens the language of the Spartans.⁴

It was thought of much importance by the ancients to select for the quenching of steel water possessing certain occult qualities, whose existence was only to be detected by experiment. By these the river of the Chalybeans was thought to be distinguished,⁵ as well as the waters near Como, at Calatayud and Tarragona in Spain. Water has, likewise, been prepared, by a variety of infusions, for communicating a finer temper and greater hardness to steel, an example of which is mentioned in the history of the Duke Cosmo, who invented, according to Vasari,⁶ a liquid wherein were hardened the tools

¹ Justin. xliv. 4. Plin. vi. 4. 34. vii. 57. viii. 82.

² Diodor. Sicul. v. 33. Suid. v. μάχαιρα. t. ii. p. 108. c.

³ Aristot. de Mirab. t. xvi. p. 187. Meteorol. iv. 6. p. 119, seq.

⁴ Καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ Κελτίβηρες ἐκ τοῦ σιδήρου τὸ στόμωμα ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν κατορύξαντες εἰς τὴν

γῆν τὸ πολὺ καὶ τὸ γεῶδες ἀποκαθάρῳσιν, οὕτως ὁ Λακωνικὸς λόγος οὐκ ἔχει φλοιὸν, ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ δραστήριον ἀφαιρέσει τοῦ περιττοῦ διωκόμενος στομοῦται. De Garrulitat. § 17.

⁵ Plin. xxxiv. 41.

⁶ Vit. de Pitt. Pref. p. 12. Winkel. Hist. de l'Art, ii. 78.

with which Francesco del Tadda was enabled to cut a fountain-basin, and several other articles, from a block of the hardest porphyry. Nothing, however, was more common than this operation among the ancients, both Greeks and Egyptians, by whom porphyry was cut into every variety of form, and invested with the highest polish.¹

The best steel appears to have been obtained from the Seres, from Parthia, and from India,² where, when polished, it assumed the bright appearance of silver, and probably like that of Damascus contained a small proportion of this metal. That which came from Sinope and the Chalybes served for the manufacture of ordinary tools; the Laconian³ was wrought into files, augers, chisels, and the other implements of stone-cutters; the Lydian stood in high estimation with the sword-cutlers, and the manufacturers of razors and surgical instruments.⁴ The locks and keys⁵ of the ancients, if we may judge from the specimens found at Pompeii, were of a somewhat rude construction, though probably manufactured of the best iron.

The workshop and tools of the smith bore the closest possible resemblance to those of the present day; the bellows⁶ consisting of thin boards connected by flaps of cow-hide, and having a snout of iron, the anvil mounted on a high block, the hammer, the tongs, the vice, which require no particular description.

Respecting the quality of Grecian cutlery it must be acknowledged that our information is exceedingly scanty, though we may reasonably infer, that it

¹ Winkelm. Hist. de l'Art, t. i. p. 176, sqq.

² Plin. xxxiv. 41.

³ Eustath. ad Il. β. p. 222. Cf. Herod. vii. 61. i. 164. Sch. Aristoph. Pac. 620. Nub. 179.

⁴ Eustath. ad Il. β. p. 222. 28, sqq. Steph. de Urb. v. Λακεδαιμίων. p. 505, c. seq.

⁵ Cf. Sch. Aristoph. Vesp. 155. 200, seq. Poll. i. 77. Eurip. Orest. 1577. Aesch. Sept. 378. Schol. Thucyd. l. ii. t. v. p. 371. Iliad. δ. 132. μ 121.

⁶ Herod. i. 68. Athen. iii. 71. xiv. 57. Sch. Aristoph. Ach. 853. Poll. x. 45.

often possessed the greatest excellence and beauty from the perfection to which they had undoubtedly brought the manufacture of arms. In this branch of industry the Delphians would seem to have obtained celebrity, though the form and uses of their knives, alluded to in a comparison by Aristotle,¹ can be looked upon only as matter of conjecture. It seems to me, that, like Hudibras' dagger, they would serve for a variety of purposes, as a poignard for example, as a sacrificial instrument, and as a common knife :

When it had stabbed, or broke a head,
It would scrape trenchers or chip bread,
Toast cheese or bacon, though it were
To bait a mousetrap 'twould not care.

There was a very elegant sort of knives among the Athenians, adorned with ivory handles, delicately carved with the figures of animals, among which was that of a crouching lioness.² For this purpose the ivory was frequently stained of different colours, as pink, or crimson, or purple, according to the fancy of the workman. Knife-handles were sometimes also made of the roots of the lotos,³ which, no doubt, took a fine polish and were beautifully clouded. Their scissors, bodkins, sailmakers' needles, common needles, pins,⁴ and other articles of this description, would seem to have been manufactured with much neatness.

But the most flourishing trade in Greece was probably that of the armourer,⁵ which, at almost every period of her history, was in constant request. Many, probably, of the useful arts owed much of the progress they made to the passion of the Greeks for arms, which led them industriously to study and

¹ Polit. i. 1.

² Schol. Aristoph. Lysist. 231.

³ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 3. 3.

⁴ Poll. ii. 37.

⁵ See an elegant representation of a columnar anvil which we may infer was used by armourers. *Gemme Antiche, Figurate di Leonardo Agostini*, pt. ii. tav. 36.

invent whatever could add to their splendour or efficiency. We need not now go back to the times when sticks and stones and pointed reeds formed the national weapons.¹ Among the very first steps in civilisation were improvements in the art of self-defence; for, wherever men have found it necessary to create property, they have felt it to be equally so to invent weapons for protecting themselves in the enjoyment of it. Accordingly the Greeks, long before the birth of history, had surrounded themselves by numerous instruments of destruction, and learned to cover their bodies with armour infinitely varied in materials and workmanship.

Upon none of their weapons, however, did they bestow greater attention than on the sword, which if it did not, as among certain barbarians, constitute one of the objects of their worship,² was in most cases their inseparable companion through life, and descended with them even to the grave. Thus we find, that, when Cimon opened, at Scyros, the grave of Theseus, the national hero of Attica, he found beside the skeleton a spearhead and sword of brass.³ Their blades were of many different shapes

¹ Goguet. i. 165.

² Thus, speaking of the Alani, Ammianus Marcellinus relates: *Nec templum apud eos visitur, aut delubrum ne tugurium quidem culmo tectum cerni usquam potest: sed gladius barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus, eumque ut Martem, regionum quas circumcircant præsulem verecundiùs colunt.* l. xxxi. c. 2. p. 673. Ed. Gronov. 1693. Pomp. Mel. ii. 1. In Justin too, we find relics of the worship paid of old to arms: *Ab origine rerum, pro diis immortalibus veteres hastas coluere.* xliii. 3. At Chæronea in Bœotia there subsisted, down to very late times, the worship of a sceptre on which they bestowed

the name of the Spear. *Θεῶν δὲ μάλιστα Χαιρωνεῖς τιμῶσι τὸ σκῆπτρον δ ποιῆσαι Διὶ φησιν Ὅμηρος Ἡφαιστον, παρὰ δὲ Διὸς λαβόντα Ἑρμῆν δοῦναι Πέλοπι, Πέλοπα δὲ Ἀτρεΐ καταλιπεῖν, τὸν δὲ Ἀτρεά Θυέστη, παρὰ Θυέστου δὲ ἔχειν Ἀγαμέμνονα· τοῦτο οὖν τὸ σκῆπτρον σέβουσι, δόρν ὀνομάζοντες.* Pausan. ix. 40. 11.

³ Plut. Thes. § 36. The practice of burying weapons with the dead prevailed also down to a very late period among the Romans; for in a stone coffin of Imperial times recently discovered at Héronval in Normandy, a sword was found by the warrior's side, together with a stylus, a buckler, rings, and other ornaments. Times, June 17, 1842.

and dimensions: they had the long, sharp, double-edged rapier; the short cut and thrust; the crooked scimitar, the sabre, and the broad-sword.¹ These were generally of the finest steel, highly polished, and sometimes damaskened exactly like those blades afterwards manufactured at Damascus. The sheath was sometimes of ivory, sometimes of gold or silver or tin or other inferior metal.² To the first-mentioned substance we have an allusion in a saying of Diogenes, who on hearing a handsome young man make use of low language, exclaimed: "How shameless! to draw forth a sword of lead from a sheath of ivory."³ The hilts were often extremely superb, of costly materials, and wrought in the most fanciful shapes. We read, for example, of sword-handles studded or inlaid with gold, or even composed entirely of that metal, or of silver.⁴ Ivory too, and amber,⁵ and terebinth,⁶ polished and black as ebony, and a variety of other woods and substances, stained black with nut-gall,⁷ were employed for this purpose. The father of Demosthenes, who kept a large manufactory of arms, left behind him a considerable quantity of ivory and gall-nuts⁸ which he had purchased as well for his own use as to supply other armourers in a smaller way. Of daggers there were various kinds, some of a larger size, worn suspended on the thigh with the sword, as the hunting knife was by the Persian youth; others much smaller, which seem to have been carried about concealed under the armpit, as is still the fashion in the East. To this practice Socrates alludes in his conversation with Polos of Agrigentum,⁹ on the power possessed in states by tyrants, whom he com-

¹ Pollux makes mention of the Celtic broadsword. i. 149.

² Winkel. Hist. del' Art. i. 34.

³ Diog. Laert. vi. 2. 65.

⁴ Poll. x. 141. 144. Damm. Lexicon, 395.

⁵ Eustath. ad Odyss. 3. 150. 16.

⁶ Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 3. 2.

⁷ On the production of the gall-nut, see Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 5. 2, and Cf. Valmont de Bomare Dict. d'Hist. Nat. t. iii. p. 8.

⁸ Demosth. in Aphob. § 4. 8.

⁹ Plat. Gorg. t. iii. p. 50.

pares to one who should go forth into the market-place with an enchiridion concealed about him, and for that reason fancy it in his power to take away every man's life, because he could undoubtedly kill any one he pleased.

Next in importance perhaps was the manufacture of javelins and spears.¹ Of the former, the heads,² light though sometimes broad, were mounted on slender ashen shafts shod with iron, or on the long Cretan reed³ which abounded in the marshes about Halimartos in Boeotia. These javelins, in more modern times, were furnished with a looped thong, by which when the darter had missed his aim, they could be drawn back.⁴ The best kind were supposed to be manufactured in Boeotia. Spear-shafts were likewise sometimes of ash,⁵ but more frequently of cornel wood,⁶ and occasionally, as in the case of the Macedonian sarissa, eighteen feet long. Like the javelin, the spear also was shod sharp with iron, in order the more easily to be fixed upright in the earth, when soldiers slept abroad in the fields.⁷ This part of the iron-work, which was hollow and received the shaft into it, is said to have been shaped like a lizard, doubtless represented as holding the point of the handle in its mouth. Projections resembling legs extended on both sides, designed to prevent the spear from sinking too deep into the ground. In the lances of the cavalry there was, as some suppose, a small notch to receive the point of the horseman's foot when mounting his steed. The spear-head, generally of iron or steel, was among the Arab allies of Xerxes formed of goat's horn, fashioned like the iron of a lance.⁸

¹ Poll. i. 143.

² Spearheads were sometimes poisoned with the juice of the dorycnion. Plin. xxi. 81.

³ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 11. 13. Plut. Lysand. § 28. Dioscor. i. 94.

⁴ Poll. i. 136. x. 143.

⁵ Sibthorp. Flora Græca, tab. 4.

⁶ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 12. 1, seq.

⁷ Poll. i. 136. x. 143.

⁸ Herod. vii. 69.

The bows¹ of the ancients were most commonly composed of horn, tipped with gold or other metal at either end. Among the barbarous nations there were those who manufactured them of cane or palm-branches, or even of the long stem of the date.² The bowstring was of thong or horse-hair. Reeds generally constituted the shafts of their arrows,³ which were headed with iron or copper, or hard pointed stones, as those of the Arabs in the army of Xerxes, who employed for this purpose the same stones wherewith they engraved their seals.⁴ Arrows were frequently winged with eagles' feathers, and tinged at the point with poison.⁵ In sieges they were often armed with fire.⁶

Besides the above, there were several other implements of destruction. The Greeks made use of the club, the battle-axe, and the sling.⁷ And a tribe of barbarians, once mentioned in history, depended entirely on their daggers, and a noosed rope of twisted thongs,⁸ which they used for entangling and overthrowing man or horse, much in the same

¹ On the Scythian bow, see Plat. de Legg. t. viii. p. 15; on the Cretan, Poll. i. 45. 149; on arrows, Athen. x. 18.

² Poll. i. 244. Herod. vii. 64, 65. 69.

³ Herod. vii. 61. Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 11. 11. Dioscor. i. 114. The Parthian kings, we are told, addicted themselves with pride to the forging and sharpening of arrow-heads: it may be presumed, because the bow was the national weapon of their country. Plut. Demet. § 20. The arrow-heads of the Indians were of unusually large dimensions. Plut. Alexand. § 63. That the arrow-heads of the ancient Scythians were of bronze appears from the following relation of Herodotus. Ariantas, a king of Scythia, desirous of

ascertaining the number of his subjects, commanded them, on pain of death, to bring him each an arrow-head. His people obeyed the order; and when he had satisfied himself respecting their number, he ordered a huge vessel to be cast with the bronze, which, in the age of the Father of History, still existed at a place called Exampæos, between the Borys-thenes and the Hypanis. It was six inches thick, and contained six hundred amphoræ. iv. 81.

⁴ Herod. vii. 69.

⁵ Phot. Bib. 445. 21. Poll. i. 138.

⁶ Poll. i. 42.

⁷ Id. i. 149. Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 181.

⁸ Poll. ii. 30. Herod. vii. 85.

manner as the lasso is now employed in the Pampas of South America.

If we turn now to their armour, we shall find that they displayed in its manufacture the greatest possible skill, taste, and ingenuity. Their helmets, cuirasses, shields, cuisses, and greaves, were made of polished steel, or brass, or tin, sometimes curiously figured, and inlaid with metals of many different colours, and polished to an exceeding brightness,¹ sometimes adorned with representations in relief. Frequently they went cased in shirts of mail, composed of innumerable small metallic plates, lapping over each other so as to resemble the scales of fishes. Occasionally the opulent appeared on the field of battle in golden armour,² though this piece of ostentation was chiefly confined to the barbarians.³ The armourers' craft, however, seems to have gone on improving in proportion as the courage of the nation deteriorated, until at length, in Macedonian times, armour of enormous weight, and, literally, impenetrable, came into use. Thus Zoilos manufactured for Demetrios Poliorcetes two coats-of-mail,⁴ of a steel so hard, that the surface could scarcely be grazed by an arrow discharged from a catapult. The whole suit weighed no less than one hundred and thirty pounds, exactly twice as much as an ordinary suit of armour.

Helmets⁵ were manufactured of numerous materials. First, in the ruder ages, they were in reality nothing more than so many close skull-caps made of the skins⁶ of otters or water-dogs, with the hair on,⁷

¹ Herod. ix. 21. i. 15.

² Id. i. 215.

³ On one occasion we find the magistrates of Thessaly coming forth with panoply of gold to meet the ashes of Pelopidas. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν πόλεων, ὡς ἀπηγγέλθη ταῦτα, παρήσαν αἱ τ' ἀρχαί, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἔφηβοι καὶ παῖδες καὶ ἱερεῖς, πρὸς τὴν ὑποδοκὴν τοῦ σώματος, τρό-

παια καὶ στεφάνους καὶ πανοπλίας χρυσᾶς ἐπιφέροντες. Plut. Pelopid. § 33.

⁴ Plut. Demet. § 21.

⁵ Poll. i. 148, seq. Herod. i. 171. Gitone, Il Costume, tav. 40. Feith, Antiquitat. Homer. iv. 8. p. 316, seq.

⁶ Goguet, Orig. des Loix, iv. 322.

⁷ Herod. vii. 75.

or foxes, or weasels, or goats, or bulls, or lions. But as the arts of civilisation improved, metal casques were soon substituted for these primitive defences, some of which, of wrought steel, were highly polished, and shone like burnished silver. That of Alexander was manufactured by Theophilos.¹ The helmet consisted of a variety of parts: as, first, the casque itself, inlaid with brass and iron,² which enclosed and defended the head, the front brim projecting over the forehead; the vizor, which dropped over the whole face; the strap, often richly embroidered or studded with jewels,³ passing under the chin; and the ridge, or cone, on the summit, from which rose the plumes, or crest.⁴ This crest, double, treble, or even quadruple, according to the taste or fancy of the wearer, sometimes consisted of long drooping ostrich feathers,⁵ sometimes of horse-hair, either black or dyed of different colours, which, trembling and floating over the warrior's head, appeared to augment his stature while it added to the terror of his aspect. King Pyrrhos, we are told, wore upon his helmet the horns of a goat, symbolical of the power of Macedon;⁶ and the Asiatic Thracians flanked their crests with the horns and ears of an ox in brass.⁷ To break the force of blows from clubs or heavy battle-axes, the crown of the helmet was thickly lined with sponge or soft wool.⁸ Mention is likewise made of helmets of plaited cord of wood and leather,⁹ and the skins of horses' heads, retaining the ears and the mane.¹⁰

In the manufacture of corslets and cuirasses¹¹ much industry and ability was exhibited. The former were

¹ Plut. Alex. 32.

² Herod. vii. 84.

³ Plut. Alex. § 32.

⁴ Cf. Poll. i. 135. Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 1188. 389. Plut. Alex. and. § 16. The close helmets, without crests, were sometimes ornamented with feathers, much after the Indian fashion. Gitone, Il Costume, tav. 42.

⁵ Plin. Nat. Hist. x. 1. Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 4. 5.

⁶ Plut. Pyrrh. § 11.

⁷ Herod. vii. 76.

⁸ Brunck. not. in Aristoph. Acharn. 439.

⁹ Herod. vii. 77. 79. 89.

¹⁰ Id. vii. 70.

¹¹ Poll. i. 148, seq.

generally composed of linen or hempen twine curiously wrought, and doubled or trebled according to the desire of the purchaser,¹ and worn chiefly in the chase;² others consisted of thick leathern jerkins, covered with metallic scales,³ single, double, or treble, and fastened to each other by a series of hooks. In lieu of these plates was sometimes substituted a coating of intertwisted rings, resembling in some respects the chain armour of a later age. Wooden cuirasses were also sometimes worn.⁴ The Sarmatians⁵ possessing no iron, headed their darts and javelins with bone, and employed very extraordinary materials in the manufacture of their cuirasses. Collecting carefully all the hoofs of such horses as died, they cut them into laminæ, resembling in form the scales of a fish. These they sewed together with the nerves of horses or oxen, and thus produced a species of breastplate which for elegance and utility was scarcely inferior to those of the Greeks. In the manufacture of linen corslets⁶ the Egyptians displayed peculiar excellence, at least the description of one of them which history has preserved is calculated to create a very high idea of their ingenuity. It was curiously wrought, we are told, with fine bobbins, each composed of three hundred and sixty threads, distinctly visible, adorned with numerous figures of animals interwoven with cotton and gold.⁷ Among the Greeks this piece of armour was often richly embroidered by the ladies of the warrior's family, whom, on more than one occasion, we find busy at this task on the eve of battle. The cuirasses of brass or steel were finely polished and buttoned under the arm. Even the horses were furnished with breastplates and frontlets,⁸ and occasionally their flanks also were protected by armour. The

¹ Cf. Herod. vii. 89.

² Paus. i. 21. 7. vi. 19. 7.

³ Cf. Paus. ix. 26. 8.

⁴ Etym. Mag. 288. 48.

⁵ Paus. i. 21. 6.

⁶ Cf. Herod. ii. 182.

⁷ Herod. iii. 47. Plin. xix. 1. Ælian. Hist. An. ix. 17. Plut. Alex. § 32.

⁸ Poll. ii. 162. 167.

warrior's greaves¹ were manufactured of copper, brass, tin, or other metal, and fastened about the legs with silver buttons. Archers seem commonly to have worn a species of gloves or fingerlings.²

The manufacture of shields³ underwent great fluctuations at different periods of Grecian history, and even in the same age there existed numerous and extraordinary differences in their materials, form, and structure. In early times they consisted simply of a piece of circular basket-work, plaited for the sake of lightness with vine-branches⁴ or willows; or were made of a solid piece of wood scooped into the proper form, and covered with one or more coats of leather. The wood usually preferred for this use was that of the elder, the beach, the poplar, and the fig; and the leather was generally tough bull-hide,⁵ with or without the hair, though we read of nations, as the Ethiopians, who made use for this purpose of the skins of cranes.⁶ The same people at the present day have discovered that the hide of the crocodile, dressed with the scales on, forms a better integument for their bucklers. Among the Homeric heroes the wooden framework was protected by many folds of leather, amounting sometimes to seven, to which were added plates of brass, silver, gold, or tin. Even when the face of the shield was composed of some inferior metal, the rim seems frequently to have been of gold.

In later times shields were usually manufactured of brass or steel, wrought and fashioned with the greatest care, and polished like a mirror. Occasionally, likewise, they were inlaid with purple, ivory, and gold,⁷ or painted white, or crusted with gold and silver, as among the Samnites.⁸ From the remotest

¹ Gitone, *Il Costume*, tav. 38, where we find representations of battle-axes, quivers, bows, swords, etc.

² Constant. *Lexic.* v. *χειρίδες*.

³ Poll. i. 148, seq.

⁴ Theoph. *Hist. Plant.* v. 3. 4. v. 7. 7. Thucyd. iv. 9.

⁵ Herod. vii. 79.

⁶ Id. vii. 70.

⁷ Poll. i. 134.

⁸ Winkel. *Hist. de l'Art*, i. 276.

antiquity, moreover, it was customary to paint upon shields a number of devices, each warrior selecting one for himself,¹ which, like the armorial bearings of the knights of chivalry, distinguished him from his comrades in battle. Thus Persens chose the head of the Gorgon Medusa;² Tydeus the aspect of the face of the mighty heavens, including the full moon, surrounded by flaming stars;³ Eteocles bore before him the figure of a warrior scaling a lofty tower, while Hippomedon selected, as the emblem of his character, the figure of Typhœos breathing forth fire and smoke. Every reader will remember the varied imagery that crowded the shield of the Homeric Achilles, together with the scenes which Hesiod, in imitation, depicts on the buckler of Heracles. In the historical period⁴ the people of Sicyon had a sigma, the initial letter in the name of their capital, painted on their shields.⁵ These ornaments, as well as the handles, it is said, owed their origin to the invention of the Carians. The form of the shield exhibited much variety. One kind, for example, was small and circular,⁶ another oblong or parallelogrammatic, and of dimensions so large as to cover the whole body, and allow the fallen warrior to be borne home on it as upon a bier; others were rhomboidal,⁷ or semilunar, or shaped like an ivy-leaf. But whatever may have been their figure, there always projected from the centre of the external face a large boss, with a smaller one, generally pointed, on the middle of it. This the soldiers dashed in the countenances of the enemy. Within,

¹ Sch. Aristoph. Acharn. 548.

² Epaminondas had a dragon on his shield as a device. Pausan. viii. 11. 8.

³ Sept. Cont. Theb. 367. 447. 471.

⁴ The device of Demosthenes was, "To Good Fortune." Plut. Demosth. § 20.

⁵ Xenoph. Hellen. iv. 4. 10. It has been conjectured, that the

Arcadian allies of Epaminondas painted the letter Θ on their shields; that they might appear to be transformed into Thebans. Schneid. ad Xen. Hellen. vii. 5. 20. The Lacedæmonians painted the letter Λ on their shields. Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. i. 18.

⁶ Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 18.

⁷ Petit. de Amazon. xxv. 169.

two bars, stretching from rim to rim, and crossing each other like the letter X, gave the warrior, who passed his left arm behind them, greater power over his defence, while a smaller handle, on the fore part of the shield, received his grasp.¹ Occasionally, the place of these bars was supplied by metallic or wooden handles, exactly of a size to receive the arm; and, by means of a leathern strap, the buckler, when marching, was usually suspended on the shoulder.² In time of peace both the shield and the helmet were laid up, each in its appropriate case.³ Besides the manufacturers of arms, who supplied states with large orders, there were numerous armourers on a smaller scale,⁴ whose shops exhibited a rich and varied assortment of shields, helmets, and every kind of weapon.

The metals employed in the fabrication of arms were obtained partly from mines found in Greece itself, partly by commerce from the surrounding countries.⁵ On the methods of mining which prevailed among the Greeks our information is peculiarly scanty. We know, however, that, at Laurion,⁶ the Athenians made use of both shafts and adits, and that in chambering they employed much timber.⁷ To prevent the falling in of the superincumbent mountain there were left at intervals vast pillars,⁸ the cutting away of which was by law prohibited on pain of death. In the potter's-clay mines

¹ Cf. Sch. Aristoph. Pac. 645. Acharn. 1087. From certain ancient monuments it appears, that a small thin cushion ran along behind the arm on the interior of the shield. Giton. Il Costume, tav. 39. Cf. Zoëga, Bassi Rilievi, tav. 47, for the figure of Capaneus advancing his shield as if in combat.

² Sch. Aristoph. Eq. 846. 855.

³ Sch. Aristoph. Acharn. 548.

⁴ Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 439.

⁵ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 21. Herod. v. 17. vi. 46. vii. 112. Thucyd. i. 101. Plut. Cim. § 14.

⁶ On the price of mining shares, Dem. adv. Pantæn. § 6. Schol. Eq. 1089.

⁷ Cf. Petit, Legg. Att. vii. 12. p. 543.

⁸ Μεσοκρινεῖς κίονες, οἱ ἐν τοῖς μετάλλοις ὑφεισθηκότες ἀνέχειν τὰ ὀρύγματα. Poll. vii. 98.

of Samos, where the veins, running generally between beds of rock, were exceedingly shallow, seldom exceeding two feet in depth, the miners, as in the thin veins of our own coal mines, were compelled while at work to lie on their back or sides, which, it may be presumed, was the practice in other mines under similar circumstances. Whether they possessed any means of protecting themselves against the fire-damps or malaria,¹ which, we know, prevailed greatly at Laurion,² is a matter of much uncertainty. In Spain, the mines ran deep into the earth, and were of prodigious extent, having transverse passages and caverns of great dimensions and elevation.

In an old shaft discovered in the mountains of Santo Spirito,³ the sides were supported by masonry; large pools of water were found in some of the chambers, while the explorers could hear afar off the incessant roar of waterfalls. Here and there the passages were nearly blocked up by masses of gold and silver ore.⁴

How the water was drained off, or the ore brought to the surface of the earth, no ancient author has explained. When extracted, however, it was pounded in a stone mortar with an iron pestle, then passed through a sieve, and transferred to the smelting furnace.⁵

The account transmitted to us of the gold mines of Egypt may probably throw some light on the practice which prevailed among the Greeks. In them we find an almost exact type of the degrading toil and disregard of danger and decency recently brought to light among our own subterranean

¹ Theoph. de Lapid. § 52.

² Λέγεται βαρὺ τὸ χωρίον εἶναι. Xenoph. Memor. iii. 6. 12.

³ The mountain districts of Spain, in which the mines were situated, are described by Pliny

to be so utterly barren, that they produce nothing but ore. Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 21.

⁴ "Times," March 24, 1841.

⁵ Vitruv. vii. 7. Demosth. in Pantænet. § 6. Harpocrat. v. κεγκρεῶν. Suid. t. i. p. 1428. a.

population. There, indeed, the workmen were forced to their task by the direct compulsion of a tyrannical government; while in Great Britain the constraint is enveloped by a cloud of circumstances which conceal, though they scarcely soften, the stern laws of necessity.

The Egyptian gold mines were situated in the great eastern desert, on the shores of the Red Sea. They had been worked from the remotest antiquity; in proof of which it is related, that copper pickaxes were frequently found in the deserted shafts and galleries, beside incredible heaps of human bones, relics of the multitudes who had perished there by malaria, or fire-damps, or the falling of rocks, or more probably from the incessant oppression to which they were subjected.¹ In fact the benevolent historian,² to whom we are indebted for nearly all we know on this curious subject, felt so strongly for the sufferings of these wretched artificers of Egyptian grandeur, that he pronounced death in their case to be more desirable than life.³ But the most miserable possess resources and springs of gratification unknown to philosophers and the professors of literature; and, we may be sure, that even those outcasts who brought up gold from the bowels of the earth to adorn the thrones and palaces of the Pharaohs, knew how to extract from their bitter employment some few sweets of sufficient efficacy to render life endurable.

No doubt the processes of those early times were sufficiently rude. When about to open a new shaft

¹ The same excessive waste of human life has been observable in all countries where mines have been worked on a large scale: "Juan Gonzales de Alzevedo "assuroit en 1609, que le nombre "des indigènes étoit diminué de "moitié dans les environs des "mines du Pérou, et d'un tiers en

"d'autres endroits, depuis 1581." Schneider, *Observations sur Ulloa*, t. ii. p. 264.

² Agatharchid. ap. Phot. *Biblioth. Cod.* 250. p. 447. a. sqq.

³ Οἱ τοὶ πάντες οἱ τὸν εἰρημέ-
νον τῆς τύχης κληρὸν ὑπελθόντες
ποθεινότερον ἔχουσι τοῦ βίου τὸν
θάνατον. Id. p. 448. a. 38.

or adit the Inspectors of the mines appear carefully to have examined the different faces of the mountain, sombre, scarped, and barren to the last degree; and having fixed upon a spot in the face of some cliff, the first operation was to render the rock friable by the application of powerful fires, which were kindled with wood at its base. The more robust of the workmen then proceeded with their pickaxes to the excavation of the galleries, which seldom or never proceeded in a right line; but following the direction of the metallic veins, mounted, descended, branched off obliquely to the left or to the right; and progressing in this manner, sometimes perforated the whole bulk of the mountain, and striking downwards, like the roots of trees, extended even to the sea.¹ The men employed in *getting* the ore, followed incessantly by task-masters with instruments of chastisement in their hands, were seldom permitted to proportion their exertions to their strength; but often toiled on apparently till they dropped, when their bones joined the heaps of those who had fallen before them. While thus engaged, more especially when united in great numbers they had clambered the rocks to a considerable height, they presented an extraordinary spectacle; for each miner² carried a lamp bound to his forehead, though how, when they bent or kneeled, or worked sideways, it

¹ Similar excavations in the mountain of Potosi are thus described by Don Antonio d'Ulloa :
 “ Le mont du Potosi doit être
 “ considéré comme l'intérieur d'
 “ une ruche à miel, vu le nombre
 “ des percemens, des galeries, des
 “ fouilles qu'on y remarque. C'est
 “ ce qu'on se figurera facilement,
 “ en se représentant la quantité
 “ prodigieuse de matières qu'on a
 “ tirées de son intérieur, pour ob-
 “ tener les minerais qui s'y trou-
 “ vent répandus partout, et des-
 “ quels on extrait l'argent. S'il

“ étoit donc possible de le dé-
 “ couvrir totalement de sa croûte
 “ externe, on y appercevrait un
 “ nombre infini de routes souter-
 “ reines percées sans suite, et
 “ comme au hasard, selon la di-
 “ rection des veines métalliques.”
 Mémoires Philosophiques, t. i.
 p. 289.

² Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν λύχνους προσ-
 δεδεμένους τοῖς μετώποις ἔχοντες
 λατομοῦσιν, ἀκολουθοῦντες οἶον
 φλεβὶ τῇ λευκανθίζοντι. Phot
 Bib. p. 448. a.

escaped being extinguished seems difficult of explanation.

The laborious operation of collecting and *hurrying* the ore was performed by boys of tender age, who deposited it beyond the mouth of the shaft. Another class of workmen, consisting chiefly of the aged and the infirm, now bore the metalliferous stones to that part of the works where the founders were stationed. These were powerful and robust men in the flower of their age, who, with large stone mortars and iron pestles, reduced, under the eye of rigid Inspectors, the ore to small fragments not exceeding a vetch in size.¹ This done, it was transferred to the mills which were turned by women, the wives and daughters of the miners, who, with the exception of a slender covering about the waist, were entirely naked, misery in all times and places rendering people contemptuous of appearances and indifferent to morality.² These mills, heavy no doubt and difficult to work, were turned by six women, three on either side. They would appear, however, to have answered well the purpose for which they were designed, since the ore, we are told, was reduced by them to the fineness of flour; after which it was handed over to the Selangeus, the last link in that long chain of operators which connected the mine with the smelting furnace. The business of the Selangeus consisted in separating the metal from the matrix in which it had been produced. For this purpose, the auriferous dust was cast in a heap upon a broad polished board slightly inclined,³ and there washed and triturated until the greater part of the terrene particles had been, by soft sponges

¹ Cf. Diod. Sicul. iii. 13.

² Οὗτος δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ πόνος τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν εἰς τὰς φυλακὰς συναπηγμένων ἀνδράσιν ἢ γονεῦσι. Μύλοι γὰρ ἐξῆς πλείους βεβήκασιν, ἐφ' οὓς τὸν ἐπιτισμένον ἐπιβάλλουσι λίθον· καὶ παρα-

στάσαι τρεῖς ἐκατέρωθεν πρὸς τὴν μίαν κώπην, οὕτως ἐζωσμέναι δυσπροσόπτως ὥστε μόνον τὴν αἰσχύνην τοῦ σώματος κρύπτειν, ἀλήθουσιν. Phot. Bib. p. 448. a.

³ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 21.

and water, separated from the gold, which was next put into earthen vessels with small quantities of lead, tin, salt, and barley-bran, and placed in the smelting furnace, where it was subjected, for five days and nights, to the flames. This done, the virgin gold came forth glittering and pure as if it had not been wrung from human agony or sullied by human tears.

In the smelting furnaces of Greece, notwithstanding the doubts of Reitemeier, which Boeckh is contented to combat with mere inferences,¹ it is quite certain that charcoal was used,²—in the first smelting, that of the aria, the arbutus, and the oak, of which the last was least esteemed; and in the second, that of the pitch-pine. In the iron mines the charcoal of the Eubœan walnut-tree was preferred for second smelting.

This leads us to speak of the preparation of charcoal, which was effected in the following manner:—having excavated a circular cavity in the earth, they pitched or paved it at bottom, and piling up to a great height the billets of wood, which were selected for their straightness in order that they might lie as close as possible, covered over the whole with earth and turf, so as to form a circular mound, like a barrow. The heap was then set on fire, and the covering pierced on all sides with spits, to provide a vent for the smoke. The fire having been kept burning for the proper time, which is not stated, the charcoal was removed and laid by for use.³ Extensive works of this kind were established at the borough of Acharnè, in Attica, which was supplied

¹ “ That the Athenians made
“ use of the bellows and of char-
“ coal is not improbable; the lat-
“ ter, indeed, may be fairly in-
“ ferred from the account of the
“ charcoal-sellers, or rather char-
“ coal-burners, from which busi-
“ ness a large portion of the
“ Acharnians in particular ob-

“ tained their livelihood.” Dis-
sertation on the Mines of Lau-
rion. Pub. Econ., &c. t. ii. p.
443.

² Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 9. 1,
sqq.

³ Id. v. 9. 5. ix. 3. 1.

with wood, chiefly the scarlet oak, from the forests on Mount Parnes.¹

Much stress was laid by Hellenic artificers on the materials from which the charcoal was manufactured: thus smiths, braziers, and other handicraftsmen preferred that of the pitch-pine to what was made from the oak, because it exhibited a greater tractability to the bellows, keeping up a more enduring flame, and being less liable to sudden extinction, though inferior in force. Generally, in fact, all dry woods furnish a brisker and a brighter flame. Twigs and small branches, as the Greek philosophers had observed, yield, while burning, the fiercest heat; but it was supposed that they were too deficient in body to be profitably converted into charcoal. In France, however, and other parts of the Continent, we find twigs no bigger than goose-quills used for this purpose. Some kinds of wood, it was observed, produce in burning a far greater quantity of smoke than others.² Of these are all such as delight in humid situations, as the platane and the willow, with the black and white poplar. The vine,³ too, while moist, stands in the same category, though it yield the palm to the date-palm, which enjoyed among the ancients the reputation of being the smokiest tree that grows.⁴ In sharpness, however, the smoke of the fig-tree was supposed to excel, together with that of the wild fig-tree,⁵ and generally all such natives of the forest as abound in a milky juice. Nevertheless, having been barked, steeped in running-water, and dried again,⁶ these same kinds of wood were freer than all others from

¹ Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 302, 587. Diog. Laert. i. 8. 5.

² Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 9. 5.

³ Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 326. Lysist. 308. The Haliphloios, a species of oak, was supposed by the ancients to be peculiarly obnoxious to lightning, on which account the Æolians never used its

wood in sacrifice. Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 8. 52. 5. Cf. v. 1. 2.

⁴ Τοῦ τε δυσκαπνοτάτου φοίνικος ἐκ γῆς ῥιζοφοιτήτους φλέβας. Chæremon, ap. Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 9. 5.

⁵ Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 145. Plut. Sympos. v. 9.

⁶ Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 9. 5.

smoke, and yielded the softest and purest flame.¹ The same thing is remarked of wood which had been washed with the lees of oil.²

In Egypt, where charcoal is at present procured chiefly from the wood of the acacia, and supplied in most cases from the Desert, it was anciently prepared, especially for the use of smiths, from the long, tough, triangular roots of the sari,³ (*Cyperus fastigiatus*), which resembled those of the papyrus, likewise burnt for fuel.⁴ The smiths of Hellas,⁵ however, were not reduced to depend entirely upon charcoal, since both in Liguria and Elis, on the road, it has been conjectured, leading over Mount Pholoë to Olympia,⁶ pits had been opened whence the forges were supplied with fossil coal.

We may here observe, by the way, that the ancients, instead of flint and steel, or lucifer matches, made use, in kindling a fire, of a curious apparatus

¹ Among the uses of charcoal was that of being rammed down under the foundations of temples, as in that of Artemis at Ephesos: *Rursus ne in lubrico atque instabili fundamenta tantæ molis locarentur, calcatis ea substravere carbonibus dein velleribus lanæ.* Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 21. On the incorruptibility of charcoal, St. Augustin, who loved to declaim a little, thus writes: — “ Quid ? in carbonibus nonne miranda est, et tanta infirmitas, “ ut ictu levissimo frangantur, “ pressu facillime conterantur : et “ tanta firmitas ut nullo humore “ corrumpantur, nulla ætate vincantur, usque adeo ut eos sub- “ sternere soleant . . . Quis eos in “ terra humida effossos, ubi ligna “ putrescerent, tamdiu durare incorruptibilior posse, nisi rerum “ ille corruptor ignis effecit ? ” De Civitat. Dei, xxxi. 4. The charcoal was thus employed by the

advice of Theodoros, the son of Rhæcos, the Samian. Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ συμβουλευσας ἄνθρακας ὑποτεθῆναι τοῖς θεμελίοις τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ νεώ. Καθύγρου γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ τύπου, τοὺς ἄνθρακας ἔφη, τὸ ξυλῶδες ἀποβαλόντας, αὐτὸ τὸ στερεὸν ἀπαθὲς ἔχειν ὕδατι. Diog. Laert. ii. 8. § 19.

² Plin. Nat. Hist. xv. 8. Cf. Martial. xiii. 15.

³ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 8. 5.

⁴ Id. Hist. Plant. iv. 8. 4. Dioscor. i. 115.

⁵ Οὗς δὲ καλοῦσιν εὐθὺς ἄνθρακας τῶν θρυπτομένων διὰ τὴν χρείαν, εἰς γέωδεις ἐκκαίονται δὲ καὶ πυροῦνται καθάπερ οἱ ἄνθρακες. Εἰς δὲ περί τε τὴν Λιγυστικὴν, ὅπου καὶ τὸ ἤλεκτρον, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἡλείᾳ βαδίζόντων Ὀλυμπιάζει τὴν δι' ὄρους, οἷς καὶ οἱ χαλκοὶ χρῶνται. Theoph. de Lapid. § 16.

⁶ Annot. ad Theoph. iv. 552. Xen. Anab. v. 3. 10. Strab. viii. p. 145. Sieb.

still employed in the East:¹ it consisted of two parts, the one hollowed out like a diminutive mortar, the other resembling a pestle, which was inserted into it, and turned round with extreme velocity until sparks were produced. This necessary piece of furniture² was most commonly manufactured of ivy, or laurel, or clematis, and was something of the *ramnus ilex*, or linden-tree; in short, of nearly all trees, except the olive. Generally, however, it was thought best to make the two parts of the instrument of different kinds of wood. It was observed that, with these contrivances, fire kindled more readily during the prevalence of the north than the south wind, and on high places than in hollows. At Rome the vestal virgins originated the sacred fire by means of a kind of mirror, and the power of burning-glasses was not unknown.³ Nay, things resembling our lucifer matches were possessed by certain jugglers, though they do not appear to have passed into general use, either because the inventors refused to divulge their secret, or from the natural slowness of mankind to profit by useful discoveries.⁴

¹ Plat. de Repub. t. vi. p. 194.

³ Aristoph. Nub. 758. Cf.

² Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 9. 4, Orph. Lith. 171. p. 111.

⁴ Athen. i. 35.

sqq.

CHAPTER V.

INDUSTRY : HOUSE-BUILDERS, CARPENTERS, CABINET-MAKERS, TURNERS, MUSICAL INSTRUMENT-MAKERS, POTTERS, GLASS-WORKERS, ETC.

ANOTHER flourishing branch of industry was that of quarrying stones for building, carried on wherever marble, or freestone, or tufa, or granite, was found.¹ The stones were usually fashioned by the axe, or saw,² in the quarry, and drawn thence by ropes. In many cases, however, as where cheapness or despatch was aimed at, bricks were substituted,³ made, in addition to the materials at present employed, from powdered tufa.⁴

In the preparation of mortar and cement the Greeks exhibited extraordinary ingenuity.⁵ They made use, in the first place, of lime procured by burning coarse marble in the ordinary way, or, se-

¹ Winkel. Hist. de l'Art. i. 37.

² Cf. Sch. Aristoph. Pac. 299.

³ Plato de Rep. t. vi. p. 15. Winkel. Hist. de l'Art, ii. 544. Goguet. iv. 11. Theoph. de Lapid. 48.

⁴ Winkelmann, ii. 544.

⁵ On one occasion, moreover, when they happened to be in lack of hods, they gave proof of no less ingenuity in their mode of carrying mortar. In the hasty construction of the fortress of Pylos, by Demosthenes and his companions, the soldiers took the mud,

which was to serve as cement, on their bare backs, stooping forward that it might not fall off, and knotting their hands on their loins beneath their burden: καὶ τὸν πηλὸν, εἶπον δέοι χρῆσθαι, ἀγγείων ἀπορία, ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου ἔφερον, ἐγκεκυφότες τε, ὥς μάλιστα μέλλοι ἐπιμένειν, καὶ τὸ χεῖρε ἐς τὸνπίσω ξυμπλέκοντες, ὅπως μὴ ἀποκίπτοι. Thucyd. iv. 4. The reader will, doubtless, be struck by the picturesque energy with which the great historian relates this humble fact.

condly, obtained from sea-shells, or stones picked up on the banks of rivers. A superior kind of cement was made from those stones used in the manufacture of gypsum, which was so firm and durable, that it was frequently found to outlast the materials which it had been employed to unite. It was prepared by being reduced to powder, and mixed with water, and afterwards well stirred with a piece of wood, since it was too hot to admit of the hands being used. When removed from old walls it might be burnt and prepared a second and a third time, as originally from the stone.¹ This, in Syria and Phœnicia, was used in facing the walls of houses, and in Italy for whitening them, as well as in the making of various mouldings and ornaments within.²

Frequently, also, it appears to have been employed like plaster of Paris in the casting of statues, as was that composed of powdered marble, in repairing such as by accident had been broken. An example of this was observed in the cheek of a sphynx dug up in the island of Capri.³ Instead of water, however, a tough glue, composed of the hides and horns of bulls, was employed in mixing it.⁴

In the roofing of houses pantiles were commonly made use of;⁵ instead of which, as they were fragile and easily broken by hailstones, tiles of Pentelic marble, invented by Byzes of Naxos,⁶ were

¹ Theoph. de Lapid. § 65, sqq. The *κονία*, or stucco, was likewise called *ἀσβέστος*. A wall covered with this substance was called *κεκονιαμένος τοῖχος*. Schol. ad Theocrit. i. 31.

² Theoph. de Lapid. § 67.

³ Winkelm. Hist. de l'Art, ii. 81.

⁴ Dioscor. v. 164.

⁵ Luc. Contemplat. § 6.

⁶ Of this Byzes, who lived in the age of Alyattes and Astyages, Pausanias gives the following account:—τὸ δὲ εὖρημα (viz.

that of the tiles) ἀνδρὸς Ναξίου λέγουσιν εἶναι Βύζον, οὗ φασὶν ἐν Νάξῳ τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπιγραμμα εἶναι

Νάξιος Εὐεργὸς με γένει Λητοῦς πόρε, Βύζεω

Παῖς, ὃς πρότιστος τεῦξε λίθου κέραμον.

De Situ Græciæ. v. 10. 3. Cf. Poll. i. 12. Another article produced by the same handicraftsmen was the chimney-pots, *ὀπαίαι*, which appear to have been in almost universal use: *ὀπαίαν οἱ Ἀττικοὶ τὴν κεραμίδα*

often substituted in the case of temples, as that for example of Zeus at Olympia. It is mentioned incidentally by Dioscorides, that physicians used to reduce acacia-wood to powder by burning it in the tile-kilns.¹

Respecting the business of house-painters our information is exceedingly scanty ; we may infer, however, that they excelled in the imitation of woods and marbles, since they were employed in imitating on the polished surface of one stone the veins and colours characteristic of another.² Some persons covered the walls of their apartments with historical subjects,³ or landscapes, or the figures of animals in fresco.⁴ In later ages ceilings were painted, or inlaid with coloured stones,⁵ or abaculi, so as to imitate the feathers and hues of a peacock's tail.⁶

Timber for house-building,⁷ the choice of which was regulated by law,⁸ abounded in most parts of Greece, though the best and straightest was ob-

ἐκάλουν, ἢ τὴν ὀπὴν εἶχεν. Poll. ii. 54. The nature of the ὀπαία is more exactly explained by the author of the Etymologicon Magnum: κράτης δὲ φησιν ἀνοπαϊαν τὴν τὲ τρημένην κεραμίδα τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ὀροφῆς. iii. 21.

¹ Dioscor. i. 133.

² Winkelmann, ii. 68. Xenoph. Œconom. i. 3, seq.

³ Dion Chrysost. i. 261. ii. 459.

⁴ Sch. Aristoph. Pac. 153.

⁵ Plat. De Rep. t. vi. p. 353. Pollux. x. 84.

⁶ For a knowledge of this fact we are indebted to the elder Pliny: In Belgicâ provinciâ candidum lapidem serrâ, qua lignum, faciliusque etiam, secant, ad tegularum et imbricum vicem: vel si libeat, ad quæ vocant pavonacea tegendi genera, xxxvi. 44. On which Dalecampus has the

following note: Docti complures legendum putant, pavita, aut pavimenta, i. e. pavimenti modo facta et constructa. Ego pavonacea interpretor, picturatis lapidum impositorum quadris ad instar pennarum pavonis fulgentia, et splendentia, ut hodie fit in principum ædibus tegulis magnâ colorum varietate nitentibus et conspicuis. See also the note of Hardouin in loc.

⁷ Among the frailest dwellings of mankind, with the exception perhaps of the paper houses of the Japanese, we may mention those of the Nasamones described by Herodotus, composed of the stems of the asphodel intertwined with rushes: οἰκήματα δὲ σύμπηκτα ἐξ ἀνθερίκων ἐνεργμένων περὶ σχοίνους ἐστὶ, καὶ ταῦτα περιφορητά. iv. 190. Cf. v. 101.

⁸ Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 55.

tained from Macedonia and Arcadia,¹ particularly from a hollow valley near a place called Cranè, never visited by the sun, and fenced round by rocks on all sides from the winds.² Very particular rules were laid down respecting the time and manner of felling trees;³ first, wood cut in spring was most easily barked; second, if this operation was neglected it bred worms, which furrowed its whole surface like written characters; third, such as was cut when the moon was below the horizon was thought harder and less liable to decay.⁴ It may here, perhaps, be worth observing, that stones and other substances were often found grown into the trunks of wild olive-trees. This was particularly the case with that which grew in the market-place of Megara. The oracle had foretold, that when this tree should be cut down the city would be sacked and destroyed, which was brought to pass by Demetrius. On this occasion the tree being felled and sawed into planks, greaves and other articles of Athenian workmanship were found in the heart of it.⁵ Fragments of the timber remained in the time of Theophrastus.

In cutting hard wood carpenters made use of a blunt axe,⁶ which thus became sharper, while soft wood produced the contrary effect.⁷ It was customary before timber was committed to the saw to soak it for some time in water;⁸ and it is said to

¹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 2. 1.

² Id. iv. 1. 2.

³ See a curious figure of the axe, Mus. Chiaramont, pl. 21. Of the time of fruit-bearing in forest trees, see Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 4. 4. The same naturalist remarks, that the ilex, in Arcadia, was perpetually covered with acorns, the old ones not falling off till the new ones appeared. The yew and the pine blossom, he observes, a little before midsummer, and the bright yellow flowers of

the latter, are extremely beautiful in form. Ib.

⁴ Geopon. i. 6. 4. iii. 1. 2. iii. 10. 4. iii. 15. 3. Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 1. 2.

⁵ Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 2. 4.

⁶ Lucian. Jup. Confut. § 11, who elsewhere commemorates the practice of carpenters, who shut one eye that they may see the better. Icaromenip. § 14.

⁷ Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 4. 7

⁸ Id. v. 6. 4.

have been rendered incombustible by a solution of alum and certain kinds of vinegar.¹ The tools of the Greek carpenter as near as possible resembled our own; they had the saws small and great, the plane, the axe, the chisel, the square, the gimlet, the augur,² the compass,³ and, in short, whatever else could be useful in their trade. Among the paintings of Herculaneum⁴ we find the representation of a carpenter's workshop, where two winged genii are busily employed with the mallet and the saw. In making lines, &c., they used the ruddle now employed.⁵

Among the kinds of timber in most general use was the silver fir, thought to be extremely durable, in illustration of which Theophrastus relates the following circumstance: it happened at Pheneos, in Arcadia,⁶ that, owing to the obstruction of the torrent-beds, the plain was converted into a lake. To traverse this they constructed bridges of fir, and when the flood rose still higher, bridge upon bridge was erected in succession. Afterwards when the waters had worked themselves a passage and ebbed off, the whole of the wood of these bridges was found in the completest preservation.⁷ The other kinds of timber were the elm, used for doors, hinges, and weasel traps;⁸ the cypress,⁹ cedar, and juniper for wainscoting, beams, and paneled ceilings; the Arcadian, and the Idæan yew,¹⁰ which latter was sometimes fraudulently substituted for cedar; the Eubœan walnut, and the beech, which, not being

¹ Aul. Gell. Noct. Apt. xv. 1.

² Auger-handles and small mallets were made of oleaster, box, elm, and ash; large mallets of pine wood. Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 7. 8.

³ Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 179.

⁴ Antich. di Ercol. t. i. tav. 24, p. 181.

⁵ *Μίλτος τεκτονική*. Dioscor. v. 12.

⁶ In this country the pitch pine (*πίτρυς*) was rare, but it abounded in Elis. Theophrast. Hist. Plant. iii. 94.

⁷ Id. v. 4. 6.

⁸ Id. v. 3. 5—7. 4—4, seq.

⁹ Athen. ix. 67.

¹⁰ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 10. 1, seq.

subject to the rot, were resorted to for piles and substructions.¹ The former of these trees, which grew to an extraordinary size, was likewise applied to the roofing of houses, chiefly because, by a loud crackling noise, it gave notice when it was about to break, and thus afforded the inmates leisure to effect their escape. This happened at the public baths of Antandros, where the company foreseeing from this warning sound the catastrophe that was approaching, rushed forth into the streets, and thus avoided being overwhelmed beneath the ruins.²

The box, the ilex, and the lotos, they employed for door-pivots, which were seasoned by being immersed in cow-dung.³

Cart and wheel wrights,⁴ necessarily pretty numerous, made use in their trade of the following kinds of wood,—the scarlet oak,⁵ in countries not abounding with ilex, as Laconia and Elis, for carts, ploughs, and other rustic implements; the oxya, the fir, and the elm, for chariot-bodies;⁶ the ilex, the box, the ash, and the mast-bearing beech, for axletrees. The wood of all glutinous trees is naturally flexible, but more especially that of the mulberry and the wild fig, for which reason these, together with the platane, and the poplar, were used for making the bended rims of chariot-seats, and the circles of wheels.⁷ For spokes, the wood of the cornel tree was preferred, and that of the box, the yew, the maple, and the carpinus—hedge-beech, or hornbeam—for the yokes of oxen. In old times the bodies of carts were often formed of basket-work. It may be remarked by the way, that the Greeks understood the use of the drag-wheel.⁸

¹ Theophrast. Hist. Plant. iii. 8. 4. v. 7. 7.

² Id. v. 6. 1.

³ Id. v. 5. 4—6.

⁴ Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 462. Poll. i. 253.

⁵ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 16. 3.

⁶ Id. iii. 10. 1.

⁷ Id. v. 6. 2.

⁸ Athen. iii. 55.

It has long been made a question among the learned¹ whether the ancients were or were not acquainted with the saddle, properly so called. It may now be determined in the affirmative, since, besides the several testimonies of classical writers, which are much too clear to be set aside, we find in several Herculanean pictures exact representations of saddles, both on horses and asses, with girths and cruppers exactly as in modern times.² It is evident, too, that they are constructed upon wooden frames, to which Herodotus may possibly allude where he speaks of saddles made of tanned human skins.³ Packsaddles for sumpter-asses are of constant occurrence in history; and that they were tolerably thick may be inferred from the fact, that numbers of daggers were concealed in them by Aratos in his attempt upon Argos.⁴ I shall here mention, also, by the way, and without entering into any discussion, that horses and asses were occasionally shod by the ancients,⁵ though the practice was doubtless not universal.

The trade of the cooper⁶ was in less general request than in modern times; his principal employment being the making of tubs, with flour and water-casks; their wine having been chiefly preserved in jars.⁷ Latterly, however, small kegs got into use, as well probably as larger casks even for wine. Pump-makers, together with the pump itself,⁸ came in late, and of fire-engines they possessed barely the first rudiments.⁹

In speaking elsewhere of the household furniture of the Greeks we necessarily anticipated much of what was to be said respecting cabinet-makers and

¹ Beckmann decides for the negative, i. 247.

² *Antich. di Ercol.* t. ii. tav. 12, p. 79. t. iii. pp. 227. 231.

³ Herod. iv. 64.

⁴ Plut. Arat. § 25.

⁵ Beckmann, *History of Inventions*, ii. 170, sqq.

⁶ Sch. Aristoph. Pac. 1168.

⁷ Id. 1055. 789.

⁸ Cf. Dutens, *Orig. des Découv.* p. 258. Aristoph. Pac. 17, seq. Eq. 432, cum Schol.

⁹ Beckmann, iv. 75, seq.

upholsterers. Some few particulars, however, omitted in that place, shall be here introduced. With respect to the price of furniture at Athens,¹ it seems much better to be silent than by a few imperfect conjectures to confine the mind of the reader. We know absolutely nothing of the matter.

Among the Egyptians, the roots of the Persea,² a beautiful fruit-tree, said to have been poisonous in Persia,³ furnished the materials not only of statues but of bedsteads and tables, which were of a rich dark colour and received a fine polish.⁴ There was likewise, in Syria, a species of wood the blackness of which was interveined with ruddy streaks, so that it looked like variegated ebony. From this were manufactured bedsteads, chairs, and other expensive articles of furniture.⁵ The maple-tree grows both on plains and mountains. In the latter situation its wood is of a pleasant reddish colour, finely veined and solid,⁶ on which account it was much used in superior cabinet-work. The zygian maple, in general beautifully clouded, was so hard, that it required to be steeped in water before it could be wrought.⁷ Of all woods the ancients considered that of the

¹ Cf. Bœckh, Pub. Econ. of Athens. i. 1441, whose laborious researches on this subject lead to no result.

² This tree, which bore fruit in Egypt, only flowered in Rhodes. iii. 3. 5.

³ Ælian. De Natur. Animal. ap. Schneid. ad Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 2. 5. t. iii. p. 284. The account of this tree given by Dioscorides contains a brief allusion to the fact related at length by Ælian, that it was poisonous in its original country, together with some other particulars nowhere else I believe stated. Περσέα δένδρον ἐστὶν ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ, καρπὸν φέρον ἐδώδιμον, εὐστόμαχον

ἐφ' οὗ καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα κρανοκόλαπτα φαλάγγια εὐρίσκεται, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν Θηβαΐδι. Δύναμιν δὲ ἔχει τὰ φύλλα λεία ἐπιπλαττόμενα ξηρὰ, αἰμορραγίαν ἰσθᾶν, τοῦτο δὲ ἰστόρησαν τινες ἐν Περσίδι ἀναιρετικὸν εἶναι, μετατεθὲν δὲ εἰς Ἀιγύπτον, ἀλλοιωθῆναι καὶ ἐδώδιμον γενέσθαι. i. 187.

⁴ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 2. 5. Cf. Clusii. Hist. Rar. Plant. i. 2.

⁵ Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 3. 3. Cf. Gitone, Il Costume Antico e Moderno di tutti i Popoli. t. i. p. 94, tav. 15.

⁶ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 11. 12, seq.

⁷ Id. v. 3. 3.

cypress¹ the most durable, and it is related in confirmation of this opinion, that the doors of the temple of Artemis at Ephesos, which were made of it, had already lasted four centuries in the time of Theophrastus.² It took the finest polish, and was therefore employed in costly cabinet-work. The wood of the tree called thuia (a species perhaps of wild cypress), abounding in Cyrene, and the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon,³ was thought to be incorruptible; and from its roots, which were beautifully clouded, the most delicate articles of furniture were manufactured. Next to these the wood of the mulberry-tree was preferred, which exhibited a dusky grain like that of the lotos.⁴ Expensive bedsteads were sometimes made of oxya and citron-wood, the feet of which, among the Persians, were often turned from the wood of the doom-palm,⁵ as they were formed among the Greeks from amber.⁶ Statues,⁷ which ought in truth to be regarded as articles of furniture, were carved from cedar, cypress,⁸ lotos, box, and of a smaller size from the roots of olive-trees, because they did not crack.⁹ Besides these which were perhaps the more common, we find mention in ancient writers of images of ebony, oak, yew, maple, beech, palm,¹⁰ myrtle, pear, linden, and vine, to which may be added the fig-tree which was frequently preferred on account of its soft texture,

¹ This tree was supposed particularly to delight in the perpetual snows of the Cretan Ida. Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 1. 3.

² Hist. Plant. v. 4. 2.

³ Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 37, seq. Cf. Plin. Hist. Nat. 30. Diod. Sicul. v. 46. This wood, on account of its extraordinary durability, was much used in the roofing of ancient temples. Many suppose it to be the Arbor Vitæ. Clus. Hist. Rar. Plant. i. 24. p. 36, seq.

⁴ Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 4. 3.

⁵ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 2. 7.

⁶ Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 530.

⁷ Plat. De Rep. t. vi. 86. Plin. viii. 39. xxxv. 36. xxxiii. 54. Poll. i. 7. See the note of the Milanese editor of Winkelmann, Hist. de l'Art, t. i. p. 31, seq.

⁸ Plut. Alex. § 14. Herod. ii. 131. Pausanias supplies a list of the different kinds of wood used in the most ancient statues. viii. 17. 2.

⁹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 3. 7.

¹⁰ Id. v. 3. 6.

lightness, shining whiteness, and close-grain. Occasionally statues of horses were carved of ebony and ivory. As during the prevalence of certain winds several of these kinds of woods were liable to sweat,¹ the vulgar, who understood nothing of the cause, regarded the circumstance as a prodigy.²

From the knotted wood of the fir-tree, tablets for painting or writing on were made, the inferior kinds of which were very common; but there was a superior and very beautiful sort used only by the opulent.³

Another piece of furniture in all Greek houses was the chest or coffer⁴ in which money and plate, or costly garments, were deposited. Articles of this description were frequently manufactured of the finest and most aromatic woods, as cedar for example, and adorned on all sides, as well as on the cover, with numerous figures in relief, sometimes in gold or ivory, as in the case of the celebrated coffer of Cypselos preserved in the treasury at Olympia.⁵ Generally, however, they were made of humbler materials; sometimes veneered with thin planks of yew, which took a high polish. Persons of inferior means substituted for these, mallequins of fine basket-work, or plaited from the bark of cherry or linden-tree.⁶ We may here remark by the way, that bread-baskets were manufactured from willows and the twigs of chestnut-trees,⁷ cleanly peeled,

¹ Cf. Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 9. 8.

² Plut. Alex. § 14.

³ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 9. 7.

⁴ Schweigh. Anim. in Athen. t. vi. p. 52. Schol. Arist. Eq. 1207. Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. 310. Poll. vii. 79. Plat. Tim. t. vii. pp. 52. 61. Luc. Amor. § 39. Arist. De Mund. c. vi.

⁵ Creuzer. Commentat. Herodot. Ægypt. et Hellen. i. § 7. p. 62,

seq. Raoul Rochette, Cours D'Archéologie, p. 342, seq.

⁶ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 10. 4—13. 1. v. 7. 5. Philost. Icon. i. 31. p. 809.

⁷ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 15. 2. v. 7. 7. Common baskets too were made of the leaves of the dwarf-palm, Id. i. 6. 11, and various domestic utensils from the roots of the papyrus. Id. iv. 8. 4.

and that in Egypt articles of this description were generally woven or plaited from the leaves of the date and doom-palm, and probably variegated in colour as they are at present. At the court, however, bread-baskets were at one period of gold, but fashioned so as to resemble the rush-baskets in use among the earlier Greeks.¹

Lanterns, too, in the first instance, were of basket-work,² though afterwards manufactured, as in modern times, with thin plates of horn or ivory.³

In some parts of Greece when individuals, not possessing costly furniture, desired to give a grand entertainment, they hired whatever articles they stood in need of, as seats, beds, vases, &c., of a broker, whose business, in the island of Samos, was once carried on by the tyrant Polycrates.⁴

As ivory entered largely into the making of furniture among the ancients,⁵ the reader will not regret to find here an explanation of the means by which it was rendered soft and tractable. This secret appears hitherto to have escaped the modern writers on Art. Monsieur Dutens⁶ and the Milanese editors of Winkelmann⁷ observe, that the ancients possessed the art of softening ivory without, however, giving any intimation that they understood in what the secret consisted. But the whole matter was extremely simple, since they merely steeped the piece of ivory about to be worked in a fermented liquor, called *zythos*,⁸ prepared from barley, and drank com-

¹ Athen. vi. 15.

² Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 428.

³ Athen. vi. 157. That the trade of lantern-making was of considerable importance in the ancient world may be inferred from the great number of lanterns made use of in fortified cities, either when actually besieged, or when apprehensive of sudden attacks from the enemy. See on this subject a long and interesting

passage in Æneas Tacticus, cap. xxvi. p. 81, seq. Ed. Orell. Cf. cap. xxii. p. 67, seq.

⁴ Athen. xii. 57.

⁵ Luc. Cynic. § 9. Somn. seu Gall. § 14.

⁶ Origine des Découvertes, p. 194.

⁷ Histoire de l'Art. p. 34.

⁸ Εὐεργηὶς δὲ καὶ ὁ ἔλεφας γίνεται βρεχόμενος αὐτῷ. Dioscor. ii. 109.

monly, with or without a mixture of honey, by all persons in Gaul. Many of these ivory ornaments were produced by the turning-lathe. They turned also from the knots of the Arcadian fir large bowls of a shining black colour.¹ There was even a kind of stone which, being soft when drawn from the quarry, was turned and cut into bowls, plates, and other articles for the table, which were susceptible of a high polish, and became hard by constant exposure to the air.²

It was, probably, to the turner's art that the Greeks owed many of those straight and elegant kinds of walkingsticks,³ particularly affected by the opulent, and called Persian, doubtless because the use of them came originally from Asia. Others preferred the Laconian scytale,⁴ fashioned usually from a piece of whitethorn, and philosophers, sticks of olive-wood.⁵ Rustics then, as now, were in the habit of carrying twisted and uncouth walkingstaves, bent sometimes atop, and of heavy materials. The straight light stem of the malachè,⁶ and birch, and elder,⁷ were likewise in use; while some carried sticks made from the agnus castus or the laurel, which were believed to possess the virtue of preserving those who bore them from accident or injury.⁸ The making of umbrellas or parasols, which opened and closed like

¹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 7. 1.

² Id. de Lapid. § 42. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 44. Tournefort, Voyage, t. i. p. 209.

³ Gitone, Il Costume, pl. 20.

⁴ Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. 170, seq. Suid. v. σκύταλον, t. ii. p. 768. b. Poll. iv. 170. v. 18. x. 113.

⁵ Luc. Dial. Meret. xi. § 3. The Celastron, an evergreen, and the Mya, were also used for walkingsticks. Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 7. 7.

⁶ Theophrast. Hist. Plant. i. 3. 2, seq.

⁷ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 13.

4. 14. 4. Old men sometimes flourished a pair. Sch. Aristoph. Plut. 272. Generally, however, they were content, even in winter, with one, and were, therefore, compared by the poets to three-legged stools. Hesiod. Opp. et Dies, 533. Æschyl. Agam. 80. Eurip. Troad. 275. For the thick, heavy staff affected by old men see in Zoëga (Bassi Rilievi, tav. 40) a basso rilievo representing the Death of Meleager.

⁸ Dioscor. i. 135.

our own,¹ no doubt constituted a separate branch of industry. These articles, it may be observed, were manufactured with great elegance, with handles gracefully ornamented, and furnished at the periphery² with numerous elongated drops. It was, probably, the same tradesmen in whose shops were found those folding-seats, or camp-stools, invented by Dædalos, the use of which seems to have been very common at Athens.³

Respecting the manufacture of musical instruments, we have but a few particulars to communicate, though it formed a profitable branch of industry in every part of Greece. Musical instruments were divided by the ancients into three kinds:⁴ those which were played by means of the breath,—the pipe, the trumpet, and the flute; those whose harmony resided in their strings, as the lyre and the cithara; and those which produced sound by beating or clashing against each other, as cymbals and the drum. The best trumpets, supposed to have been an invention of the Tyrrhenians,⁵ were obtained from Italy, though on many occasions great sea-shells were substituted for those larger instruments. In the East, trumpets were

¹ To this fact Aristophanes jocularly alludes, where he describes the ears of the Demos as opening and closing under the influence of eloquence. *Equit.* 1344, seq.

Τὰ δῶτα γὰρ σου, νῆ Δί', ἐξε-
πετάννυται,
ὡς περ σκιάδιον, καὶ πάλιν
ἐκνήγεται.

On this passage the Scholiast observes: σκέπασμά τι, ὅπερ αἱ γυναῖκες παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔχουσι θέουσαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ καίεσθαι τὰς ὄψεις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου. ἐκτείνεται δὲ καὶ συστέλλεται πρὸς τὸν κατεπείγοντα καιρόν.

² Hope, *Costumes of the Ancients*.—Gitone, *Il Cost. Ant.* e *Mod.* pl. 17. pl. 67.

³ Aristoph. *Eq.* 1384. cum Schol.

⁴ Sch. Aristoph. *Nub.* 312.

⁵ Poll. iv. 70. Sch. Aristoph. *Ran.* 133. Cf. Raoul Rochette, *Cours D'Archéol.* p. 136. In lieu of trumpets the Indians, we are told, made use of certain whips, by the flourishing and cracking of which in the air they produced a kind of rude music. These strange sounds were accompanied by the low and terrible roll of their great drums, which still continue to delight the ear of the Hindûs. Suid. v. σάλπιγξ, t. ii. 709. b. For the common form of the trumpet see Gitone, *Il Costume*, tav. 81. Zoëga, *Bassi Rilievi*, tav. 9.

sometimes manufactured of cow-hide, though the usual materials were brass and iron, with a little bone for the mouth-piece.¹ There were two kinds, —the straight and the crooked.

Of the pipe of barley-straw,² invented by Osiris, nothing need be said except, that its use and manufacture formed the amusement of shepherds. The fashioning of the common pipe constituted an important branch of industry, particularly in Bœotia, where the reed³ from which it was made abounded in the Orchomenian marshes,⁴ between the Cephisos and the Melas, in the place called Pelecania.⁵ The season for cutting, which prevailed up to the age of Antigones, was the month Boedromion; but, for the improvement of the instrument, that musician altered the time, which thenceforward was in the months Scirophorion and Hecatombion.⁶ The reeds were prepared in the following manner: being cut, they were piled in a heap with their leaves on, and left in the open air during the whole winter. Having in spring been cleared of their outer integuments, well rubbed and exposed to the sun, they were, during the summer, cut into lengths at the knots, and left a little longer in the open air.⁷ The

¹ Poll. iv. 71.

² Cf. Aristot. Problem. xix. 23.

³ Cf. Philost. Icon. i. 20. p. 794.

⁴ The borders of this lake must at all times have presented a most picturesque appearance, tufted as they were with thickets of the willow and the eleagnos, while a variety of terrestrial and aquatic plants descended its banks and spread themselves far into the water, as the pipe and the common reed, the white nymphæa, the typha, the phleos, the cyperos, the menyanthos, the icmè, and the ipnon. Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 10. 1.

⁵ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 11.

8. Dioscor. i. 94. The *καλαμος συριγγίας* is the *Saccharum Ravennæ* of Sibthorp, *Flora Græca*, tab. 52, where it is observed, that it is found “in Peloponneso copiosè; ad littora Ponti Euxini propè *Fanar*.”

⁶ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 11. 9.

⁷ The form of the modern pipe is thus described by Chandler, who, after having spoken of the taborer, adds “this was accompanied by a pipe with a reed for the mouth-piece, and below it a circular rim of wood, against which the lips of the player came. His cheeks were much inflated, and the notes so va-

internodial spaces did not fall short of two palms in length, and the best portions of the reed used for making the double pipe¹ was about the middle.² Pipes and flutes³ were likewise manufactured of the leg-bones of stags, at least in Bœotia. The lotos-wood⁴ transverse flute was an invention of the Africans. The elymœan flute made of boxwood owed its origin to the Phrygians, and was played during the worship of Cybelè. That called hippophorbos was invented by the last dwellers of Libya, who habitually played on it while pasturing their great droves of horses in the desert.⁵ It appears to have been a very simple instrument, fashioned of a piece of laurel-wood, by removing the bark and scooping out the pith. Its sharp shrill sound which could be heard far and near, delighted the ears of the horses, who probably, like the Turks, estimate the merit of music by its loudness. The monaulos, a favourite invention of the Egyptians, spoken of by Sophocles in his *Thamyris*, was usually played in marriage concerts.⁶ The lugubrious funeral-pipe of the Carians was a Phrygian invention. There existed among the Thebans a curious instrument of this kind, probably used in hunting, made from the bones of fawns, with a coating of bronze.⁷ The Tyrrhenians, like the rude sportsmen of Europe, drew music from the horn. Among the Phœnicians was a small flute made of goose-bones, not exceeding a span in length, called *gingras*⁸ in honour of Adonis, so named in their language, which emitting a plaintive and melancholy note, was doubt-

“ rious, shrill, and disagreeable,
 “ as to remind me of the com-
 “ position designed for the ancient
 “ Aulos or flute, as was fabled by
 “ Minerva.” *Travels, &c.* i. 49.

¹ Cf. *Gitone, Il Costume*, tav. 65.

² *Theoph. Hist. Plant.* iv. 11. 6, seq.

³ *Schol. Aristoph. Acharn.* 827,

seq. Cf. *Plat. De Rep.* t. vi. p. 386.

⁴ *Theoph. Hist. Plant.* iv. 3. 3. *Poll.* iv. 74.

⁵ *Poll.* iv. 74. *Comm.* t. iv. p. 720. *Ælian. De Nat. Animal.* xii. 44.

⁶ *Poll.* iv. 75. ⁷ *Id.* iv. 75.

⁸ *Athen.* iv. 76. *Poll.* iv. 76.

less much used in the wailing orgies of that divinity. Its character being exceedingly simple, it was habitually put into the hands of beginners,¹ and seems to have been very common at Athens. The most extraordinary pipes, however, enumerated by ancient writers, were the ones in which those Scythian tribes denominated by the Greeks, Cannibals, Black Cloaks, and Arimaspians, delighted; and manufactured from the leg-bones of eagles and vultures.² The Celts and the islanders of the ocean, our own forefathers, doubtless eschewed the music of vultures' legs, and contented themselves with the notes of the syrinx.³

In earlier times there was a flute appropriated to each mode, or grand division of the national music, but afterwards Pronomos of Thebes,⁴ invented one equally well suited to every mode. Even the manufacture of mouth-pieces, and flute-cases formed a considerable branch of industry. The materials from which the above instruments were chiefly made, were, in addition to those already mentioned, branches of the elder tree and dwarf laurel, bones of asses and kids, ivory and silver.⁵ Organs, and hydraulic organs, the latter invented by the Alexandrian barber Ctesibios, to whom antiquity was likewise indebted for the knowledge of the pump, were reckoned by the ancients among wind-instruments.⁶

Of stringed-instruments the most common was the lyre,⁷ manufactured from many kinds of fine wood, and sometimes of ivory.⁸ The bridge was usually of ilex.⁹ The cithara,¹⁰ introduced at Athens by Phrynis,¹¹ was made sometimes of horn with wooden

¹ Athen. iv. 75. Hesych. v. γιγγίσι.

² Poll. iv. 76.

³ Suid. v. σύριγξ, t. ii. p. 844. a.

⁴ Cf. Dion Chrysost. i. 263.

⁵ Jul. Scalig. Poet. i. 20, p. 78, seq.

⁶ Athen. iv. 75. Pignor. de Serv. p. 88, seq. Vitruv. ix. 9.

⁷ A rude species of lyre is still in use in Asia Minor. Chandler, Travels, &c., i. 149.

⁸ Athen. xv. 50. Herod. iv. 192.

⁹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 7. 6.

¹⁰ Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 574.

¹¹ Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 958.

pegs,¹ though mention occurs of one formed entirely of solid gold, adorned with figures in relief of the Muses, Orpheus, and Apollo, and thickly studded with emeralds and other precious stones.² The magadis,³ sometimes reckoned among wind-instruments, was unquestionably stringed, since we find Timotheus, accused at Sparta of innovating in the number of its chords, pointing out to his accuser an ancient statue of Apollo, in which the god was represented playing on a magadis with an equal number.⁴ In proof of its antiquity it may be remarked, that Lesbothemis, a sculptor, who flourished in a remote age at Mytilene, where this instrument was always in high favour,⁵ represented one of the Muses with the magadis in her hand. The pectis, said to have been an invention of Sappho, and by some confounded with the magadis, ought rather perhaps to be regarded as a modification of that instrument.⁶ The epigoneion, so called from its inventor Epigonos, by birth an Ambraciot, though afterwards made a citizen of Sicyon, was a kind of harp with forty strings, resembling, probably, those many-chorded instruments represented on the monuments of Egypt and Ethiopia. This Epigonos, is said to have been the first person who in playing dispensed with the use of the plectron.⁷ The ancient Arabs forestalled Signor Paganini, and drew a world of sweet sounds from an instrument of one chord:⁸ the Assyrians had their pandoura, with three strings.⁹ Among the Scythians was found the pentachordon, stringed with thongs of raw bull-hide, and played on by a plectron of goat's hoof. The Libyans, more especially the Troglodytes, filled their caverns with the

¹ Luc. adv. Indoct. § 10.

² Id. § 8.

³ Athen. iv. 35. Poll. iv. 61. Anab. vii. 3. Meur. Lect. Att. iv. 20.

⁴ Athen. xiv. 40.

⁵ Id. 36.

⁶ Poll. iv. 59.

⁷ Etym. Mag. 605. 45.

⁸ Poll. iv. 60.

⁹ There was likewise an instrument of four chords. Etym. Mag. 514. 34.

music of the psithura, otherwise called the ascaron, an instrument a cubit square, which produced sounds resembling the tinkling of castanets. Cantharos attributes its invention to the Thracians. To these we may add the drum, the tambourine,¹ with cymbals, and castanets, sometimes of brass, and sometimes of shells, played on by women in honour of Artemis.

The business of the potter² was held in considerable estimation among the Greeks, so that several celebrated cities rivalled each other in their productions. Among these, Athens,³ Samos, and Rhodes held the first rank.⁴ Even the Bœotian Aulis obtained some degree of reputation for its earthenware.⁵ But that made at Kolias,⁶ in Attica, from the clay there found, and richly painted with figures in minium, appears to have been the most beautiful known to antiquity.

The number of rough articles produced was prodigious, seeing that oil, and wine, and salt-fish, and pickles, and a variety of other commodities were exported in jars; while almost all culinary operations were carried on in earthen vessels. Such of these as found their way to Egypt, after the conquest of that country by the Persians, were filled with Nile water, and transported into the desert, on camels, to slake the thirst of the wayfarers on that arid waste.⁷ Perhaps, the largest articles of

¹ See a representation of this instrument, with a portrait painted on the bottom of it. Antich. di Ercol. t. iv. p. 151.

² On the potter's wheel, see Suidas. v. κωλιάδος κεραμῆες. t. i. p. 1511. b.

³ Aristoph. Acharn. 901, seq.

⁴ Athen. xi. 37.

⁵ Pausan. ix. 19. 8.

⁶ Schol. Aristoph. Lysist. 2. Chandler, Travels, ii. 166. Lucian observes somewhat jocularly that in some parts of Africa the

native were driven to the use of ostrich's eggs for goblets, because no potter's clay was found in their country. De Dipsad. § 7. Cf. Plin. Nat. Hist. x. 1. Bochart. Hierozoic. Compend. ii. 16.

⁷ Herodot. iii. 6. A large branch of the potter's business consisted in the manufacture of earthen pipes used in conveying water to towns and cities. See Chandler, Travels, &c. i. 22. seq. 133.

earthenware, however, were the corn-jars, some of which are said to have contained nearly a quarter of grain, in lieu of which plaited corbels were sometimes used.¹ Much art and elegance was displayed in the forms, varnishing, and painting of fictile vases, some of which, of light and graceful contour, were made without bottoms, wholly for ornament.² The colours employed in the painting of vases, more particularly those intended to hold the ashes of the dead, were generally light and durable; and the ease and beauty of the figures prove that the ancient potters paid great attention to the arts of design. The ornaments were extremely various, sometimes consisting of representations of the gods, as Heracles, Pan, or the genii, sometimes of oakleaves, garlands, or festoons, arranged with taste and elegance.³ Athenæus speaks of a kind of porcelain called Rhossican,⁴ covered with the forms of flowers, upon which Cleopatra expended five minæ per day. Another branch of the potter's business consisted in the manufacturing of lamps,⁵ which were so generally in use, that, throughout the Greek and the Roman world, the sites of cities, the ruins of temples, and the sepulchral chambers excavated beneath the earth, lavishly abound with them, entire or in fragments.⁶ Hyperbolos is said to have amassed a considerable fortune by selling lamps of an inferior quality.⁷ Wax-candles, however, were likewise in use, at least in

¹ Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 614.

² Winkermann, Hist. de l'Art. t. i. p. 30, seq.

³ "Morning Chronicle," July 17, 1838, p. 3, where we find an account of several of these jars dug up at Exeter.

⁴ Athen. vi. 15.

⁵ These were filled with the *ἀρύταινα*, a brazen ladle. Schol. Arist. Eq. 1087. Æropos, king Macedon, was an amateur

lamp-maker, devoting his leisure hours to the manufacture of diminutive lamps and tables, just as other kings used to unbend their minds, after the enjoyment of luxury, by painting, playing the flute, or wielding the turning-lathe. Plut. Demet. § 20.

⁶ Herodot. ii. 62. Cf. Sophocl. Aj. 285, sqq.

⁷ Aristoph. Eq. 1301. Vesp. 1001.

later ages,¹ and with the same materials they fashioned artificial pomegranates and other ornaments, together with small portable images of animals, men, and gods, which, like our figures of plaster of Paris, were sold, as well as those of clay, about the streets. Some notion, too, may be formed of the price, since we find that a figure of Eros fetched a drachma.²

The manufacture of glass³ was carried to a very high degree of perfection among the ancients.⁴ They understood the methods of blowing, cutting, and engraving on it; could stain it of every rich and brilliant colour so as to imitate the most precious gems,⁵ from the ruby and the amethyst to the turquoise and the beryl; they could fashion it into jars, and bowls, and vases, exhibiting all the various hues of the peacock's train, which, like shot-silks and the breast of the dove, exhibited fresh tints in every different light,—fading, quivering, and melting into each other as the eye changed its point of view.⁶

¹ Vid. Plin. xiii. 27. xvi. 70, cum not. Hard.—Antipat. ap. Anthol. Græc. vi. 249.

² Anacreon, 10. Athen. viii. 50. Suid. v. κοροπλάθου. t. ii. p. 1500. a.

³ Plat. Tim. t. vii. p. 81.

⁴ Large glass cups. Luc. Quommed. Hist. sit Conscrib. § 25. In the Antichita di Ercolano we see represented a glass vase so completely transparent, that the eggs with which it is filled are seen as distinctly as through water. t. ii. p. 111. Cf. t. iii. p. 287.

⁵ Petron. Satyr. p. 99. Cf. Treb. Poll. Gallien. § 12. p. 321. Caylus supposes them to have mixed a small portion of lead with their glass. t. ii. p. 355.

⁶ The allusions of ancient authors to these vases are few. They are mentioned, however, in a letter of Adrian to the Consul Servianus: "Calices tibi al-

"lassontes versicolores transmisi,
"quos mihi sacerdos templi ob-
"tulit, tibi et sorori meæ specia-
"liter dedicatos, quos tu velim
"festis diebus conviviiis adhibeas."
Vopisc. in Vit. Saturnin. cap. viii. Casaubon, in his note on this passage, speaks of these cups in the following terms: Allasontes qui colorem mutant sicut palumborum colla. The murrhine vases, the nature of which so many have attempted to explain, if they were not after all a species of glass, appear at least to have had many analogous qualities; and the following description of Pliny is calculated to create the highest idea of their beauty: "Splendor his sine viribus: nitorque verius quam
"splendor. Sed in pretio varias colorum subinde circum-
"gentibus se maculis in purpuram candoremque, et tertium

Squares of glass were produced, perfectly polished and transparent without, but containing figures of various colours in their interior.¹ Glass, likewise, was wrought into bassi and alti rilievi, and cast, as gems were cut, into cameos.² The manufacturers of Alexandria excelled in the working of glass,³ with which they skilfully imitated all kinds of earthenware, fabricating cups of every known form.

It is added, moreover, that a certain kind of earth was found in Egypt, without which the best kind of coloured glass⁴ could not be produced. Petronius informs us, that, in the reign of Tiberius, a skilful experimentalist discovered the art of rendering this substance malleable, but that the emperor, from some freak of tyranny, put the man to death, and thus his secret was lost to the world.⁵ A similar act of cruelty was perpetrated by the public authorities at Dantzic, who, in the seventeenth century, caused an able mechanic, who had invented a superior kind of ribbon-loom, to be strangled.⁶

“ex utroque ignescentem, veluti
 “per transitum coloris, in pur-
 “pura, aut rubescente lacteo,
 “Sunt qui maxime in iis lau-
 “dent extremitates et quosdam
 “colorum repercussus quales in
 “cœlesti arcu spectantur.” Nat.
 Hist. xxxvii. 8.

¹ Winkelmann, Hist. de l'Art.
 i. 48.

² Winkel. Hist. de l'Art. i. 51.
 See Beckmann, Hist. of Inven-
 tions, vol. i. p. 240.

³ Athen. xi. 28. Cf. Schol.
 Aristoph. Nub. 756.

⁴ Strab. ap. Beckmann, History
 of Inventions, i. 198.

⁵ Satyr. c. 51, p. 25, seq. Burm.
 Plin. xxxvi. 66.

⁶ Beckmann, iii. 494.

CHAPTER VI.

INDUSTRY: OIL AND COLOUR MEN.—ITALIAN WAREHOUSES.
—DRUGGISTS.—COLLECTORS OF SIMPLES.

THERE was, moreover, produced in Greece, a number of articles, whether of use or luxury, to the venders of which it appears difficult to appropriate a name. It must necessarily be inferred, however, that there existed a class of shopkeepers analogous to our oil and colour men, at whose establishments were found most or all of the following commodities: every kind of vegetable oil, for cookery, painting, or to be burned as lamp-oil, of sea salt, probably for medicinal purposes,¹ oil of horse-radish,² used instead of the root itself, as a condiment. Among the lamp-oils it is worthy of observation that the Greeks included castor oil³ which was commonly, from its nauseous effects, eschewed as a medicine. Bitumen⁴ also was occasionally burnt in lamps. Their lampwicks were ordinarily of rushes,⁵ which they sometimes anointed with the oil expressed from the seeds of the myagrum perenne;⁶ and from certain nuts found on the oak they obtained a sort of woolly substance⁷ which, being twisted into wicks, burnt freely without oil. The dried stem of the torch-weed⁸ was likewise employed for this purpose. Their flambeaux consisted originally of slips of the pine or pitch tree,⁹ or even

¹ Aristoph. Problem. xxiii. 15.

² 'Ραφανέλαιον. Dioscor. i. 45.

³ Κίκινον ἔλαιον.—Κακι, οἱ δὲ σήσαμον ἄγριον, οἱ δὲ, σέσελι Κύπριον. Dioscor. iv. 164.

⁴ Dioscor. i. 99. Cf. Herod. 179.

⁵ Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 60. Athen. x. 25.

⁶ Dioscor. iv. 117.

⁷ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 7. 4. Plin. xviii. 10.

⁸ Poll. i. 229, seq.

⁹ The same torch is still in use in Circassia. J. S. Bell, Journal of a residence in Circassia, ii. 69.

as at Rhodes of the bark of the vine,¹ but afterwards certain combustible compositions were burned in painted and ornamented handles.²

The making of pitch, generally found in these shops, was carried on in the following manner,³ particularly among the Macedonians: Having cleared a large level space in the forests, as when constructing a threshing-floor, they carefully paved it, and gave the whole a slope towards the centre. The billets of wood were then piled up endways as close to each other as possible, and so as that the height of the heap should always be in proportion to its magnitude. These piles were frequently of enormous dimensions, falling little short of a hundred yards in circumference and rising to the height of eighty or ninety feet. The whole mound was then covered with turf and earth; and the wood having been set on fire by means of an open passage below, which immediately afterwards was closed, numerous ladders were thrown up along its sides in order that, should the least smoke anywhere appear, fresh layers of turf and earth might be cast upon it: for if the flame found a vent the hopes of the manufacturer were destroyed. The pitch flowed off by an underground channel leading from the centre of the area to a spacious cistern sunk in the earth about twenty feet beyond the circumference of the mound, where it was suffered to cool. During two days and two nights the fire in these heaps continued generally to burn, requiring the incessant care and vigilance of the workmen, though it frequently happened that before sunset on the second day, the earthy crust flattened and fell in, the wood being reduced to ashes. This was generally preceded by the pitch ceasing to flow. The whole of this period was converted into a holiday by the labourers,

¹ Athen. xvi. 61. Cf. Tzet. ad Lycoph. 48. t. i. p. 343.

² Sch. Aristoph. Vesp. 1373. Bœttiger. Fur. pl. 2. Barthelémy, Anarcharsis, ii. 330. Goguet. iii.

391. Cf. Gitone, Il Costume, tav. 63. Zoëga, Bassi Rilievi, tav. 14.

³ Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 3. i. Cf. Sch. Aristoph. Acham. 189. 643.

who offered sacrifice to the gods, and preferred many prayers, that their pitch might be plentiful and good.

Nitre was procured from wood-ashes,¹ as it is at this day in Circassia, from the ashes of a plant cultivated for the purpose. It has been supposed that the ancients were acquainted with gunpowder;² and there appears to have been a dim tradition of artificial thunder and lightning among the Brachmanes in the remotest antiquity.³

The demand for the various earths and colours was considerable; such as the Melian, a fine white marl, used by artists frequently for communicating to green paint a pale hue;⁴ the Cimolian, by fullers;⁵ and the gypsum, employed occasionally by both. The Samian, being fat and unctuous,⁶ was eschewed by painters, though it found its place among the *materia medica*. Another article in much request was the argol, a beautiful moss,⁷ used both by painters and dyers; to which we may add the cinnabar⁸ and the kermes, used for dying scarlet; the Indian black,⁹ indigo, ultramarine, lamp and ivory black, painter's soot, collected from glass furnaces,¹⁰ verdigris, ceruse, and minium, used in painting vases and clay statues.¹¹ Other substances which sometimes entered into the materials of painters were, the sandarach¹² and the orpiment, found in gold, silver, and

¹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 7. 6. Dutens, Orig. des Découvertes, &c. p. 183. Bell, Resid. in Circassia, ii. 80. Beckmann, ii. 434.

² Dutens, p. 194, sqq.

³ Philost. Vit. Apoll. Tyan. ii. 33. iii. 13. Themist. Orat. 27. p. 337.

⁴ Dioscor. v. 180. Theoph. de Lapid. § 63.

⁵ Dioscor. v. 176. Beckmann, iii. 245. Theoph. de Lap. § 62. Plin. xxxv. 56, seq.

⁶ Theoph. de Lapid. § 62, seq. Plin. xxviii. 53. 77. xxxi. 46.

⁷ Beckmann, i. 60.

⁸ Dioscor. v. 109. Theoph. de Lap. 58.

⁹ Beckmann, iv. 120. 111. 117.

¹⁰ Dioscor. v. 182.

¹¹ Suid. v. κωλιάδος κεραμῆες, t. i. p. 1511. b. Paus. vi. 26. 11. Herodot. iv. 191. 194. vii. 68, who says, it was also used by certain people in painting their bodies.

¹² Dioscor. v. 122. 121. On the earths and ochres of the ancients, see Sir Humphrey Davy, in the Philosophical Transactions, 1815, pt. i. p. 97, seq.

copper mines, ochre, ruddle, and chrysocola. Ruddle was successfully imitated by burnt ochre, the manufacturing of which was the invention of Cydias,¹ who having observed that a quantity of ochre found in a house which was burnt down had assumed a red colour, profited by the hint, though the article thus produced was inferior to the natural. The Lemnian earth,² having been mixed with goats' blood, kneaded into small round pastilles, and stamped with the figure of a goat, was vended, partly as a medicine, partly to be used in sacrifice. In the same shops, doubtless, sealing-wax and ink were sold.³ The receipt for preparing the latter was as follows:⁴ to an ounce of gum they added three ounces of pine-torch or resin soot, or even that which was obtained from the glass furnaces, and used, as above observed, by painters. In this latter case, a mina of soot was mingled with a pound and a half of gum, and an ounce and a half of bull's-glue and copperas-water. An infusion of wormwood⁵ was sometimes used in the manufacture of ink, which preserved the manuscripts written with it from being gnawed by rats or other vermin. Another method was, to smear the parchment with saffron and cedar oil.⁶

¹ Theoph. de Lapid. § 53.

² Dioscor. v. 113. Plin. xxviii. 24. xxix. 33. xxxv. 14.

³ Luc. Alexand. § 21.

⁴ Dioscor. v. 183. i. 93. Plin. xxxv. 25.

⁵ Dioscor. iii. 26.

⁶ Luc. adv. Indoct. § 16. By the odour of this oil the books of Numa were said, by tradition, to have been preserved for many generations. "Mirabantur alii, quomodo illi libri durare potuissent: ille (Hemina) ita rationem reddebat: lapidem fuisse quadratum circiter in mediâ arcâ vinctum candelis quoque versus. In eo lapide insuper libros impositos fuisse: prop-

terea arbitrari eos non computuisse. Et libros cedratos fuisse: propterea arbitrarier tineas non tetigisse." Plin. Nat. Hist. xiii. 27. To the virtues of this oil Vitruvius also bears testimony. "Quæ unguntur cedrio, ut libri à tineis et carie non læduntur." ii. 9. In the above passage of Pliny, Hardouin reads "libros citratos," and supposes the naturalist to mean that citron-leaves were folded in the manuscript: "quorum hæc propria dos, ut arceant animalium noxia, hoc est, tineas." Cf. Plin. Nat. Hist. xii. 7. But as the citron was not introduced into Greece or Italy un-

Next to these, perhaps, should be ranged those shops which resembled our Italian warehouses, where the gourmands of antiquity procured their best vinegar, pickles, and sauces.¹ To enumerate all the articles found in such an establishment would be somewhat difficult; but we may observe that they sold, among other things, the best Colophonian mustard,² pepper,³ together with all the substitutes occasionally used for it, such as the Syrian nard,⁴ water-pepper,⁵ and, among the ancient Italians, lovage of Lombardy,⁶ garlic heads,⁷ a mixture of salt and thyme,⁸ pickled olives, and cornel-berries, to be eaten at table, pickled dittander,⁹ mountain rue,¹⁰ seaweed or wake-robin, fennel or chervil, tendrils of the wild vine,¹¹ eringo root, sea-heath, cammock, lettuces and parsley.¹² To these may be added silphion, sesame, citron-peel, cumin, wild marjoram, capers, cresses, and fig-leaves.¹³ Among the Syrians, the root and seeds of the sison-amomum were used as spices, and pickled with sliced gourds.¹⁴ The Arabs, we are told, seasoned their dishes with the leaf of the ginger plant.¹⁵ Ginger-root was likewise known and used as a condiment in Greece.

Although, properly speaking, there may, in early times, have been no such trades as those of the druggist and the apothecary, there very soon arose a class of men who nearly resembled them, though professing to practise medicine.¹⁶ Into the shops of those persons we shall now beg leave to enter, and

til several centuries after the age of Numa, it is very clear that "cedratos" must remain in the text of Pliny.

¹ Diog. Laert. ii. 31. Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 192. 643. Athen. ii. 75, seq. Dioscor. v. 21. Plat. De Rep. vi. p. 404.

² Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 629.

³ Ἀνώδυνον τε ἐστὶ καὶ ὑγαινον καὶ ὀρεξιν κίνει. Dioscor. ii. 189.

⁴ Δράκη. Dioscor. ii. 187.

⁵ Id. ii. 191.

⁶ Αἰγυσιτικόν. Dioscor. iii. 58.

⁷ Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 680.

⁸ Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 737. Athen. ii. 45.

⁹ Dioscor. ii. 205.

¹⁰ Id. iii. 53.

¹¹ Id. ii. 167.

¹² Poll. vi. 61.

¹³ Athen. ii. 76. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 891.

¹⁴ Dioscor. iii. 34.

¹⁵ Id. ii. 190.

¹⁶ Beckmann, History of Inventions, ii. 122, sqq.

observe some few of the materials with which the children of *Æsculapius* preserved or destroyed the health of the Greeks. The art of medicine itself, as it existed among them, I shall not venture to examine, abandoning that part of the subject to the investigation of professional men.¹

The interior of an ancient surgery, though it may have been less lavishly furnished than one of our own day, made, nevertheless, some pretensions to show. There were, for example, ranged in order on shelves, numerous medicine chests of ivory; brass and silver cupping instruments,² lancet-cases, and cases inlaid with gold.³ Flowers and aromatic plants were laid up in boxes of the wood of the linden tree, while seeds were preserved in paper or leaves. Liquid medicines were kept in vessels of silver, glass, or horn, or even in earthenware jars, provided they were well glazed. For these they sometimes substituted vases of boxwood, though those of metal were generally preferred, at least for all such as were intended for the eyes, or contained vinegar, pitch, or cedar juice. Lard, marrow, and all similar substances, were put into vessels of pewter.⁴ The instruments⁵ in most common use besides the bistoury, were the forceps, the scissors, the hypographs, the ear-pick, the probe,⁶ the needle, the scalpel, the tooth-file, the tooth-wrench, the eueidion, and the podostrabe, an instrument for reducing luxations. We ought, likewise, perhaps, to mention the bandages, ligatures, swathes, plaisters, lint, amulets, and bleeding-bowls.⁷

¹ See, on this subject, Dissen. ad Pind. Pyth. iii. 47. 51. I may here, however, by the way, remark, that while the free citizens were attended by physicians of their own rank, there were likewise servile practitioners who prescribed for the diseases of slaves. Plat. De Leg. iv. t. vii. p. 362, seq. Cf. Poll. iv. 177, sqq.

² Aristot. Poet. c. 22. Rhet. iii. 2.

³ Luc. adv. Indoct. § 29.

⁴ Dioscor. præm. p. 4.

⁵ On the primitive instruments of surgery see Goguet, Origine des Loix. t. ii. p. 17.

⁶ Beckmann, History of Inventions, iii. 160.

⁷ Poll. iv. 181.

Their knowledge of the *materia medica* was acquired for the most part by experience, though there existed, previously to the time of Hippocrates, works on the virtues of plants, among which we may mention that of Cratevas. By degrees these treatises were greatly multiplied, and included, at length, a species of encyclopedia, arranged in alphabetical order;¹ though not one single fragment of it has been spared by time. At first, and for many ages, the art relied chiefly upon simples, the qualities of which were consequently studied with great ardour, and, no doubt, with much success. Numerous individuals devoted themselves to the gathering, drying, and preserving, of medicinal roots and herbs, an occupation requiring considerable time and labour,—for which reasons the physicians, by whom it was originally performed, soon abandoned it to the rizotomists.

But the business of collecting simples, by whomsoever performed, required great knowledge and perseverance. The individuals who carried it on spread themselves, at the proper seasons of the year, through all Greece, more especially over Mount Pelion in Thessaly, Telethra in Eubœa, Parnassos in Phocis, and the uplands of Laconia and Arcadia,² making inquiries, as they went along, of the inhabitants of every district and canton respecting the medicaments in use among them, and collecting from the mouths of peasants and shepherds the fruits of their limited but close observation. They passed, as a matter of course, the greater part of their lives in the fields, studying the topography and distribution of plants, and investigating all the phenomena of vegetation. They believed, that herbs vary in virtues and powers

¹ Dioscorides, however, who mentions this work, is far from speaking of the plan with praise: *ἡμαρτον δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν τάξιν· οἱ μὲν ἀσυμφύλους δυνάμεις συγκρούσαντες· οἱ δὲ κατὰ στοιχεῖα ἀναγράφαντες· διέζευξαν*

τῆς ὁμογενείας τὰ τε γένη καὶ τὰς ἐνεργείας αὐτῶν, ὥς διὰ τοῦτο ἀσυμνημόνευτα γίνεσθαι. Proœm. p. 2.

² Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 15. 3, sqq.

according as they are found in mountains or in valleys, in places overrun with moisture, and where the air is rank and heavy, or on spots swelling and exposed, where they are fanned and invigorated by every breeze that blows. They laid much stress, too, on the season of the year, on the weather, and on the hour of the day; some simples requiring, it was supposed, to be gathered when the sun has exhaled from them all extraneous moisture, others before its rising, others amid the darkness of night when their leaves and flowers were suffused with dew. They were guided, likewise, in their operations by other rules, some founded on experience, others originating in fancy and superstition. In culling, for example, the thapsia¹ and several other herbs, they were careful, having first anointed themselves with oil, to stand with their backs to the wind, persuaded that they otherwise should inhale certain noxious effluvia which would cause their whole bodies to swell, or, in the case of the dog-rose,² that their sight would be impaired.

Those who gathered the mountain rue,³ anointed their faces and hands with oil, to guard themselves against cutaneous inflammation. Again, of other herbs the juices are so pungent as to burn like fire: these were collected in the greatest haste. In digging the hellebore,⁴ too, the odour of which was supposed rapidly to affect the brain, they proceeded with great celerity, and were careful to eat a clove or two of garlic beforehand, and to drink a little pure wine after. But all these precautions were trifling compared with those which the good

¹ Dioscor. iv. 157. Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 8. 5.

² Κυνόσαρον. Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 8. 5.

³ Dioscor. iii. 53.

⁴ King Attalus, desirous not to have far to reach in the matter

of poisons, cultivated a great variety of them with his own hands in the royal gardens, such as hyoscyamus, hellebore, hemlock, aconite, and dorycnion, of whose virtue and qualities he obtained a thorough knowledge by experiments. Plut. Demet. § 20.

rizotomists had persuaded themselves were indispensable in collecting the peony flower.¹ About this operation they interwove a sort of netting of romance: it was to be undertaken they affirmed by night, lest the woodpeckers, who regarded it with as much jealousy as the Indian ants do their gold, should fall upon the unfortunate herbalists, and with their sharp beaks pluck out their eyes. So, likewise, in gathering the centaury they were to stand on their guard lest they should be assaulted and maltreated by the hawks. Considering all these numerous evils which rizotomist flesh was heir to, Theophrastus thinks it by no means absurd, that when issuing forth on an enterprise so perilous, they should have fortified their nerves with many prayers. Some few, however, of their practices the philosopher condemns as a trifle beyond the mark, as for example when in digging the root of the Asclepian all-heal, they judged it necessary to propitiate mother earth by burying in its stead a cake composed of many various sweets. And again in unearthing the root of the *iris foetidissima*, they interred a cake of spring wheat mixed with honey, not, however, before they had drawn round the spot a treble circle with a two-edged sword. When they had obtained possession of one of the roots, they held it up for some time in the air, and then proceeded to procure a second, and so on. Strangest of all, however, were the ceremonies observed in digging the mandrake.² First, the triple magic circle was inscribed on the earth with a sword, then the pious rizotomist turned his face toward the west, and began to use his knife, while a second operator went dancing round, uttering all kinds of amorous incantations. Still more perilous was the gathering of the black hellebore, which they performed with the face towards the east, and many

¹ Παιωνία. Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 8. 6.

² Μανδράγορας. Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 8. 8.

prayers to Apollo and Asclepios.¹ The strictest watch was meanwhile to be kept, that no eagle appeared above the horizon; for if the eye of this king of birds happened to fall upon the herbalist while engaged in digging, he would infallibly die within the year.²

After all these toilsome and dangerous enterprises it was natural that the rizotomists should desire to enjoy some advantages,³ which, accordingly, they procured themselves by selling dear their hard-won prizes to their equally superstitious countrymen. Making no pretension as I have said to describe the regular medical practice among the Greeks, I shall here, nevertheless, introduce some few particulars more or less connected with it, which may be regarded as characteristic of the age and people.⁴ Great were the virtues which they ascribed to the herb alysson, (*biscutella didyma*), which, being pounded and eaten with meat, cured hydrophobia. Nay, more, being suspended in a house, it promoted the health of its inhabitants;⁵ it protected likewise both man and cattle from enchantment; and, bound in a piece of scarlet flannel round the necks of the latter, it preserved them from all diseases.

Coriander-seed,⁶ eaten in too great quantity, produced, they thought, a derangement of the intellect. Ointment of saffron had an opposite effect, for the nostrils and heads of lunatics being rubbed there-

¹ Dioscor. iv. 151.

² Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 8. 5, sqq. The spleen-wort, (*δσπλήνον*) when designed to produce sterility was collected on a dark night: *δσελήνον δὲ νύκτος φασὶ δεῖν αὐτὴν ὀρύσσειν εἰς αἰόκιον*. Dioscor. iii. 151.

³ Cf. Poll. iv. 177.

⁴ See a witty disquisition on charms in Luc. Philopseud. § 7, and a list of medicinal plants introduced into remedies for the gout. Tragopodag. 138, seq.

⁵ Dioscor. iii. 105. Another mode of repelling contagious disorders was to cause verses to be written by soothsayers on the door. Luc. Alexand. § 36. Fevers were also cured in some places by touching miraculous statues, as that of the wrestler Polydamas at Olympia, or that of Theagenes, at Thasos. Deor. Concil. § 12. A sea-onion was planted before dwelling houses as a charm. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vii. 13. 4.

⁶ Dioscor. iii. 71.

with they were supposed to receive considerable relief.¹ Melampus the goatherd was reported to have cured the daughters of Prætos² of their madness by large doses of black hellebore, which thereafter received from him the name of Melampodion. Sea-onions³ suspended over the doors preserved from enchantment, as did likewise a branch of rhamnus over doors or windows.⁴ A decoction of rosemary⁵ and of the leaves and stem of the anemone⁶ was administered to nurses to promote the secretion of milk, and a like potion prepared from the leaves of the Cretan dittany⁷ was given to women in labour. This herb, in order to preserve its virtues unimpaired, and that it might be the more easily transported to all parts of the country, was preserved in a joint of a ferula or reed. A plaster of incense,⁸ Cimolian earth, and oil of roses, was applied to reduce the swelling of the breasts. A medicine prepared from mule's fern,⁹ was believed to produce sterility, as were likewise the waters of a certain fountain near Pyrrha, while to those about Thespiæ a contrary effect was attributed, as well as to the wine of Heraclea in Arcadia.¹⁰ The inhabitants of this primitive region

¹ Δύναμιν δὲ ἔχει (κρόκινον) θερμαντικὴν, ὑπνωτικὴν, ὅθεν πολ-
λάκις ἐπὶ φρενετικῶν ἀρμόζει κα-
ταβρεχόμενον, ἢ ἀποσφραϊνόμε-
νον, ἢ καὶ κατὰ μυζωτήρων δια-
χριόμενον. Dioscor. i. 64.

² Dioscor. iv. 151. Apollod. ii. 2. 2.

³ Luc. Alexan. § 47. Dioscor. ii. 202.

⁴ Dioscor. i. 119.

⁵ Λιβανωτὶς. Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 11. 10. Dioscor. iii. 87. "In insulis Græcis rariùs in Melo legit." Sibth. Flor. Græc. tab. 14. "In Zacintho, nec non in Bæotia." D. Hawkins.

⁶ Dioscor. ii. 207.

⁷ Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 16. 1.

⁸ Dioscor. i. 81. Cf. Cels. ii.

33. Pills of wax were given to nurses to prevent the thickening of the milk. Dioscor. ii. 105. We have already remarked on the exuberance of milk in Greek women. Nevertheless the opinion prevailed that one nurse could not suckle two children: οὐδὲ δύο βρέφη ὑπὸ τροφῶν μιᾶς ἐκτρέφόμενα. Geopon. v. 13. 4. The stone Galactites was worn round the neck by superstitious nurses in order to increase their milk. Plin. viii. 16. xxxvii. 10. Vignère, Imagen. de Philostrate, p. 576.

⁹ Ἡμιόνιον. Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 18. 7.

¹⁰ Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 18. 10.

drank milk as an aperient¹ in the spring, because of the medicinal herbs on which the cattle were then supposed to feed. Medicines of laxative properties were prepared from the juice of the wild cucumber, which were said to retain their virtues for two hundred years,² though simples in general were thought to lose their medicinal qualities in less than four.³ The oriental gum called kankamon was administered in water or honeyed vinegar to fat persons to diminish their obesity, and also as a remedy for the toothache.⁴ For this latter purpose the gum of the Ethiopian olive⁵ was put into the hollow tooth, though more efficacy perhaps was attributed to the root of dittander⁶ which they suspended as a charm about the neck. A plaster of the root of the white thorn⁷ or iris⁸ roots prepared with flour of copper, honey, and great centaury, drew out thorns and arrowheads without pain. An unguent procured from fern⁹ was sold to rustics for curing the necks of their cattle galled by the yoke. A decoction of marsh-mallow leaves¹⁰ and wine or honeyed vinegar was administered to persons who had been stung by bees or wasps or other insects;¹¹ bites and burns were healed by an external application of the leaf smeared with oil, and the powdered roots cast into water caused it to freeze if placed out during the night in the open air; an

¹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 15.
 4. The belief was prevalent, however, that milk at all times was a species of medicine. Thus when Timagoras accepted, among other things, eighty cows from the king of Persia, with herdsmen to take care of them, he pretended that he had need of their milk on account of the delicacy of his health: ὥς δὴ πρὸς ἀρρώστιαν τινὰ γάλακτος βοείου δεόμενος. Plut. Pe-
 lopid. § 30.

² Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 14. 1.

³ Dioscor. in proœm. p. 4.

⁴ Dioscor. i. 23.

⁵ Id. i. 141.

⁶ Id. ii. 205.

⁷ Id. i. 122.

⁸ Ἴρις, Iris foetidissima. Dioscor. iv. 22.

⁹ Πτέρις. Dioscor. iv. 186.

¹⁰ Dioscor. iii. 163. A plaster of fresh laurel leaves was thought to produce the same effect. i. 106.

¹¹ As a protection against musquitos the Greeks we find were accustomed to anoint their bodies with oil which had been flavoured with wormwood. Dioscor. iii. 26.

unguent was prepared with oil from reeds, green or dry, which protected those who anointed themselves with it, from the stings of venomous reptiles. Cinnamon unguent,¹ or terebinth and myrtle-berries,² boiled in wine, were supposed to be a preservative against the bite of the tarantula or scorpion, as was the pistachio nut against that of serpents.³ Some persons ate a roasted scorpion to cure its own bite;⁴ a powder, moreover, was prepared from sea-crabs supposed to be fatal to this reptile.⁵ Vipers⁶ were made to contribute their part to the materia medica; for, being caught alive, they were enclosed with salt and dried figs in a vase which was then put into a furnace till its contents were reduced to charcoal, which they esteemed a valuable medicine. A considerable quantity of viper's flesh was in the last century imported from Egypt into Venice, to be used in the composition of medicinal treacle.⁷ From the flowers of the sneezewort,⁸ a sort of snuff appears to have been manufactured, though probably used only in medicines. The ashes of old leather⁹ cured burns, galls, and blistered feet.

The common remedy when persons had eaten poisonous mushrooms was a dose of nitre exhibited in vinegar and water;¹⁰ with water it was esteemed a cure for the sting of the burncow, and with benzoin it operated as an antidote against the poison of bulls' blood. The seeds of mountain-rue, in small quantities, were regarded as an antidote, but, administered too copiously, were themselves lethal.¹¹ White hellebore was employed with honey and other me-

¹ Dioscor. i. 13.

² Id. i. 91. 155.

³ Id. i. 177.

⁴ Id. ii. 13.

⁵ Id. ii. 12.

⁶ Id. ii. 18.

⁷ Hazelquist, Travels, p. 221.

⁸ Πταρμική. Dioscor. ii. 192.

⁹ Τὰ δὲ ἀπο τῶν καττυμάτων παλαιὰ δέρματα, κεκαυμένα καὶ λεία καταπλασσόμενα, πυρίκανστα καὶ παρατρίμματα καὶ τὰ ἐξ ὑποδημάτων θλίμματα θεραπεύει. Dioscor. ii. 51.

¹⁰ Dioscor. v. 130.

¹¹ Id. iii. 53.

dicines to poison rats;¹ bastard saffron,² mice, pigs, and dogs; which last were physicked with hellebore.³ The deadly qualities of this plant, when taken in any quantity, were universally known, and, therefore, the pharmacopolist, Thrasyas,⁴ of Mantinea, who boasted of having invented a poison which would kill without pain, attained the credit of possessing something like miraculous powers, because he used frequently, in the presence of many witnesses to eat a whole root, or even two, of hellebore. One day, however, a shepherd, coming into his shop, utterly destroyed his reputation; for, in the sight of all present, he devoured a whole handful, observing that it was nothing at all, for that he and his brethren on the mountains were accustomed to do as much, and more, daily.⁵ They had, in fact, discovered, that medicine is no medicine, and poison no poison, to those with whose bodies they have been assimilated by use. When limbs were to be amputated, and previous to the application of the cautery, a dose of powdered mandragora-root was usually administered.

On the nature, power, and uses, of ancient poisons, it is not my purpose to enlarge.⁶ It may be proper,

¹ Dioscor. iv. 150.

² Χαμαιλέων λευκός
ἀποκτείνει καὶ κύνας καὶ ὄας καὶ
μύας, σὺν ἀλφίτῳ πεφυραμένη,
καὶ ὕδρελαίῳ διεθεῖσα. Dioscor.
iii. 10.

³ Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 8. 4.

⁴ Theophrast. Hist. Plant. ix.
16. 7, seq. Cf. Sext. Empir.
Pyrrh. Hypot. l. i. p. 17. b.

⁵ Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 17. 1.

⁶ See on Scythian slow poison,
Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 15. 2.
Among the Romans the *lepus*
marinus (the *aplysia depilens* of
Linnæus) was sometimes used as
a secret poison, as we find from
the example of Domitian, who

employed it in removing his brother Titus. Δυοῖν δὲ ἐτοῖν μετὰ
τὸν πατέρα τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχόν-
τα, ὑπὸ τοῦ θαλαττίου λαγῷ
ἀποθανεῖν. τὸν δὲ ἰχθὺν τοῦτον,
παρέχεσθαι χυμοὺς ἀπορρήτους,
ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ
καὶ γῇ ἀνδροφόντα. καὶ Νέρωνα
μὲν ἐμποιῆσαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ὄψοις
τὸν λαγὼν τοῦτον ἐπὶ τοὺς
πολεμωτάτους, Δομετιανὸν δὲ
ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Τίτον, οὐ τὸ ξὺν
ἀδελφῷ ἄρχειν δεινὸν ἡγούμενον,
ἀλλὰ τὸ ξὺν πρῶτῳ τε καὶ χρηστῷ.
Philost. Vit. Apoll. Tyan. vi. 32,
p. 271. The baneful qualities of
this fish are noticed, likewise,
by Dioscorides, Alexipharm. 30;
by Ælian. de Nat. Animal. ii.

however, to observe, that they had discovered drugs which would kill secretly, and at almost any given time from the moment of administering them. They, by certain preparations of aconite,¹ so called from Aconè, a village in the country of the Mariandynians, the professional poisoners could take off an individual at any fixed period, from two months to two years. The possession, however, of this poison was in itself a capital offence.² It was usually administered in wine or hydromel, where its presence was not to be detected by the taste. At first, there was supposed to exist no remedy, so that all who took it inevitably perished; but, at length, physicians, and even the common people of the country, discovered more than one antidote prepared from the ground-pine,³ from honey, and from the juice of the grape. Another poison, evidently in frequent use, was the bulb of the meadow-saffron (*colchicum autumnale*), which being known to everybody, and nearly always at hand, slaves⁴ were said to have plucked and eaten when enraged against their masters; but, repenting presently, they used, with still greater celerity, to rush in search of an antidote. Some persons, anxious to fortify their children against the effects of all noxious drugs, were in the habit of administering to them as soon as born a small dose of the powder of bindweed,⁵ which they believed to possess the power of protecting them for ever. When persons were invited out to dine where they ran the risk of meeting with ratsbane in their dishes, it was customary to chew a little calamint before the repast.⁶ In the case of the canine species the Argives, instead of having recourse to poison, like their neighbours, used to celebrate an annual festival during

45. xvi. 19, and by Pliny, Nat. Hist. ix. 72. xxxii. 3.

¹ Cf. Beckmann, i. 82.

² Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 16. 7.

³ Dioscor. iii. 175.

⁴ Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 16. 6.

⁵ Dioscor. iv. 144.

⁶ Id. iii. 43.

the dog-days, in which they seem to have slaughtered¹

Both mongrel, puppy, whelp, and hound,
And cur of low degree,

the moist atmosphere of their city having been peculiarly liable to engender hydrophobia.

Among the more remarkable of the *materia medica* was the cedar gum, generally transparent, and of a most pungent odour. It was esteemed destructive of living bodies, but formed, doubtless, an important ingredient among the embalmer's materials, since it completely preserved corpses from corruption, on which account it was sometimes called the Life of the Dead.² It entered, moreover, into preparation designed to sharpen the sight.

The gum obtained from the cherry-tree³ was administered in wine and water to promote appetite. A dose of saffron and boiled wine restored the tone of the stomach after excess at table. Asses' milk was habitually given to consumptive patients, connected with which practice there is an apothegm of Demosthenes, which may be worth repeating. When he was once exerting himself to prevail on some foreign state to ally itself with Athens, an orator in opposition observed, that the Athenians were like asses' milk, whose presence always indicated sickness in the places they visited. "It is true," replied Demosthenes, "but the sickness previously exists, and they come to cure it." A mixture of salt and water, to which the Egyptians added the juice of the radish,⁴ constituted a very common emetic. Opium was in general use even

¹ Athen. iii. 56. There appears to be no other authority for this custom. Cf. Meurs. Græc. Feriat. iv. p. 183. The poison of a mad dog's bite was exhausted by the cupping-glass. Celsus, v. 27. 2.

² Δύναμιν δὲ ἔχει σηπτικὴν μὲν τῶν ἐμψύχων, φυλακτικὴν δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν σωμάτων. ὅθεν καὶ νεκροῦ ζωὴν τινες αὐτὴν ἐκάλεσαν. Dioscor. i. 105.

³ Dioscor. i. 157.

⁴ Συρμαία, Poll. i. 247.

so early, apparently, as the age of Homer,¹ who seems to have celebrated it under the name of nepenthè. The Spartan soldiers appear to have made considerable use of the poppy-head;² but whether for the same purpose as the Rajpoots of modern India, I do not pretend to determine. Persons desirous of obtaining frightful and dismal dreams³ could always gratify their wishes by eating leaks or lentils, or the seeds of the great bind-weed,⁴ mixed with dorycnion. We may mention by the way, that the ancients understood well the doctrine of the circulation of the blood.⁵

¹ Odyss. δ. 221. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxi. 21. Dutens, p. 183. From a passage in Herodotus there seems reason to suspect, that certain Asiatic nations were already in his time acquainted with the inebriating effects of opium smoke. For, describing the inhabitants of the larger islands found in the Araxes, he relates that they were accustomed to gather together round a fire, and casting the fruit of some unknown tree into the flames to inhale with delight the smoke and effluvia emitted by it, until

they experienced all the delight and madness of intoxication, which impelled them to leap about, and dance and sing. i. 202. Among the Scythians, moreover, we find in the same author distinct traces of the use of beng, or hemp-seed. iv. 75.

² Thucyd. iv. 26. Celsus, ii. 32. Dioscor. iv. 65.

³ Dioscor. ii. 129. 179.

⁴ Σμίλαξ λεία. Dioscor. iv. 145.

⁵ Poll. ii. 46. 214. 216. Plat. Tim. t. vii. p. 19, seq. 89, seq. 98.

CHAPTER VII.

INDUSTRY : WEAVERS, GLOVERS, SOCK-MAKERS, CORD-
WAINERS, TANNERS, HATTERS, DYERS OF PURPLE, ETC.,
FISHERMEN.

IN spinning and weaving the ancients evidently rivalled us, though without the aid of machinery. As far, indeed, as the former process is concerned, no machinery can rival the human hand, which, from its slight oily exudation¹ is enabled to communicate superior strength and evenness to the finest threads. Thus in Hindustân muslins were formerly produced, which, laid on the grass and wetted by dew, became invisible.² And there is no reason for doubting that the produce of ancient Greek looms rivalled those of Dakka. The fabrics of Cos³ and Tarentum appear, in fact, from the testimony of the ancients, to have floated like a snowy mist around the female form, disclosing its whole contour like a gauze veil.⁴ In flowered and variegated tissues,⁵ too, they attained extraordinary

¹ The whole of the manufacture in India is by hand-spinning, consequently there is a greater tension, from the moisture which the hand gives them, than can be had from anything in the shape of machinery; a fine yarn can be produced by hand-spinning "from a short staple, which frame-spinning will not touch at all." Report from the Lords, July 8, 1830, p. 316.

² Tavernier relates, "that the ambassador of Shah Sefi, on his

"return from India, presented his master with a cocoa-nut, set with jewels, containing a muslin turban, sixty covits, or thirty English yards, in length, so exquisitely fine, that it could scarcely be felt by the touch." *The Hindoos*, vol. i. p. 188.

³ Winkel. *Hist. de l'Art*. i. 498.

⁴ *Athen.* xii. 23. *Aristoph.* *Lysist.* 48. *Poll.* vii. 76.

⁵ To these an allusion is made in the following passage of Plato :

excellence. The finest and most brilliant shot stuffs imitating the breast of the dove, flowered cloth of gold, and the weaving of gold wire itself, were known to the ancients. Silk, before that of China¹ was common in the west, they obtained from the beard of a sea shell; and lawn and cambric and open work, like Brussels or Valenciennes lace, were familiar to them.

Being ignorant of who was the inventor of the art of weaving, they attributed the honour to Athena, who imparted a knowledge of it to Arachnè,² a virgin of Mæonia, afterwards changed into a spider. But spiders were not long the only weavers among the Hellenes, who speedily invented the upright and horizontal looms, which, in after times at least, were constructed from the wood of the andrachnè.³

Among the finest and most elegant fabrics of Greece were those manufactured in the Achæan city of Patræ,⁴ where the women being twice as numerous as the men, would alone appear to have worked in the factories, from which the greater number of the inhabitants, doubtless, derived their livelihood. The flax, from which the fine linen and head-nets⁵

ὥσπερ ἱμάτιον ποικίλον πᾶσιν ἄν-
θεσι πεποικιλμένον, οὕτω καὶ αὕτη
πᾶσιν ἢ θεσι πεποικιλμένη καλλίσ-
τη ἂν φαίνοιτο. De Repub. viii.
t. vi. p. 401. Cf. Poll. iii. 34.
Winkelman, i. 500. Athen. ii.
80.

¹ Paus. vi. 266, sqq. Aristoph.
Hist. Animal. v. 19, p. 138.
Plin. Nat. Hist. ix. 26, seq.
Gibbon, t. vii. p. 90, seq. Dap-
per, p. 266.

² Goguet, i. 266. Plut. Nic.
§ 9.

³ Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 7. 7.
The stem of the bastard-saffron
(κνήκος) was used as a spindle
by the women of remote anti-
quity. vi. 14. 3.

⁴ Pausan. vii. 21. 14. Cf.

Dutens, Origine des Découvertes,
p. 285. Herod. ii. 105.

⁵ Foës. Œconom. Hippoc. v. κε-
κρύφαλος. p. 202. These head-
nets were purple among the Spar-
tans. Athen. xv. 28. The Gre-
cian ladies, it would appear, some-
times wore upon their heads cauls
of fine skin, probably semi-trans-
parent, which obtained the name
of πομφόλυγες. Mœris, p. 206.
Bekk. In a former part of this
work, I have supposed this word,
where it occurs in Pollux, to sig-
nify beads, because water-bubbles,
which transparent beads resemble,
were so called. Etym. Mag. 682.
10. Suid. v. πομφόλ. t. ii. p. 565.
d. Martial alludes to the cauls

of this town were made, was not grown in the neighbourhood, but in the plains of Elis,¹ where alone, in Greece, the plant attained the highest degree of perfection, not yielding in fineness to the best produced in India, while it was possessed of superior whiteness.² The fine cloths manufactured from it sold for their weight in gold.³ Another species of very fine flax was cultivated in the island of Amorgos,⁴ where were likewise manufactured linens of the most beautiful texture, frequently dyed purple, on which account the word Amorgis⁵ has sometimes been supposed to denote a purple stuff, though the fabrics of the island were as often white as of any other colour. In imitation of the Egyptians, they wove a sort of fine napkins, which were evidently used in the same manner as our pocket-handkerchiefs.⁶

Even from hemp, very superior cloths were produced⁷ in antiquity, especially amongst the Thracians, in whose country this plant was found both in a cultivated and a wild state. It differed very little from flax, except in its superior height and thickness; and the fabrics manufactured from it were not to be distinguished from linen, save by the most

above-mentioned in the following verses :

Fortior et tortos servat vesica
capillos,

Et mutat Latias spumâ Ba-
tavâ comas.

Epigram. viii. 23. 19.

¹ Not as Mr. Bœckh supposes in Achaia, this name signifying Greece in general. It grew, observes Pliny, *circa Elim in Achaia*. Nat. Hist. xix. 4. Bœckh. i. 142.

² Paus. vi. 26. 6. v. 5. 2. vii. 21. 14. Winkel. Hist. de l'Art, i. 498. Sixteen matrons wove the peplos of Hera in Elis. Meurs. Gr. Fer. iii. 130, sqq.

³ Quaternis denariis scripula ejus permutata quondam, ut auri reperio. Plin. Nat. Hist. xix. 4.

⁴ Suid. v. 'Αμοργίς. Aristoph. Lysist. 150, et Schol. This was the rate at which silk was afterwards sold, as we learn from an anecdote of Aurelian. "Vestem
" holosericam neque ipse in ves-
" tiario suo habuit, neque alteri
" utendam dedit. Et quum ab
" eo uxor sua peteret, ut unico
" pallio blatteo serico uteretur,
" ille respondit, *absit ut auro fila*
" *pensentur*: libra enim auri
" tunc libra serici fuit." Vopisc. Vit. Aurelian, cap. xlv.

⁵ See Dapper, Description des Iles de l'Archipel. p. 184.

⁶ For which the old man substitutes a fox's tail. Aristoph. Eq. 906, et Schol.

⁷ Poll. vii. 73. Herod. iv. 74.

experienced judges. From hair, too, they both wove and plaited a variety of garments, among which would seem to have been a sort of mantle for ladies.¹ Sacks, too, were manufactured from the same materials, together with socks, whips, and fishing-lines. The Egyptians, we may observe by the way, wove fine cloths and sails, and made ropes, from the fibre of the papyrus plant,² as the Indians did from a sort of grass or fine rush.³

In the island of Cos existed, from a very early age, the art of rearing silkworms and weaving silk. As these insects, however, fed on the leaves of the pine, the ash, and the oak, the white mulberry not having been yet introduced into Greece, the silk they produced was very different in quality from that of China. The art of unwinding the cocoons and spinning the threads was invented by Pamphila, daughter of Plates,⁴ who thus became the benefactress of her country, whose fabrics were universally admired for their delicacy, fineness, and transparency, since they allowed the whole form and colour of the body to be distinguished through them, like the gauze chemises worn by the Turkish ladies in the recesses of the harem.⁵ Another kind of silk was manufactured by the ancients from the floss-like beard of the pinna marina, or silk-worm of the sea,⁶ found on the coasts of Asia Minor, Sicily, and the Balearic isles. This kind of silk was evidently, at one period, held in the highest estimation, since we find the emperors of Rome bestowing robes of it as a mark of their imperial favour on the satraps of Armenia. In modern times, however, this branch of industry has been almost totally neglected, though very warm and beautiful winter gloves and stockings are still

¹ Hemst. ad Poll. x. 32. Cf. ii. 24.

² Herod. vii. 12.

³ Id. iii. 93. Comm. on Poll. vii. 76.

⁴ Aristot. Hist. Animal. v. 19. Plin. Nat. Hist. ix. 26.

⁵ Lady Montague's Works, t. ii. p. 191.

⁶ Shaw, Travels in Barbary. Winkelmann, i. 499.

manufactured from it at Tarento. A pair of these gloves was considered of sufficient importance to be presented as a gift to Pope Benedict the Fourteenth.¹

But not for lightness and fineness only were the silks and other delicate fabrics of the ancients valued. They were variegated² with stripes, lozenges, the figures of birds and other animals, sprigs, flowers,³ and stars,⁴ inwoven into their texture, and of the most brilliant and beautiful colours.

Occasionally, moreover, when the ground of the whole tissue was white, a border of fanciful scrolls, leaves, and flowers, intermingling their several tints, extended round the whole robe or mantle, which was sometimes also bedropped with asterisks of gold. Their flowered silks, and cloths of various colours, were worn, not only by ladies in their dresses, but occasionally, also, by vain young men, who thus exposed themselves to the derision of the multitude. Bed-curtains, too, and the hangings of apartments⁵ were of variegated stuffs. In the manufacturing of tapestry⁶ and drapery for the statues and temples of the gods, the greatest possible magnificence and beauty were displayed. Whole years were devoted to the production of a single piece, which exhibited views of landscapes and cities, together with figures of gods, and heroes, and groups of warriors, sometimes arranged in religious processions, at other times engaged in battle, where the scene, the combatants, their armour, their weapons, and the flowing gore were represented by various colours to the life.⁷ In the manufacture of carpets, the Greeks displayed great taste and elegance, whether we regard the figures of animals, trees, or flowers, with

¹ Winkelmann, *Hist. de l'Art*. i. 499. *Æschyl. Agamem.* 855.

² *Plut. Aristid.* § 16. Winkelmann, *Hist. de l'Art*, i. 492. *Herod.* vii. 67.

³ *Plat. de Repub.* t. vi. p. 401.

⁴ *Athen.* xiii. 45. xii. 50. Cf.

Winkelmann, i. 499. *Gitone, Il Costume Antico e Moderno di tutti i Popoli*, t. i. p. 94. *Tav.* 15.

⁵ *Casaub. ad Theoph. Char.* p. 172. *Athen.* xv. 42.

⁶ *Hom. Il.* γ. 125, sqq.

⁷ Cf. *Hom. Il.* ζ. 289. 295.

which they were inwrought, or their pile, softness, and texture.¹ Many times when they had not been flowered by the hand of the weaver, they were adorned by the ladies themselves with sprigs, and leaves, and figures, in embroidery; sometimes of various bright colours, at others with threads of gold.² Even napkins in Egypt were embroidered with golden flowers,³ as both these and all kinds of handkerchiefs still are throughout the East. In Greece, the fine soft vests which warriors⁴ wore beneath their shirts of mail were usually figured with rich embroidery by the females of their family.

It appears to be generally supposed,⁵ that silver threads were not employed until a very recent period, either in weaving or embroidery;⁶ we find

¹ See Book III. chap. ii.

² One of the most extraordinary productions of the Grecian loom seems to have been that magnificent chlamys which was weaving for king Demetrius at the period of his overthrow. It had been, we are told, a long time in hand, and represented in one vast picture both the face of the earth, and heaven with all its constellations. But it was never completed, none of the succeeding sovereigns of Macedon possessing the gorgeous taste of the son of Antigonos. Plut. Demet. § 41. Next perhaps to this in curious workmanship may be reckoned that rich mantle fifteen cubits in length, which the Sybarite Alcisthenes exhibited on Mount Lacinium during the festival of Hera, which was frequented by all the people of Italy. Dionysios, the elder, obtaining possession of this garment, sold it to the Carthaginians for a hundred and twenty talents. It was of a rich sea

purple colour, and surrounded on all sides by a border containing the figures of animals, the upper row consisting of those of Susiana, the lower of those of Persia Proper. In the middle appeared an assembly of the gods—Zeus, Hera, Themis, Athena, Apollo, and Aphroditè. At either end stood a figure of Alcisthenes himself with a representation, probably symbolical of the city of Sybaris. All these figures were the produce of the loom, and not of the needle. Aristot. de Mirab. Auscult. t. xvi. p. 199, seq. Athen. xii. 58.

³ Poll. iv. 116. Athen. ix. 79. v. 28. Herod. ii. 122. Lucian. Amor. § 36, sqq.

⁴ Cf. Herod. vii. 61. ix. 76. 109.

⁵ By Beckmann, for example, History of Inventions, ii. 217, and Salmasius, ad Vopisc. p. 394, and ad Tertull. de Pallio, p. 208.

⁶ Cf. Lucian. Amor. § 38, sqq.

mention, however, in Philo Judæus,¹ of purple coverlets inwrought with silver and gold. But at length the love of show and magnificence rose to so high a pitch, that robes were woven entirely of threads of gold.² Ribbons also were manufactured of the same materials, and several fragments of these fabrics have more than once been discovered in cinerary urns at Rome, though the greediness of the finder has almost invariably led to their being melted down.³ At a later period stuffs were woven partly of silk or woollen and partly of gold.⁴

Of gloves⁵ the Greeks made little use, though they must have observed very early, that they were worn by the Persians, and probably by other nations of Asia.⁶ Nay even among their own rustics they would appear to have been in fashion as far back as the heroic ages.⁷ The principal customers, therefore, of the Hellenic glovers were the hedgers and ditchers, woodmen, and actors; for on the stage it was frequently necessary to appear in gloves,⁸ either in order to disguise the colour or augment the size of the hands, or, as in the case of the Furies, to give them the appearance of being furnished with talons like those of the hippogriff.⁹

Stockings properly so called, were perhaps little known to the Greeks, though we find mention made of certain socks woven from the cottonaceous filaments of a species of river truffle,¹⁰ which must have resembled them very closely both in form and texture. Besides, we see in works of art representations of this kind of sock reaching nearly to the

¹ Ed. Mangey, ii. 478.

² Winkelmann, i. 503. Huet, Hist. of Comm. p. 33. Cf. Athen. xii. 5, sqq.

³ Winkel. Hist. de l'Art, i. 503.

⁴ Id. i. 504.

⁵ Cf. Poll. ii. 152.

⁶ Xenoph. Cyrop. viii. 8.

⁷ Odyss. ω. 229. Paccichelli, de Chirothecis, in p. 238.

⁸ Luc. Jup. Tragœd. § 41.

⁹ See an example, Mus. Chiamont, tav. 16. Museo Real Borbonico, tav. 32. 50.

¹⁰ Theoph. Hist. Plant. viii. 13. 8.

knees, and somewhat loose, which may probably therefore have been woven. But the common sock, like the hat, was of felt,¹ and usually white,² fitting close to the foot and leg, and chiefly worn by women, with shoes or sandals,³ and sometimes in lieu of them,⁴ though in some cases it occupied the same place in the costume of the Greeks as it does in modern times.

The Hellenic cordwainers⁵ appear in every age to have carried on a thriving trade, since all the world, with the exception of a few philosophers, went well shod. Their workshops seem to have been neatly furnished. The shoes already made, whether plain or gilded,⁶ used to be ranged on shelves fixed up against the wall with fanciful brackets, while their lasts, pastepots, pincers, awls,⁷ and other implements, were kept in armories, sometimes furnished with double folding-doors, four or five deep shelves, and extremely elegant in form. Their cutting-boards⁸ were made from the wood of the wild pear-tree which being of a close hard grain kept their knives constantly in edge. Among the Israelites we find mention made of shoes of badger-skins.⁹

Of the various processes resorted to for tanning, dressing, and dyeing leather,¹⁰ whether to be worked

¹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. vii. 13. Athen. ii. 67. Plin. Nat. Hist. xix. 10. Poll. i. 148. ii. 196. Some persons wore in winter a lambskin covering for the legs and feet. Sch. Aristoph. Nub. 720.

² Lucian. Rhet. Præcept. § 15.

³ Schol. Aristoph. Lysist. 417. Acharn. 299.

⁴ Constant, v. *πίλοι*. Antich. di Ercol. t. ii. p. 185.

⁵ Poll. vii. 80—96. Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 299. Eq. 321. 709. Vesp. 103. Athen. iii. 56. On the Cretan Cothurn. Poll. vii. 193. v. 18. Boettig. Les Furies, p. 35. There was an expensive sort

of Ionian shoe called *βαυκίδες*. Etym. Mag. 192. 17. *Κρηπίδες* Hieron. Mag. Miscell. iii. 3. A pair of these slippers appears to have been a day's work, and cost in Lucian's time seven oboloi. Somn. seu Gal. § 22. Herodotus speaks of purple buskins. vii. 76. The women of Thessaly wore wooden shoes. Athen. xiii. 55.

⁶ Luc. adv. Indoct. § 6.

⁷ Poll. ii. 195. x. 141. Antich. di Ercol. t. i. tav. 35. p. 187.

⁸ Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 5. 1.

⁹ Ezekiel, xvi. 10.

¹⁰ Schol. Aristoph. Av. 259.

up into clothing, armour, shoes, or parchment, too little by far is known. We are merely informed that, in removing the hair from hides and skins, they made use of the berries of the white briony;¹ that, in preparing them for receiving any dye or colour, the seeds of the sumach² were employed; and that the bark of the fir-tree and the wood of the alder,³ reduced to chips, entered into various preparations for dressing and dyeing.⁴ Fawn-skins among the Thracians were prepared probably with the hair on,⁵ for a sort of buskins,⁶ and the skins of sheep,⁷ and dogs,⁸ beavers,⁹ otters, and badgers, tanned in a variety of ways, sometimes with and sometimes without the hair, were appropriated to the manufacture of various articles of dress. Leather, moreover, was dyed of every bright colour,¹⁰ purple, scarlet, and crimson, and occasionally gilded or flowered with gold,¹¹ for sandals, thongs, and other purposes.

The manufacture of hats and caps,¹² though a less important branch of industry than among the northern nations of modern times, afforded nevertheless employment to a pretty numerous class of persons. At Athens it was not fashionable in fine weather to wear a hat at all, chiefly, perhaps, because the practice was supposed to hasten the approach of grey hairs;¹³ but in those seasons of the year when sudden

¹ Dioscor. iv. 184.

² 'Ρόος. Dioscor. i. 147.

³ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 9. 1. 14. 3.

⁴ The low oak, which produces the large acorn used in tanning, is now found in abundance in the Troad. Chandler i. 25.

⁵ Herod. vii. 75.

⁶ Sandals of leather with the hair on are still occasionally observed among the sailors of Greece. Chandler. ii. p. 12.

⁷ Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 398.

⁸ Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 269.

⁹ Dioscor. ii. 26.

¹⁰ As early as the age of Moses we find mention of rams'-skins dyed red. Exod. xxv. 5.

¹¹ Poll. vii. 87.

¹² Poll. vii. 171. The President Goguet, however, imagines the Greeks had no hats. v. 440. Nightcaps. Sch. Vesp. 10. Arist. Cf. Antich. di Ercol. t. viii. p. 47. Gitone, Il Cost. Ant. e Mod. di tut. i Pop. t. i. p. 102. pl. 16.

¹³ Aristot. de Gen. Animal. v. 1. p. 355.

showers were looked for, cautious persons seldom went abroad without their broad-brim, which being furnished with a long skin thong was suffered to fall back and hang over the shoulders. If they happened to be caught by the rain when not thus provided, they threw, like Strepsiades in the *Clouds*, a corner of their mantle over the head. These hats were of various shapes,¹ and manufactured of very different materials; sometimes square or lozenge-formed, like our college-caps: sometimes round with broad leaf² and low basinet crown; sometimes peaked atop with rim curling all round like the bell of the Egyptian lotos. There was another modification of the hat,³ fashioned like a limpet-shell, and without a brim, chiefly worn by fishermen and poor operatives, and sometimes also by travellers.⁴

The cynic, Menippos, however, when making his round through Thebes, in the costume of a Fury, wore a broad-brimmed Arcadian hat, on which were represented the twelve signs of the zodiac.⁵ Among the Macedonians, who in all things affected magnificence, the hats of the courtiers and nobles were purple,⁶ like the tiara of the Persians,⁷ which, however, was furnished with side-flaps, resembling a peacock's wings. The most common material was felt, though they were likewise made of leather. Caps were ordinarily manufactured of dog, or sheep, or lamb skin.⁸

But if in some of these branches of the useful arts the Greeks approached, and, perhaps, equalled, the moderns, in another they probably excelled them; I mean in dyeing,⁹ more particularly, that deep crim-

¹ Dion Chrysost. ii. 67.

² Poll. x. 164. Athen. i. 12.

³ Poll. vii. 124. x. 127, 138.

Solerius, de Pileo. c. viii. p. 167.

⁴ Solerius, de Pileo. c. viii. p. 167.

⁵ Bœttiger. *Furies*, p. 29, sqq.

⁶ Plut. Eumenes. § 8.

⁷ Sch. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 63.
Cf. Poll. iv. 154.

⁸ Schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 269.
Poll. iv. 139.

⁹ Cf. Plat. *Tim.* t. vii. 95.
De Rep. t. vi. p. 183, seq. Don
J. P. Canáls y Martí, sob. la
Purp. de los Antiguos. Gibbon,
however, considered the ancient
purple very inferior to our own:
"By the discovery of cochineal,

son, or purple, of which Greek and Roman authors so often speak with an admiration bordering on rapture. Winkelman¹ is not far wrong in supposing there were two kinds of purple, the one containing a tinge of violet, or sea-blue, produced at Tarentum,² the other resembling our lake, known in antiquity as Tyrian dye. On the origin of this colour the ancients had many legends (for they loved to build a mythos on what they could not explain), from among which we shall select the most poetical. The Tyrian Heracles loved, they say, a nymph, who dwelt somewhere about the sea-coast, and her name, it is added, was Tyros. In visiting this young lady, Heracles, according to the custom of the heroic age, was accompanied by his dog, as we find Telemachos, in the *Odyssey*. This same dog, not having love to support him, grew hungry by the way, and espying a purple fish upon a rock, with its head protruding from the shell, he seized, and devoured it. On Heracles reaching the residence of the nymph, she observed the muzzle of the animal dyed of a bright purple, and, in the style of a froward beauty, declared she would never again see her lover until he brought her a dress of that colour. Now this hero, as all the world knows, or may learn from the comic poets, was always more remarkable for courage and gluttony than for invention. Love, however, on the present occasion, sharpened his wits. He discovered the fish, turned dyer, and, having produced such an article as the lady required, had the

“ &c., we far surpass the colours
 “ of antiquity. Their royal pur-
 “ ple had a strong smell, and a
 “ dark cast, as deep as bull’s
 “ blood—*obscuritas rubens* (says
 “ Cassiodorus, *Var. i. 2.*) *nigredo*
 “ *sanguinea*. The president, Go-
 “ guet, will *amuse* and *satisfy*
 “ the reader.” *Decline and Fall*
of the Roman Empire, vii. 90.

Note. Goguet will, no doubt, amuse and instruct, but I very much question whether he will satisfy, the reader. When Goguet and Gibbon wrote, the subject was much less understood than it is at present.

¹ *Hist. de l’Art.* iv. 5. 500, sqq.

² *Horat. Epist.* ii. 1. 207.

honour of being esteemed the inventor of the Tyrian purple.¹

The writer to whom we are indebted for this fable, which he related for the amusement of Commodus, has preserved a valuable account of the purple fishery as carried on by the Phœnicians. They fastened, he observes,² a number of small bell-formed baskets, at regular distances, to a long, stout, and tough cable, capable of resisting the action of the sea. These baskets, like the eel-traps of modern times, were surrounded at the mouth with a circle of slender twigs³ projecting inward, and almost meeting at the centre, resembling the bottom of a claret bottle, but with an opening through which the fish could easily force its way in, though the twigs closing with a spring behind it prevented its egress. To entice the prey, there was a bait in the basket, which, according to some, was a cockle, according to others, a frog, upon a hook,⁴ so that assurance was made doubly sure. All things thus prepared, the fisherman conveyed the apparatus to a rocky part of the shore, where they let it down, having previously fastened to it a strong cord with a piece of cork at the end, that they might be able to discover and pull it up. Leaving their traps there all night and all the ensuing day, they generally took up the basket full. Then, pounding both shell and flesh together, to prepare it for dyeing they cleansed away all impurities with water, and boiled the whole in a cauldron. The blood, being of an oily nature, melted on coming in contact with the heat and acquired its rich colour. Not always did it assume the same tint, but was sometimes yellow, sometimes a deep violet, and, occasionally, some other shade. Into this whatever was dipped immediately took the tincture of it.

¹ Poll. i. 45. sqq. Palæphat. Fragm. ap. Gal. Opuscul. Mytholog. &c. p. 62. Goguet, Origine des Loix. iii. 196. Fab. Column. de Purp. i. 22.

² Cf. Pausan. x. 37. 3.

³ Cf. Poll. i. 97. Plat. Sophist. t. iv. p. 134. Æl. Var. Hist. xiii. 43.

⁴ Athen. iii. 33.

Nor did it all fade in the sun ; but, on the contrary, rejoiced in the rays of light, as it were, its brightness imparting additional brilliance, and heightening the bloom and splendour of its tints.¹

Wherever, and by whomsoever, discovered, the purple was known in the time of Moses, who introduced it into the costume of the high priest, and among the ornaments of the tabernacle.² Homer,³ too, speaks of purple among the colours worn by his heroes, for example, a large purple pelisse. Iris is denominated "purple;" we have mention, also, of a "purple cloak, of a purple ball wherewith to play;" "purple coverings," of great beauty, for beds, or seats; "purple carpets;" "purple threads," where the "sea-purple" is distinctly spoken of.⁴ Again, in another part of the Odyssey, we find it said, that women wove the "purple cloaks."⁵ The President Goguet has entered into many useful investigations respecting the manner in which the Tyrian dye was used ; but at the outset confounds the *conchyliatæ vestes* with the purple garments, though Pliny, on whom he chiefly relies, constantly distinguishes them. The dye was obtained from several kinds of shell-fish⁶ found in the Mediterranean, the best on the island on which New Tyre was built.⁷ Aristotle, who of all the ancients has best described the purple fish, observes, that there were several species, of which some were of considerable size, such as those caught near Sigeion and Lecton ; while those found on the coast of Caria and in the Euripos were small. Generally, he says, such as inhabited bays or arms of the sea were large and rough, and contained a liquid of blackish hue, though

¹ Poll. i. 47, sqq.

² Exod. xxv. 4, sqq.

³ Il. ζ. 219. θ. 221. ρ. 547. Odyss. δ. 115. 154. τ. 225. 242. θ. 373. δ. 298. κ. 353. Il. ω. 645. 796. ι. 200. Odyss. ν. 151. Cf. Pind. Pyth. iv. 203. 6.

⁴ Odyss. ξ. 53. 306.

⁵ Id. ν. 108.

⁶ See a representation of the purple fish on a red jasper in Gori, Mus. Florent. ii. pl. 21. fig. 4.

⁷ Plin. Nat. Hist. ix. 60.

sometimes it was reddish, and small in quantity. Some of these were a mina, or about seventeen ounces, in weight. Those caught close along shores, or about headlands were usually of small size, but the dye they yielded was of a ruddier tinge. In general, too, it was thought that those found on northern coasts produced a darker, those on southern coasts a ruddier dye.¹ Purple fisheries were carried on on the coast of Africa, near the island of Menninx, and on the shores of Getulia.² So, likewise, in Europe,³ on the coast of Laconia,⁴ whose purple was greatly celebrated; in the Euripos, as we have seen above;⁵ and in the terrible southern bend of Eubœa, beneath the cliffs of Mount Caphareus.⁶ An inferior kind of purple was obtained from the buccinum,⁷ but the genuine dye was produced by the *calchè* alone. The colour was contained in a white vein about the neck, the remainder of the fish being of no value. To secure, this, however, it was necessary to take the fish alive, for at its death the colour fled. Having been carefully collected, and left to macerate in salt⁸ during three days, it was mixed with a certain quantity of water. The whole was then boiled for ten days in leaden boilers over a slow fire.⁹ After this the wool well washed, cleansed and properly prepared, was dipped into it. Here it was allowed to soak during five hours. It was then taken out, dried, carded, and thrown back, where it was suffered to remain till it imbibed the

¹ Arist. Hist. Anim. v. 15. p. 128, seq. Vitruv. vii. 13.

² Plin. Nat. Hist. ix. 60.

³ There was another purple fishery of considerable note carried on in the Corinthian gulf by the citizens of Bulis, a city of Phocis. Pausan. x. 37. 2. 3. Steph. de Urbib. p. 238. On the modern state of Bulis see Chandler, ii. p. 288.

⁴ Pausan. iii. 21. 6.

⁵ Pausan. iii. 21. 6.

⁶ Dion Chrysost. Orat. vii.

⁷ This fish is now abundant on the shores of Naples, where it is commonly eaten. Fab. Column. de Purp. iv. 1.

⁸ The proportion of salt was 20 oz. to 1 cwt. of the purple matter. Plin. Nat. Hist. ix. 62.

⁹ The animal matter mingled with it being constantly skimmed off. Plin. Nat. Hist. ix. 62.

whole of the dye.¹ To this double-dyed purple the poets often allude. Thus Horace :

Te bis Afro
Murice tinctæ
Vestiunt Lanæ.²

And again where the Phœnician operation is spoken of :

Muricibus Tyriis iteratæ vellera lanæ
Cui properabantur ?³

Elsewhere in enumerating the things, wherein the vulgar pride themselves, he once more enumerates purple garments—

Gemma, marmor, ebur, Tyrrhena sigilla, tabellas,
Argentum, vestes Gætulo murice tinctas,
Sunt qui non habeant, est qui non curat habere.⁴

It was seldom or never considered sufficient to rely upon one species of fish. Usually several kinds were mingled together;⁵ and to the mixture were added many other ingredients, as nitre, urine, water, salt, and the fucus—a kind of moss—by some writers supposed to be our argol,⁶ found in abundance on the rocky shores of Crete.⁷ The tint produced by this mixture resembled the colour of the amethyst.⁸ For, under the word purple, the ancients included three distinct colours,—the first a deep violet with a black or dusky tinge, designed by Homer, when he speaks of the “purple wave,” or of “purple death.” This was the amethystine shade spoken of as so magnificent by Pliny ; produced

¹ Plin. ix. 62. Gog. iii. 20.

² Carm. ii. 16. 35, sqq. On this the ancient scholiast quoted by Bentley, says, “Bis tinctæ, “dibaphæ vestes preciocissimæ.” Cf. Pompon. Mel. iii. 10. 35, p. 301. Gronov.

³ Epod. xii. 21, seq.

⁴ Epist. ii. 2. 180, seq.

⁵ The buccinum, for example, to give the ruddy hue. Fab. Column. de Purp. i. 19. Johan. Daniel. Annot. p. 33. Plin. ix. 37.

⁶ Beckmann, i. 59, sqq.

⁷ Goguet, iii. 20.

⁸ Fab. Column. de Purpura. c. i. § 8.

by the calchæ and buccina alone. The second which resembled deep scarlet or crimson, which is the colour of a ripe pomegranate, was the purple of Tyre and Tarentum. The third was the deep blue of the Mediterranean sea, when it begins to be ruffled by the winds; a variety produced by the buccinum alone, and always understood by the word *conchyliata*.¹ Near the Isthmus of Darien, a sea-snail has been discovered, which some have supposed to be the *murex* of the ancients. In dimensions it is about equal to the bee. Being of extremely rare occurrence, the Indian fishermen preserve it, when found, in a vessel of water until they have collected a sufficient quantity for dyeing a piece of stuff. They then, like the ancient Tyrians, pound it shell and all with a smooth stone or something which serves them for a mortar, which as the shell is extremely thin and frail is a task of little labour, and immediately dip the cotton yarn or stuff in the liquor thus obtained. The colour resulting from this operation is the richest purple that can be conceived, which instead of fading by being passed through water grows more lustrous and brilliant the more it is washed. Stuffs dyed in this manner are, as may be supposed, exceedingly costly, and on account of their beauty much coveted by the richest of the Indian women.²

The *fucus* above-mentioned, found on the shores of Crete, was sometimes employed separately in dyeing fillets, garments, and wool, and the colour thus produced was still more brilliant than that of the purple fish, though no means of fixing it could be discovered.³ The purple of Hermione, however, preserved its lustre and freshness for centuries.

¹ Dalecamp. ad Plin, ix. 62. t. iii. p. 770. Cf. Winkel. iv. 1. § 14.

² Valm. de Bomare. v. *Murex*, p. 169.

³ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 6. 5. Another method of dyeing purple

prevailed in a district of Asia Minor, where the quality of the springs would appear to have fixed the colour: "The waters of Hierapolis were surprisingly attempted for tinging wool

Alexander, for example, found in the royal palace of Susa vast quantities of purple garments dyed at Hermione, which, though they had been laid up nearly two hundred years, exhibited all their pristine bloom and beauty; because, observes the historian, the wool had been previously combed with white oil, and the colour fixed with honey.¹ Even in Plutarch's own time garments of equal age were to be seen, the purple of which had preserved its brilliance and splendour undiminished. Nay, a small pot of the dye was discovered at Pompeii which though covered atop with a thick tawny film had preserved all the deep tone and richness attributed to the Tyrian purple by the ancients.

In dyeing scarlet, the ancients made use of kermes² or cochineal, found in several parts of Greece, but imported likewise from various other countries. It was sometimes employed in giving the ground to purple stuffs.³ Garments of this colour would appear to have been extremely rare among the Orientals, since the admiration excited in Darius by the scarlet cloak of Syloson, whom he saw walking in the great square of Memphis, can be accounted for only by supposing that he had never beheld the like before;⁴ otherwise he would not have been so captivated by its magnificent colour as to press its wearer to sell it to him in the street. Syloson

"with a colour from roots, rivaling the more costly purples; and were a principal source of the riches of the place." Chandler, i. p. 270. The learned traveller, who is exceedingly sparing of his authorities, doubtless based his relation on the following passage in Strabo: "Ἔστι δὲ καὶ πρὸς βαφὴν ἐρίων θαυμαστῶς σύμμετρον τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ἱερὰπολιν ὕδωρ, ὥστε τὰ ἐκ τῶν ῥιζῶν βαπτόμενα ἐνάμιλλα εἶναι τοῖς ἐκ τῆς κόκκου καὶ ταῖς ἀλουργέσιν. l. xiii. c. iv. t. iii. p. 158.

¹ Plut. Vit. Alex. § 36.

² Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 6. 9. Cf. Fab. Column. de Purp. i. 13. Don Juan Pablo Canáls Y Martí, Memorias sobre la Purpura de los Antiguos. c. v. Phile, De Animal. Proprietat. c. xliii. p. 172, sqq. appears to describe, though in an indistinct and imperfect manner, the cochineal insect among the productions of India.

³ Beckmann, ii. 171.

⁴ Herod. iii. 139.

presented him the cloak as a gift; but afterwards, when Darius was king of Persia, he took care to proceed to court and make the circumstance known, upon which the generous prince overwhelmed him with his favours. This kind of dye appears to have been known in Greece from the remotest antiquity, since Simonides supposes that even the signal sail given by Ægeus to Theseus in his expedition to Crete was of a scarlet colour.¹ Sardis was celebrated for its scarlet,² whence the proverb, — to be dyed with the tincture of Sardis,—for, to be beaten black and blue. The ancients, however, generally mistook the insect for the fruit of the holm-oak, upon whose leaves it feeds; a circumstance which may be regarded as very extraordinary, when it is remembered that both the insect and the tree were daily under their eyes.

The wool of sheep is said by the Greek poets to have been dyed red on their backs by eating the madder plant.³ The wool of brown sheep was spun, woven, and worn of its natural colour, as it is still by the rustics of several European countries. Dyes of every other colour were likewise known to the ancients; as bright flame and saffron-colour, pink, green, and russet grey;⁴ deep and sky-blue, produced by woad;⁵ and red by madder.⁶ The Phrygian dyers made use of a kind of mineral⁷ obtained from Cappadocia; and wool was sometimes dyed with a decoction of beans.⁸ Among the Egyptians, linens, muslins, and all kinds of cloths were painted with flowers and figures, in a great variety of colours;⁹ which was the case, also, among the Massagetæ, who

¹ Plut. Thes. § 17. In later times we find Alcibiades, on his return to Athens, hoisting purple sails in the Admiral's galley. Plut. Alcib. § 32.

² Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 1140. ad Acharn. 118. Cf. Plin. xxiv. 4.

³ Virg. Eclog. iv. 45. Beckmann, History of Inventions, iii. 256—note.

⁴ Poll. vii. 13.

⁵ Ἰσάρις ἡμερος. Dioscor. ii. 215. Cf. Aristoph. Cimon. 332. Nub. 71. Dioscor. iii. 160.

⁶ Beckmann, History of Inventions, t. iii. p. 255.

⁷ Dioscor. v. 141.

⁸ Id. ii. 127

⁹ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxv. 42.

impressed on their fine woollen cloths a multitude of patterns, which preserved their brilliance unfading to the last.¹

As many kinds of woollens are wholly spoiled by common washing,² they were regularly, when soiled, carried by the Greeks to the fullers,³ whose mill and trade are supposed to have been invented by Nycias of Megara.⁴ These artisans made use of numerous earths and other substances in their operations; such as gypsum,⁵ the Cimolian earth and the Chian, the Lemnian, the Sardinian, the Umbrian, the Samian, the Tymphæan, and the Chalastræan.⁶ Wool, previous to being spun, was cleansed by soap-wort.⁷ In washing clothes they commonly made use of a lye prepared with lime or wood ashes.⁸ Sponges were blanched in the following manner:⁹ over such as were extremely soft they sprinkled a quantity of salt-fish, collected from the rocks, after which they were carefully washed, and laid in the summer sun with their hollow part uppermost. They were rendered still whiter by being saturated with salt froth or sea-water, and exposed during a succession of calm summer nights to the moon's rays.

The extent and importance of the Grecian fisheries¹⁰ may be inferred from the prodigious quantities of fish eaten in every part of Greece; for although they knew nothing in antiquity of those long fasts during which the members of the Greek church in modern times, ceasing to prey upon the dumb inhabitants of terra firma, let loose their voracity against those of the sea, they were no less

¹ Herod. i. 203.

² Casaub. ad Theoph. Charact. p. 241.

³ Herod. iv. 14. i. 92.

⁴ Plin. vii. 57. Goguet. iv. 6.

⁵ Theoph. de Lapid. § 67.

⁶ Constant. v. χαλαστραῖον. Theoph. de Lapid. § 64. Plat. Rep. t. vi. 184. Poll. vii. 39. x. 135.

⁷ Στρονθιον. Dioscor. ii. 193. Cf. Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 10.3. Plin. Nat. Hist. xix. 18.

⁸ See Mitchell on the Acharnes. 7. Gog. Origine des Loix, i. 279.

⁹ Dioscor. v. 138.

¹⁰ In the heads of certain fish, jewels are said to have been sometimes found. Athen. iii. 70.

partial to this kind of food than their descendants,¹ as will have been seen from a preceding portion of this work. Fisheries were accordingly established on nearly every part of the coast of Hellas, as well as of those islands and distant colonies of which she became mistress.

Thus a celebrated lamprey² fishery existed on the Faro of Messina, an eel-fishery at Syracuse,³ another

¹ Strabo relates an excellent anecdote in illustration of this passion of his countrymen. Speaking of the city of Iasos, situated in an island of the same name on the coast of Caria, whose inhabitants drew their chief subsistence from their maritime pursuits, and were abundantly supplied with fish, he adds, — that once upon a time a celebrated musician was performing in public before the inhabitants of this city: suddenly the bell which announced the opening of the fish-market was heard to sound. Away, in an instant, scampered the Iasians, eager to secure their favourite dainty, all except a single individual, who appeared to enjoy the performance of the citharador. Flattered by this mark of his taste or politeness, the musician approached the man, and said, “I am greatly obliged
“by the attention you have
“shown me, and have to con-
“gratulate you on your love of
“the art; for all the rest, as
“soon as they heard the bell
“ring, ran away.” — “What
“then! has the bell rung?” inquired the apparent listener, who happened to be deaf. “Yes,” answered the musician. “Then
“good luck be with you!” cried the man, and rising hastily from his seat, he rushed after his

townsmen. Strab. xiv. 2. t. iii. p. 203, seq.

² The observations made by Spallanzani on the eel and lamprey fisheries of Stromboli, may, with equal propriety perhaps, be applied to those which are found along the roots of *Ætna*: “The fish
“here,” he says, “are very plentiful and large, especially the
“sea-eels and *murænas*; and,
“during my short stay in this
“island, I saw a greater quantity
“taken than during the whole
“time of my continuance in all
“the Eolian isles. They are,
“likewise, of an excellent taste.
“This abundance, I am inclined
“to attribute to the volcano,
“which has continued incessantly
“burning from time immemorial;
“and which, extending to an immense depth, must necessarily
“communicate a part of its heat
“to the submarine base of the
“mountain, and to the waters
“that surround it, in the gentle
“warmth of which the fish find
“a more agreeable place of resort, and perhaps propagate in
“greater numbers than elsewhere.” Travels in the Two Sicilies, iv. 125.

³ Plut. Timol. § 20. In catching this fish it was customary to disturb the waters. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 862. In the polypus fisheries, besides the difficulty of

for taking the purple fish, on the eastern coast of Eubœa, a second on the shores of Laconia, a third at Sigæum in Asia Minor, and a fourth in the neighbourhood of Tyre and Sidon.¹ Whales and dolphins were caught in the Mediterranean, and in the Black Sea; thunnies in the same sea, on the Bosphoros, in the sea of Marmora, in the Hellespont, in the Adriatic, and in nearly all the eastern parts of the Mediterranean. Many kinds of smaller fish afforded employment to numerous bodies of men in the gulfs and bays of Attica and the Peloponnesos; and flourishing sponge-fisheries were carried on along the coast of Crete, and in several other parts of the Archipelago.²

In seas frequented by sharks, sponge-fishers necessarily incurred much risk. They therefore carefully observed every circumstance denoting the absence of danger, as for example, the appearance of the anthias,³ which is supposed never to be seen in the neighbourhood of any voracious sea-monster; for which reason it obtained from the Greeks the name of the Sacred Fish.

The divers engaged in this trade made use, moreover, of many contrivances to diminish the toil and hazard of their dangerous calling. Sometimes they poured oil⁴ upon the waves, which rendered them at once more tranquil and translucent and enabled them the better to carry on their operations at the bottom of the sea. They made likewise the first step towards the invention of the diving-bell, by descending with a large vessel turned upside down upon their heads, taking care that its edges sank into the water at the same instant, by which means

detaching the animal from its place, there was supposed to be another, arising from the power it possesses of assuming, like the chameleon, the colour of the surrounding rocks. Lucian. Dial. Deor. Marin. iv. § 3.

¹ This fish served for food as well as a dye. Luc. Cynic. § 11.

The cuttle-fish also was eaten as now. Catapl. § 7.

² Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 6. 5. Poll. i. 97.

³ Aristot. Hist. Animal. ix. 37. p. 279. 20. Bekk.

⁴ Dutens, Origine des Découvertes, 145.

they carried along with them a quantity of air, and were enabled to continue a considerable space of time beneath the surface.¹ A diver and his daughter are said to have performed good service for their country during the Median war; for, descending into the sea during a tempest, they loosened the anchors of many Persian vessels, and thus set them adrift to perish by the weather; in remembrance of which services, a statue was erected to both father and daughter at Delphi.²

The business of fishing was pursued in much the same manner as in modern times. Great numbers of smacks,³ of all dimensions, crowded the narrow seas between the islands and the main, making sometimes pretty long voyages, and taking passengers to augment their gains.⁴ These, moreover, formed the principal nurseries for the Grecian navies,⁵ particularly those of Athens, which consequently were manned, in the better ages of the republic, by the hardiest and most expert seamen in the ancient world. They employed in their operations both the harpoon and various kinds of large nets;⁶ and the ease and rapidity with which they filled their vessels may be inferred from the accounts given in modern times of the vast shoals of fish of all species and dimensions which in spring time col-

¹ Aristot. Problem. xxxii. 5.

² Paus. x. 19. 2. Athen. vii. 48. Anthol. Græc. ad Palat. Cod. ed. ix. 296. Cf. Herod. viii. 8. Quint. Curt. iv. 3.

³ Dion Chrysost. i. 220. Cf. Aristoph. Nub. 878. Ran. 139. Eq. 1220. Acharn. 367.

⁴ Dion Chrysost. i. 220.

⁵ See a comparison between the hardy occupations of the citizen and the hunter in Oppian. Halieut. i. 12. Cyneget. i. 49. The same poet in the third book of his Halieutics, (35, sqq.) describes the principal qualities of a fisherman,

bodily and mental, such as strength, watchfulness, love of the sea, all which must have admirably fitted him for distinguishing himself in his country's navy.

⁶ Plut. De Solert. Anim. § 24. Poll. i. 97. Anglers' lines were sometimes made of *τέρμυθος*, a plant resembling flax. Id. i. 233. Salmas. ad Solon. p. 911. a. Etymol. Mag. 753, 10. Fishing-hooks. Gouget, i. 166. Nets were sunk by leaden weights. Poll. i. 97. Cf. Philost. Icon. i. 13. p. 783. Artemid. Oneirocrit. ii. 14. p. 102.

lect in the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean, and pour in such multitudes into the narrow stream of the Dardanelles and the Bosporos,¹ that, with one sweep of a net, the fishermen are enabled to fill whole skiffs, while they may be taken by the hand from the shores, killed like birds with stones, caught with unbaited hooks, or by the women in common baskets, let down by ropes from the windows of such houses in Constantinople² as happen to stand on the beach. Elsewhere the fishermen made use of stop-nets in rivers or along the sea-coasts where the water for some way out was shallow. Various kinds of baskets,³ also, they had recourse to, together with the rod and line. Even that barbarous method, still in many parts of Europe put in practice by the vulgar, of poisoning the waters, was known to the Greeks, who, for this purpose, cast into streams or ponds the pounded leaves of the *Euphorbia Platyphylla*.⁴

On the land-locked seas, also, and lakes, and rivers, they pursued that striking and romantic species of fishery⁵ carried on at night,⁶ in which a

¹ See in Oppian a long and highly picturesque passage describing the allurements by which the Black Sea drew into itself those innumerable shoals of fish which in the text I have described flocking towards it. *Haliut.* i. 598, seq. Cf. *Strab.* vii. 6. t. ii. p. 112.

² *Gyllius, De Topograph. Constantin.* p. 6.

³ *Poll.* i. 97.

⁴ *Dioscor.* iv. 165. *Plat. De Repub.* Cf. *Schol. Aristoph. Concon.* 404. See the whole process of poisoning described by Oppian, *Haliut.* iv. 647, seq.

⁵ Cf. *Herod.* i. 62.

⁶ Chandler supplies us with a picture of this kind of fishing as carried on in modern Greece: "We embarked with a rougher

"sea than was pleasing, and
"rowed out in the dark towards
"the island, intending to fish.
"We joined our two seines, and
"the boats parted, moving each
"a different way, a man letting
"the net gently down into the
"water. We met again in the
"centre, when some embers which
"had been hidden, were blown
"up and exposed on an iron
"grate, the flame was fed with
"cedar dipped in oil, which blazing
"in the wind, brightened
"over the deep; the red coals
"hissing as they fell, and were
"extinguished. At the same
"time we began to clatter with
"wooden hammers on the sides
"and seats of the wherries, to
"dash with a pole, and to throw

flaming torch held at the boats' bows allures the fish to the surface, where by their bright eyes and glittering scales shining through the transparent water, they directed the aim of the fisherman's trident.¹ A small fleet of this kind of boats dispersed over a smooth sea under the lea of woody headlands or rocky shores, each with its bright red light, gliding noiselessly² hither and thither, discloses a scene of singular beauty to the imagination. In the paintings of Herculaneum,³ we find a landscape representing a group of fishermen immediately before day, when the dusky shadows are beginning to be dispersed by the first straggling rays of light which barely enable us to distinguish the boats, the nets, the rods, the fishermen themselves, and the picturesque shore on which they are at work.

One of the most profitable of the Greek fisheries was that of the thunny, which commenced about the rising of the Pleiades and terminated shortly after the setting of Arcturus.⁴ As this animal always moves about in troops, and swims near the surface of the water, which it visibly disturbs in its progress, at the same time blowing sportively, and uttering a loud noise, the fishermen, on the shores frequented by it, constantly stationed a number of watchmen along the beach, some perched aloft on the summits of cliffs, others on detached rocks,

“stones, disturbing and driving
 “the fish, and darting a trident
 “or spear if any appeared at the
 “top, dazzled by the light;
 “sprinkling oil to render the sur-
 “face tranquil and pellucid. The
 “men drew up the net with cau-
 “tion, fearing the fins of some
 “poisonous fish, particularly the
 “scorpion, which is killed with a
 “blow on the head while entan-
 “gled, when the danger ceases.
 “The boats meeting again, they
 “untie the seines, and throwing

“the fiery brands into the sea,
 “proceed in the dark to some
 “other place. This is the com-
 “mon method of fishing in these
 “seas.” *Travels in Greece and
 Asia Minor*, ii. p. 198, seq.

¹ Quint. Smyrn. *Posthomer.*,
 vii. 569, sqq.

² Cf. Oppian. *Haliut.* iii. 429.

³ *Antich. di Ercol*, t. xii. p.
 273.

⁴ Plin. ix. 20. Cf. Schol. A-
 ristoph. *Eq.* 313. 361. 862. Phi-
 lost. *Icon.* i. 13, p. 783.

rising out of the waves, or in trees, or on the top of masts set up at certain distances along the coast, that they might give notice of the approach of the thunnies.¹ As soon as the signal was given the fishermen pushed out with their barks, making a wide circuit, so as to take the fish in flank. Then letting down their long nets furnished with leaden weights to sink them, and with cords² wherewith to draw them up, they formed themselves into a semicircle, which rapidly narrowing round the shoal drove them towards the land, by which means the greatest number were either taken in the nets, or speared by tridents.³ Respecting one of these fishing stations, on the coast of Cypros, a very romantic anecdote is related.⁴ The inhabitants we are told, having sculptured a marble lion, which they adorned with emerald eyes, set it up on the tomb of a prince of the country named Hermias,⁵ upon

¹ Suid. v. Θυννοσκόπος t. i. p. 1336, seq. Aristoph. Eq. 313. Aristot. Hist. Animal. iv. 10. They who act as sentinels in the catching of the sword-fish, take their station on a platform in the fishing boat itself. "In the middle (of the bark) is fixed an upright pole, seventeen feet high, with ladders to go up it, and a kind of round platform at the top, for one of the crew, who acts as sentinel, to stand on. This platform is called *farriere*." Spallanzani, Travels in the Two Sicilies, iv. 336.

² Poll. i. 97.

³ Similar methods still prevail in the Mediterranean. "We had," says Chandler, "frequent opportunities (while at Genoa) of seeing the method of fishing within the mole. Several seines are united and extended so far as to form a large semicircle, but much curved at the two

"extremities. The men then retire to some distance, and begin clattering with sticks or hammers on the sides of their boats; the noise making the fish rise. One stationed on the yard-arm of a ship, takes notice which way they swim, and gives directions, until they are within the net, when they are driven towards the ends, and are soon entangled; or, trying from despair to leap over, fall on a wing, which is fastened to long reeds, and kept floating horizontally on the surface. The reward of much toil was, now and then a few mullet. The thynnus, or thunny fish, was anciently and is now taken nearly in this manner, but in shoals which endanger and often break the nets." Travels, &c., i. p. 6, seq.

⁴ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvii. 17.

⁵ Cf. Winkelm. ii. 93.

an eminence overlooking the sea. The splendour of the emerald, penetrating through the waves, scared away the thunnies, which in truth are remarkable for their timidity, so that the fishermen of that part of the island must unquestionably have been ruined had they not discovered the property of their lion's optics, and substituted in lieu of the emerald, eyes less terrible to the pusillanimous herds of Thetis. A circumstance almost equally extraordinary is related of the strait by which the stream of the Bosporos disgorges itself into the Propontis. Here they say a rock of marvellous whiteness is discovered on the Asiatic side through the waves in the neighbourhood of Chalcedon, which by its brightness scares away the thunnies, both in their way to and from the Black Sea. The ancient naturalists remark, that the thunny in this part of its migrations observes steadily one course, keeping generally on the Asiatic side in the ascent to the Pontus, where, excepting the seal and the dolphin, nothing destructive to fish is found, and, after making the circuit of its shores, returning to the Ægæan close along the coast of Europe.

This proceeding they account for by supposing that, of its two dull eyes, the right sees best, and that, in obedience to the guidance of this peeper, it makes the circuit of the sea in the manner stated. A better reason may be, that its peculiar food¹ is most

¹ Observations made on the habits of the swordfish may be thought to give some colour to this relation of the ancient naturalists: "The swordfish, we are told, is taken by the Mes-sinese sailors in two ways; that is, with the lance, and the palimadara, a kind of net with very close meshes. This fishery begins about the middle of April, and continues till the middle of September. From

"the middle of April to the end of June it is carried on upon the coast of Calabria; and from the end of June to the middle of September on that of Sicily. The reason of this is, that, by the account of all the fishermen, the swordfish, from April till June, entering by Faro, coats the shore of Calabria, without approaching that of Sicily; and passes the contrary way from the end of July to the

plentiful on the Asiatic coast in spring, and on the European in autumn, if, after all, we are to regard the fact itself as well established.¹ In this traject, however, it seems in reality, for some cause or another, to shun the vicinity of the City of the Blind, which constituted, perhaps, one of the principal causes of its inferiority to Byzantium. Nevertheless, a very delicate species of pelamys,² caught there, was known in the commerce of the ancient world, and transported to all parts of Greece.

We have remarked above, that the taking of the thunny commenced in spring, when it appears to have been in excellent condition, and very highly prized. During winter, whatever may have been its quality, it was not to be caught, since it retired to the depths of the Ægæan, beyond the reach of nets or tridents. In the heat of summer it was rendered lean and flabby by the persecution of a kind of worm, which, insinuating itself beneath the fins,³ harassed it incessantly. But, towards autumn, being delivered by nature from this pest, it again became plump, and was esteemed excellent eating. The growth of this fish is extremely rapid, more especially in the Black Sea, where, amid the vast quantities of mud and slime brought down by the numerous rivers, it finds in great abundance the food most congenial to its taste.⁴ The thunny, properly so called, is at present⁵ scarce along the coast of Mingrelia, where, by the ancients, it is said to have

“ middle of September. We
 “ know not whether it takes this
 “ contrary route for the sake of
 “ food, or from any other cause ;
 “ or whether it be the same fish
 “ that passes and repasses ; it
 “ is only certain that it does not
 “ coast the shore of Sicily but
 “ when it goes to spawn.” Spal-
 lanzani, Travels in the Two Sici-
 lies, iv. 331.

¹ Plin. Nat. Hist. ix. 20.

² Oppian, who tells a wonder-

ful story about the thunny de-
 vouring its spawn, immediately
 adds, that the roes which es-
 caped, concealed among the reeds
 and rushes, became pelamydes :

Τὰ δ' ἐν δονάκεσσι καὶ ἐν σχά-
 νοισι μένοντα

Πηλαμύδων ἀγέλας ὥρη τέκεν.

Haliut. iv. 510, seq.

³ Aristot. Hist. Animal. viii.
 13. p. 231. 30.

⁴ Oppian. Haliut. i. 600, sqq.

⁵ Voyages au Nord, vii. 187.

abounded, which renders it not improbable, that they included under this name more than one species of sturgeon, a fish still found in great numbers in those parts of the Black Sea.

The method of taking the pelamys¹ has been graphically described by an ancient writer. A well-appointed and swift bark, putting to sea with her rowers, dashed out as rapidly as possible into deep water, upon which one of the crew, stationed at the stern, let down the tackle. This consisted of two strong ropes, one on either side, to which were attached a number of small cords, each with a hook at the end, baited with the Laconian purple fish, and garnished with a feather of the sea-mew, which, glancing hither and thither in the currents of the sea, assisted in attracting the eye of the pelamydes. The boat then traced various lines upon the surface of the deep, now skimming in this direction, now in that, until it was followed by a shoal of fish, which, coming up with it, voraciously gorged the baits until not a single hook was left without its prey. Upon this the rowers desisted from their toil, and, pulling up the ropes, generally found their boat laden with the take.²

The manner in which the thunny is taken on the coast of Chili may, perhaps, be worth mentioning for the sake of comparison. As soon as the Indians discover a shoal of these fish near the shore they put to sea on large sealskin floats inflated, like bladders, with air, carrying with them a sharp-pronged trident, fastened to a tough and very long rope. They then approach and pierce the fish, which, immediately upon being struck, darts out to sea with prodigious celerity, the Indian, meanwhile, rapidly uncoiling his rope till the strength of the thunny is spent through loss of blood, after which he draws

¹ Pallas supposes this fish to be the Mugil Cephalus, or mullet, from the eggs of which Botargo is

prepared. Travels in Southern Russia, iv. 241.

² Ælian. de Nat. Animal. xv. 11.

back his prey, and, raising it upon his float, returns to the shore rejoicing.¹

It is probable that, in this manner of fishing, the Indian draws near the thunny while asleep,² as we find to have been often the practice among the Greek fishermen, who when they went forth at night, at which time the thunny is exceedingly drowsy, were attracted towards their prey by the white belly of the fish sleeping quietly on the surface of the water. Many other kinds of fish also appear to have been taken while asleep, notwithstanding that in general their slumbers are brief. Thus flat-fish, nestling in the sand or mud, were discovered through the transparent water, and pierced with the trident. So likewise the sea-dog, the gilthead, and the mullet, were taken by day, with the trident, while asleep; otherwise it has been thought they could scarcely be touched by this instrument. The skate and other fishes of the Selachian tribe were sometimes found to sleep so soundly, that they could be taken by the hand.³

On the shores of the Chelidonian isles there was a celebrated anthias fishery which was carried on in a peculiar manner. The fishermen putting to sea in their bark, and clad in garments of a sober colour, sailed backward and forward daily in the same place and at the same hour. By this means, the anthias, which in great numbers frequents that part of the sea, became accustomed to the sight of the vessel, and by degrees approached it, one of the shoal generally preceding the rest. To him the fishermen threw out something of which the anthias is fond, and continued to do so until the fish became so tame that they would eat food from

¹ Ovalle, i. 17. Baumgarten, i. 4. Aristot. Hist. Anim. iv. p. 109. Plin. Nat. Hist. ix. 20, seq.

² According to Oppian, however, most species of fish, like the Olympian Zeus, refuse to submit

to the chains of sleep, and keep their intellectual faculties perpetually on the stretch. But the Scaros, he allows, is occasionally caught napping. Halieut. ii. 656.

³ Aristot. Hist. Animal. iv. 10. p. 109.

his hand. A hook was then introduced into the bait, and as the fish crowded around the bark in prodigious multitudes, they were caught rapidly, and handed to a second person, who threw them into the bottom of the boat upon heaps of soft rags, lest by their bounding and struggling they should make a noise and frighten away their companions. The shadow of the boat assisted in concealing this manœuvre from the fish. It was considered necessary to spare the anthias which first approached, since, being probably a kind of leader, his disappearance instantly put all the rest to flight.¹ Sometimes it is said multitudes of these fish were collected round the boat by the striking of two bits of wood together in the manner of castanets.² The Milesians³ possessed close to their city a very lucrative fishery chiefly of the sea-dog,⁴ which there attained a larger size than anywhere else. This is supposed to have been owing to an extensive lagoon of fresh water, having however with the sea a channel of communication through which these fish found their way in, where they grew tame and fat, and were taken in great numbers.⁵

At a point on the gulf of Smyrna, a productive fishery is at present carried on in a very ingenious manner. The shore being low and level, a continuous sweep of reed-fences is stretched along, so as to enclose a considerable space of water, and furnished at intervals with gates, which are raised occasionally for letting in the shoals. The avenues are then closed, and the fish taken with facility. On the coast of China a similar fishery is found, lines of mats being substituted for reeds.⁶

¹ Plin. Nat. Hist. ix. 85.

² Oppian. Halieut. iii. 205, sqq.

³ Athen. vii. 86, seq.

⁴ Remarkable for its voracity.

Lucian. Dial. Mort. viii. The sea-dog was classed by Linnæus among the amphibia; but Spallanzani and M. Vicq-d-Azyr, re-

stored it, upon more accurate observation, to its place among the fishes. Travels in the Two Sicilies, iv. 379.

⁵ Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 361.

⁶ Chandler. i. 85. Cf. 151. Osbeck, Voyage to China, i. 199.

There was a small, but apparently productive, fishery in the canton of Marathon.¹ The right of fishing in the salt stream of the Rheitæ was secured by law to the priests of Eleusis,² whose city was famous for the scombros as well as for soles or turbot.³

¹ Paus. i. 32. 7. Meurs. Rel.
Att. c. viii. p. 32. Chandler. ii.
184.

² Paus. i. 38. 1. ii. 24. 6.
Chandler, ii. 210.

³ Athen. vii. 24.

CHAPTER VIII.

COMMERCE OF DORIC STATES.

ON the commerce of Greece, which would supply materials for an interesting work, it is not my design to enter into very numerous details, though a brief view of the subject belongs to this undertaking. The blessings of commerce are well understood in our times, and the grand scale upon which it is now conducted may perhaps induce some to look back with something like contempt on its feeble beginnings in the Mediterranean.¹ There, however, lay the centre of that circle which has gone on increasing until it at length embraces the whole world, and almost renders the most distant races necessary to each other. It must be interesting, therefore, to look

“ O'er the dark backward and abysm of time,”

at the first movements of men towards forging the links of this chain which binds together the whole

¹ The reader will find in the work of Monsieur F. Thiersch, *De l'Etat actuel de la Grèce*, t. ii. p. 72, sqq., an interesting and instructive chapter on the trade carried on by the descendants of that people whose manners and customs I have undertaken to describe. He there enters at length into the advantageous position of the country, and the upright and honourable character of its inhabitants, of whose singular probity

he produces many proofs. Other writers have taken a different view of the modern Greek character. But I am disposed to place more reliance on the statement of M. Thiersch than on that of those prejudiced travellers who desire to obtain a reputation for exactness by an ill-natured interpretation of a free people whose hospitality they have enjoyed, and in too many cases abused.

human race in one society, disturbed sometimes by evil passions, but cohering nevertheless, and apparently becoming more interfused daily.

In this movement there were, doubtless, several nations that preceded the Greeks. The civilisation of the East existing anterior to that of Greece, it was the Orientals who made the first step towards opening up that intercourse which afterwards became so intimate between the inhabitants of Hellas and the Arabs of Phœnicia, the Egyptians, the Persians, and other nations of the East. At first, indeed, the camel,¹ that important instrument of human improvement, revealed to the rude tribes bordering on Arabia, the existence of wants within them, of which they before knew nothing. He came with sweets and luxuries on his back to the hamlet or the encampment, and by the sight of them created desires, to gratify which the aid of industry was to be called in. At a very early age strings of camels, laden with perfumes and spices, and gold, traversed the plains of western Asia, ascended and descended along the Nile, penetrated the northern coasts of Africa, and, by barter and traffic, diffused the productions of the East much further even than their own footsteps reached, as now the manufactures of England find their way into the countries never beheld by an Englishman.

Presently the blue and beautiful waters of the Mediterranean tempted the adventurous Arabs who had settled in Phœnicia, the country of the palm-tree, to launch their barks on it, and push from isle to isle till they found themselves in Hellas,

¹ See a picture of this beast and his baskets, *Antich. di Ercol.* t. v. p. 5. In the book of Genesis, chap. xxxvii. v. 25, we find a brief picture of the commerce carried on by means of this animal, and an enumeration of some of the principal commodities which he bore from country to country.

“And they (the sons of Jacob) sat down to eat bread: and they lifted up their eyes, and looked, and, behold, a company of Ishmaelites came from Gilead, with their camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt.”

where the beauty of the women occasionally, perhaps, when they were not to be enticed away, may have tempted an adventurer¹ to remain as other Arabs have done in every land whither they have wandered.² This, I am persuaded, is all that can be conceded to those who see so many proofs of Oriental colonies in Greece. But though the Orientals did not colonize Greece, they no doubt aided very powerfully in civilizing it. For when the rude natives saw that there were many desirable things to be obtained from the strangers if they could give them any thing valuable in return, it must have set their wits at work to invent new means of obtaining the things they coveted. At the outset it was a rough system of barter. The Phœnicians took the produce of the country in exchange for their merchandise, and secured their own success by awakening an appetite for pleasures which they alone could furnish.

However, tradition has preserved evident traces of voyages of discovery and commercial adventure undertaken by the Greeks³ themselves, in imitation of the Phœnicians, — for, into this the Argonautic ex-

¹ This is, moreover, the common opinion. Thus Dionysios (Perieg. v. 907, seq.)

— *πρῶτοι νήεσσιν ἐπειρήσαντο
θαλάσσης,
Πρῶτοι δ' ἐμπορίας ἀλιδινέος ἐμ-
νήσαντο.*

They first in ships the billowy
ocean tried,

And first sea-wandering com-
merce gave to man.

On this account Cicero observes : “ Eos primos mercatores
“ mercibus suis avaritiam, magni-
“ ficentiam et inexplebiles cupidi-
“ tates primum in Græciam in-
“ tulisse.” De Rep. fr. l. 111.
ap. Feith, Antiq. Hom. ii. 10. 1.

² Some such event as this is no

doubt alluded to in the story of Cadmos.

³ Apollodoros, recounting the exploits of the Argonauts, mentions incidentally a curious particular respecting the women of Lemnos, who, he says, were deserted by their husbands on account of the ill odour they exhaled. Their places were supplied by female slaves from Thrace; upon which, in revenge, they murdered all the men in the island, with the exception of Thoas, who was saved by his daughter, Hypsipyle. Biblioth. i. 9. 17. Cf. Pind. Pyth. iv. 159, sqq. ed. Dissen. whose commentary may be consulted, t. ii. p. 235.

pedition, in what direction soever it proceeded, resolves itself, in fact. The Greeks possessed manufactures, ships, commerce, and, as a consequence, considerable wealth, long before the birth of history, a circumstance which goes far to overthrow the wild theories of certain modern scholars respecting the Iliad and Odyssey; for, if the Greeks had constant dealings with nations who were indisputably in possession of the art of writing, with abundant materials, they must have been the slowest and most stupid of mankind if they neglected to imitate those nations. Besides, the Phœnicians would be as ready to supply them with paper, parchment, and whatever else they wrote on, as with any other articles of commerce, and must have desired to awaken in them the wish to consume what they were deeply interested in supplying. Thus, if the Phœnicians and Egyptians understood the art of writing, as from the sacred Scriptures we know they did, it is all but impossible that the Greeks should have remained ignorant of it.

Homer, of course, supplies the best account we can possess of Grecian commerce in remote antiquity, though it had been carried on ages before his time. Mariners, in the Odyssey, obtain the name of *πρηγῆρες*, or “merchants,” and are elsewhere said to plough the seas, *ἐπὶ πρηγῆξιν καὶ χρήματα*, — “for traffic and gain.”¹ The most celebrated mariners known to Homer were the Phœnicians, whom he therefore terms,

Ναυσίκλυτοι ἄνδρες
Τρῶπται, μυρί' ἄγοντες ἀθύρματα νηϊ μελαίνῃ.²

Famous mariners,
Roguish, numerous trinkets bringing in black ships.

That from the beginning, moreover, they obtained celebrity for their piratical arts, the story of Eunæos,

¹ Odys. θ. 162. Hymn. in Apoll. 397. ² Odyss. ο. 414, seq.

in the *Odyssey*, and the rape of *Io*, as related by *Herodotus*,¹ clearly show. Nay, *Thucydides* himself, in a recapitulation of the ancient history of Greece, observes that the islanders, chiefly *Carians* and *Phœnicians*, were no less renowned than their neighbours for piracy.² The *Phœnicians*, however, would appear to have led the way, and, probably, by their successes excited the emulation of the *Carians*, who drove them from the island, and adopted the business of piracy in their stead.³

Though the value of the precious metals was already well understood, they had not been adopted as the sole instruments of exchange; for, from the often-cited passage of the *Iliad*,⁴ it is clear that the practice of barter still prevailed. The poet describes certain ships arriving at the Grecian camp with a cargo of wine from *Lemnos*, on which the chiefs and soldiers flock to the shore, and provide themselves with what they needed, some giving in exchange for it a quantity of brass, iron, skins; and others, oxen or slaves. Among the rustic population of Greece, if the poets may be relied on, the system of barter prevailed down to a very late period, since we find the goatherd, in *Theocritus*,⁵ giving a she-goat and a cheesecake for a pastoral cup. The *Spartans*, too, after the death of *Polydoros*, purchased his palace

¹ L. i. c. 2. See, also, *Philost. Vit. Apollon. iii. 24. p. 114.*

² *Thucyd. i. 8. Tournefort, Voyage, i. 154.* The *Phocians*, also, about the time when they founded *Marseilles*, distinguished themselves at once by their mercantile and piratical habits. *Namque Phocenses exiguitate ac macie terræ coacti studiosius mare quam terras exercuere: piscando, mercando plerumque etiam latrocinio maris quod illi temporibus gloriæ habebatur, vitam tolerabant. Justin. 43. 3.*

³ *Conon. Dieg. 47. ap. Phot. Cod. 141. a. 20. Hudson, ad Thucyd. t. i. p. 302.* See in *Scheffer, De Re Militiâ Navali, Addenda, Lib. Prim. p. 313*, a list of the nations who anciently exercised the piratical art.

⁴ *Il. η. 472, sqq. Cf. Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxiii. 1.*

⁵ *Eidyll. i. 57, seq. where, for τυρόεντα, both Porson and Kiessling propose τυρώεντα. "Απρον τυρώεντα occurs in a fragment of Sophron. ap. Athen. iii. 75.*

from the widow for a certain number of oxen; whence it was afterwards called *βοάνητα*,¹ or “bought with oxen,” unless the legend was invented to account for the name. Pausanias, however, states as a reason for the transaction, that neither gold nor silver money was yet in use, but that things were disposed of after the ancient fashion of exchanging goods for their value in some other article,—oxen, slaves, or gold or silver in ingots. He adds, in illustration, that the Indians, even in his age, were ignorant of the use of money, though abounding with the precious metals, and used to barter their own manufactures for the merchandise brought by the Greeks: besides, at Sparta, there was a law, attributed to Lycurgos, which prescribed barter in lieu of purchase and sale.²

From a passage in the *Iliad*, which would seem to signify the direct contrary, it has been inferred, that the use of money in commerce was known among the Greeks in the Homeric age. Speaking of the exchange of armour, between Glaucos and Diomedes, the poet says:

*Χρύσεα χαλκείων, ἑκατόμβοι' ἐννεαβοίων.*³

Gold armour for brazen, a hundred-ox value for nine.

An ancient scholiast on the passage understands by *βοῦς* a piece of money, stamped on one side with the figure of an ox, and on the other with that of a king.⁴ But one of the scholia published by Villoison, observes on the word *ἑκατόμβοια*, “worth a hundred oxen, for they did not as yet “make use of money.” Another scholion,⁵ however, remarks, *οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν νομίσμασι βοῶν ἐνετύπουν*. Pollux⁶ relates the same fact, observing that, in remote antiquity, the Athenians made use of a piece of money called *βοῦς*, because

¹ Paus. iii. 12. 1—3.

² Justin. iii. 2.

³ Il. ζ. 236.

⁴ Ap. Feith, *Antiq. Hom.* ii. 10. 3.

⁵ Tom. i. p. 188. ed. Bekk.

⁶ Onomast. ix. 60.

it had impressed upon it the figure of an ox, and that, by many, Homer was supposed to have alluded to this Attic coin in the verse above cited, "indocte," however, as Heyne¹ observes. Mention of a fine called δακάβοιον occurred, according to Pollux, in the laws of Dracon; and in the procession (θεωρία) to Delos, the herald used to proclaim when a certain prize was given, that so many oxen were bestowed on such a one. The value of the coin was two didrachmæ, so that the Bous was simply a *didrachma*.² The ox was stamped by the Athenians on their coins as the symbol of peace and abundance.³

Plutarch⁴ assigns, by conjecture, two reasons; first, that Theseus, whom he regards as its inventor, may have meant by the figure of the ox to recall the memory of Minos's general Tauros; or, second, because he wished to turn the mind of the citizens to agriculture.

The talent of gold is mentioned more than once by Homer;⁵ but we are not to imagine with Feith⁶ that there was a piece of money so called, though in the case of Homer he supposes it to signify a certain weight of gold, and not a coin. Modern critics get over all difficulties in the usual way by pronouncing the passage spurious.⁷ No doubt the people of those early times did not greatly abound in wealth, which, arising from the

¹ Ad Il. t. iv. p. 238. He remarks, that Arist. Ethic. v. 11, quotes this verse on showing that no man can be injured voluntarily—ἀδικεῖσθαι ἐκούσιον. That it became a proverb may be inferred from Cicero, ad Ath. vi. 1.

² Διδραχμον· τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν τοῦτο ἦν Ἀθηναίοις νόμισμα καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο βούς, ὅτι βούν εἶχεν ἐντετυπωμένον. Pollux. ix. 60.

³ Spanheim, de Præstantia et

Usu Numismatum Antiquorum, p. 129, 267.

⁴ Thes. § 25. Cf. Goguet, t. iv. p. 228.

⁵ Il. i. 122. 264. σ. 507, sqq. Cf. Herod. i. 14. et Adnot. ad Ælian. i. 22. Goguet, iv. 229.

⁶ Antiq. Homer. ii. 10. 3.

⁷ Heyne, ad Il. σ. 507, who observes, justly no doubt, that we are ignorant what the Homeric talent weighed. Cf. Serv. ad Æneid. v. 112.

assiduous cultivation of the useful arts, could not be plentiful where these arts were scarcely at all known. Even tyrants, who always contrive to obtain their share of whatever riches exist in their country, were long after the Homeric age possessed of but little wealth, any more than their people.¹ Money, however, does not constitute opulence. There was a rude plenty of all the necessities of life, and as the secret representative of wealth had not been invented, men sought to possess the realities, — herds of oxen, flocks of sheep, lands, houses, and splendid apparel. Fine studs of horses, also, were naturally desired, being at once useful in war, and showy in peace.²

We observe in these ages, however, as well as in all others, that men no sooner enjoyed the necessities than they desired the luxuries and ornaments of life. In several countries bordering upon the Mediterranean, there was already great magnificence displayed. The kings of Midian, for example, wore purple garments, golden earrings, and jewelled collars; their camels, moreover, were covered with costly trimmings and ornaments of gold.³

Of the internal commerce of Greece, in the earlier ages, little, comparatively, is known. Goguet⁴ appears to suppose, that hardly any traffic can be carried on without the aid of sumpter animals, such as camels, mules, or asses. But the natives of Canara⁵ drive a pretty thriving trade, though nearly every article of merchandise is transported on men's heads. In Greece, however, the use of vehicles was very ancient, its origin being lost in fable.⁶ Boats, canoes, &c., came early into vogue also; and yet Thucydides relates, that the intercourse of the rural tribes of the Hellenes was for many ages so slight

¹ Herod. viii. 137.

² Hymn. in Herm. 400. Pausan. iv. 3. 6.

³ Judges, viii. 21, sqq.

⁴ Origine de Loix, t. iv. p. 204.

⁵ Buchanan, Journey through the Mysore, ii. p. 347. Hindoos, i. p. 44.

⁶ Ælian. iii. 38.

as scarcely to merit attention. Bad roads, the absence of inns, the want of a police, the great number of robbers, were great obstacles; but the very existence of robbers attests the fact, that attempts were constantly made to extend inland commerce, though it may have been long before it was established on a solid basis.

Descending towards the historical periods we find the Æginetans first distinguishing themselves as a commercial people. Their history, as far as ancient fragments supply it, has been composed by a modern scholar¹ of eminence, whose researches must prove of the utmost utility to all succeeding inquirers. This people, living on a small and nearly barren island, early directed their attention to the arts, to the various processes of industry, and to commerce, the only employment suited to the nature of their soil. Too much stress has, perhaps, been laid on the situation of Ægina, which will not at all explain the commercial turn of its inhabitants, since Crete, with more abundant means, and possibly a better situation, was never very remarkable as a trading country. However, poverty and a good position combined with the genius of the people to render them commercial. They enjoyed still fewer advantages in the matter of soil even than Attica; their lands were of little value; they could neither become hunters nor shepherds; nor could even the most slender population subsist on the produce of the mines. Fishing they, probably, tried at the outset, as well as piracy, but, finding that neither led to opulence, they adopted the mercantile life; for which reason they have, with much ingenuity, been termed the Phœnicians of Greece,² though no colonies from Phœnicia ever settled in their island. The Æginetæ were already famous, however, from

¹ Müller, in his *Æginetica*. See on the subject of Commerce and Industry, c. iii. 74, sqq. And compare the account of Co-

ronelli, *Mémoires*, &c., p. 187, sqq.

² By Müller, *Æginetica*, iii. p. 74.

remote antiquity, as mariners, and, in the course of time, converted their whole island into an emporium.¹

On the antiquity of the Æginetan trade a very curious passage occurs in Pausanias. This writer relates, that, in the time of Pompos, king of Arcadia, who flourished during the second century before the first Olympiad, Æginetan ships landed at Cyllenè, the great harbour of Elis, whence they transported their merchandise, on strings of sumpter animals, to Arcadia. The king was so much pleased with them on this account, that he named his son Æginetes, in remembrance of their traffic.² It was about this period that the Greeks first began to trade in their own bottoms, and to possess merchandise of their own. It has been observed, that in Homer the word *ἐμπόρος* never signifies merchant, and that where mention of real merchants occurs they are always barbarians, or semi-barbarians,³ Phœnicians, Cretans, Tyrsenians, Lemnians, Taphians, or Phæacians.⁴ No Achaian or Argive is found who derived his subsistence from commerce, though there seem to be passages from which the contrary may be inferred. But in Hesiod, who lived later, and describes more homely scenes and manners, we find commerce already spoken of as a profitable employment.⁵

Originally, the Æginetans were led by their piratical propensities to apply themselves to maritime affairs; finding, no doubt, that robbery was an easier and more agreeable profession than any modification of industry, particularly as in those tolerant ages there was no disgrace, but the contrary, attached to it, when exercised against men of a different class. These worthy islanders, however, were impartial in their rapine. For, no sooner had they thrown off the yoke of the Epidaurians, than they

¹ See Michaelo d' Jorio, *Storia del Commercio*, i. 225, seq. and Caryophilus de *Mercatura Veterum*.

² Pausan. viii. 5. 5.

³ Hom. Hymn. in Dionys. 8.

⁴ Müller, *Æginetica*, p. 75.

⁵ Opp. et Dies, 644.

made incursions¹ into their mother country, which they soon extended to the coasts of Attica; and they were, probably, the buccaneers against whom the tyrant Hippias fitted out a fleet.² Afterwards, forming an alliance with the Thebans, they plundered and devastated all the maritime towns of Attica, and even lay in ambush to intercept the sacred galley on its way to Delos.

Having been restored to their country, after the Peloponnesian war, they resumed their plundering habits, and obtained from the Spartan Ephori permission to infest the Attic coasts, which they frequently did in times of profound peace. Their taste for piracy was lasting. In the age of Demosthenes their island was a nest of pirates, and a fair for the sale of their plunder, which it continued for many centuries after.³

Reverting, however, to the trade of Ægina: its ancient traffic with Arcadia was marked by many curious circumstances. In the first place we must infer from it, as the historian of the island remarks, the existence of previous traffic elsewhere.⁴ For, if their merchandise consisted merely of raw materials, these must still have been procured from other lands; and, if of manufactured goods, then, in ad-

¹ It was owing to such piratical descents that the early inhabitants of Greece, for the most part, erected their towns and villages at some distance from the sea-coast, in situations difficult of access. Thucyd. § 7. Similar reasons have elsewhere led in modern times to similar results. Thus, in Alicuda, the remotest and most exposed of the Lipari islands, the dwellings of their simple natives and their priests are perched high in the hills among rocks and steep acclivities, through fear of the Barbary corsairs, who, from time to time,

land there, and carry away into captivity whomsoever they are able to seize and subdue. Further, to guard against these incursions, a sentinel is stationed on the Monte della Guardia, in the principal isle, where he keeps watch day and night. Spallanzani, *Travels in the Two Sicilies*, iv. 140, sqq. We have here a picture which carries back the imagination to the most barbarous ages of Grecian history.

² *Æginetica*, p. 76.

³ Demosth. de Nicostrat. § 3.

⁴ *Æginetica*, p. 77.

dition to the existence of a foreign trade to supply them with the raw articles, we must suppose in them the existence of considerable skill. Again, as Pompos, the Cypselid, probably reigned at Orchomenos, they must have been able to perform long voyages by sea, and long journeys by land; though we can account for their taking the dangerous route round capes Skylleion and Malea, and the mountainous roads from Eleia to Arcadia, in preference to the shorter way from Corinthia or Argolis, only by supposing them to have been driven to it by the rivalry of the Argives and Corinthians. It must be admitted to be honourable to their ingenuity thus to have opened up a road into Arcadia, which would seem to be shut out by nature from all commerce.

With the Arcadians alone, however, could inland trade be carried on upon a large scale; among every other Hellenic people possessing sea-coasts and harbours, it degenerated into mere peddling. Hence, the Æginetans obtained the character, once possessed in this country by the Scotch, of being a nation of pedlars — sometimes travelling from village to village, with their packs; at other times settling, like the Maltese of the present day, in towns on the coast of Greece, they became corn-chandlers, vintners, toymen, or victuallers, in established shops or stalls in the agora. Hence, all kinds of humble wares, or pedlary, obtained the appellation of Æginetan wares. Like the Jews, too, both they and the Cretans (noted liars, as St. Paul¹ assures us) were regarded as skin-flints, and, in many cases, betook themselves to the practice of usury.²

Frequently, however, they soared above these petty arts, and became merchants on a large scale,

¹ Epist. to Titus, i. 12, where he cites the testimony of Euripides, though without naming him.

² Eustath. ad Il. β. p. 604.

Hesych. v. 'Αἰγυῖα. Cf. Interp. i. 137. Schol. Pind. Ol. viii. 26. Erasm. Adag. 71, 72.

trading with distant lands and acquiring very great wealth. The entire island, in Strabo's time, was regarded as an emporium; and, even so far back as the age of Aristotle, their whole marine was employed in commerce. In some cities, he says, nearly all the shipping is engaged in one kind of service; those of Byzantium and Tarentum in the fisheries; those of Athens in war; those of Chios and Ægina as merchantmen; and those of Tenedos as transports.¹ It has been conjectured, not without reason, that Sostratos, the son of Leodamos, celebrated by Herodotus for his riches, was a merchant. "The Samians," says this historian, "induced by divine command to undertake the voyage of Tartessos, brought home with them greater wealth (sixty talents) than any other Greeks ever gained by trade, if we except Sostratos, with whom no one can contend in opulence."²

But the Æginetans also engaged in foreign trade, sending ships to Tartessos towards the west, and to the Black Sea towards the east. It is related, for example, that when Xerxes was at Abydos, he saw merchantmen sailing down the Dardanelles with corn for Ægina and the Peloponnesos,³ which were stopped by his fleet with the design of taking both ships and men. But when Xerxes learned they were bound for Greece, he dismissed them, considering the corn as so much provision for his own army, which, he doubted not, would be able to subjugate the whole country. From which Müller conjectures, but without reason, that the great corn markets of the Black Sea were at that time exclusively in the hands of the Æginetans; though afterwards, during the Peloponnesian war, when Ægina fell, they passed over to the Athenians. The reason "that the Æginetans stood so much in need of the supply, that they would not have endured a rival," could only hold good if they had the

¹ Polit. iv. 4. 1.

³ Herod. vii. 147. Polyæn,

² Herod. iv. 152. Cf. Bœckh, Stratag. vii. 15. 3.

Pub. Econ. of Athens, i. 9.

power to command a monopoly, which, for any length of time at least, is highly improbable, since although they are said to have been masters of the sea about the age of Darius Hystaspes,¹ their domination was extremely short-lived.² It would seem, however, that they were at that time in the habit of supplying the Peloponnesos with grain. Slaves they imported both from Pontos and from Crete, and it is doubtful whence they obtained the greater number. A large proportion of their exports found their way into Crete, where they had established a colony at Cydonia. Besides lying one day's sail distant from the Peloponnesos, and that of a day and a night from Africa, this great island formed an excellent midway station between Ægina and the mouth of the Nile.

The port at which all the Greeks resided during their stay in Egypt was Naucratis in the Delta, which the Pharaohs granted them in the same way as the Chinese emperors now do Canton to the Europeans, as their only abode. Here, by permission of Amasis, such Greeks as merely traded with Egypt built altars and erected sacred enclosures in the neighbourhood of the city, though I vainly sought, when on the spot, to discover the slightest trace of them. The nine cities of Ionians, Dorians, and Æolians erected at their common expense a sacred edifice, which they called Hellenion. The Ionian cities were Chios, Teos, Phoea and Clazomenæ; the

¹ Perizon. ad Æl. xii. 10. Gog. v. 302.

² The jealousy excited in antiquity by the Æginetæ, was, in the seventeenth century, inspired into all the maritime states of Europe by the Dutch, who somewhat resembled those hardy and unscrupulous islanders. Observe the ingenuous alarms of our countryman, Sir Josiah Child, whose studies had evidently carried him beyond the counting-house,—“ I think no true Englishman will

“ deny that the season cries aloud
 “ to us to be up and doing, be-
 “ fore our fields become unoccu-
 “ pied, and before the Dutch get
 “ too much the whip-hand of us,
 “ whom (in such a case, were
 “ they freed from their French
 “ fears which they labour under
 “ at present) I fear we should
 “ find as severe task-masters as
 “ ever the Athenians were to the
 “ lesser trading cities of Greece.”
 Discourse of Trade, Preface, p.
 39.

Dorian, Rhodes, Cnidos, Halicarnassos, and Phaselis; of the Æolian, Mitylene only. The Æginetans raised for their own use a temple to Zeus, — the Samians to Hera, — the Milesians to Apollo.¹ At this time, however, Naucratis was the only harbour in Egypt; and as this was pretty generally known, ships making land anywhere else were naturally suspected of being pirates; for which reason the captain was required to swear that he had come hither involuntarily. This done, he was to steer from the Canopic mouth of the Nile; or, if the weather were contrary, his cargo was conveyed round the Delta in barides to Naucratis, which the historian² understood to be done for the benefit of the foreign settlers, for so greatly, says he, was Naucratis honoured. At this time, one of the principal articles exported into Egypt by the Greeks would appear to have been wine, since all then drunk in the country was foreign, the vine not having been as yet introduced.

Of the trade of Sparta extremely little is known. In fact, until a comparatively late period, it appears to have been inconsiderable, and to have been conducted in the rudest manner possible. Each citizen, on receiving the proceeds of his lands, laid up in his storehouses what he judged sufficient for the consumption of the ensuing year, and disposed of the remainder in the Agora, not, it has been conjectured, for money, but by the ancient manner of barter.³ It is said that the Lacedæmonians exhibited much ingenuity in their mode of preserving the fruits of the earth; but in what that ingenuity consisted we are not informed. They were likewise noted for the care and order with which the implements of domestic economy were kept, so that everything was ready at hand when wanted.⁴ The fact that they had grana-

¹ Herod. ii. 178.

² Hist. ii. 179. Müll. Æginet. p. 82.

³ Müll. Dor. ii. 218.

⁴ Aristot. Œcon. vi. 6. 11. p. 278, seq. Cf. Xen. Rep. Lac. vi. 3. 4. Aristot. Pol. ii. 2. 5. Plut. Laced. Instit.

ries on their estates, which were locked up and sealed, argues much greater connexion with the country, than they are supposed to have maintained; for had they never lived on those estates, it is not probable they would have left their property there, subject, as Mr. Müller¹ thinks, to the conscientious visits of every poor man who might choose to out-hunt his provisions.

Money, we are incessantly told, was prohibited at Sparta; but, nevertheless, it seems to have been in constant use. It is affirmed, indeed, by a writer somewhat too prone to panegyric, that "it was employed more often as a medium of comparison than of exchange; small coins were chiefly used, and no value was attributed to the possession of large quantities."² But I do not see what is meant by employing money "as a medium of comparison;" and with regard to the value set on money by the Spartans, history incapacitates us for accepting the generous gloss of Mr. Müller. It is perhaps true that Lycurgos aimed at eradicating avarice from the Spartan breast, but, in the means to be adopted for that end, only showed his ignorance of human nature; since, though he might bring his vinegar-cooled iron medium of comparison into contempt, he could not thereby diminish the value of the things exchanged, that is of real wealth, which accordingly was estimated as highly at Sparta as elsewhere. Thus we see that poor men, not able to contribute their quota of provisions, were excluded from the common tables, which therefore resembled the hospitality and common tables of an inn,³

Where the Red Lion staring o'er the way,
Invites each passing stranger — *that can pay.*

¹ Dorians, ii. 218.

² Müll. Dor. ii. 219. Bæckh.
Econ. of Athen. ii. 389.

³ Ἀναγκαῖον ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ πο-

λιτεία τιμᾶσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον,
ἄλλως τε κἂν τύχῃσι γυναικοκρα-
τούμενοι, καθάπερ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν
στρατιωτικῶν καὶ πολιμικῶν γε-
νῶν. Aristot. Polit. ii. 9.

The learned, with all their leaning towards scepticism, sometimes interpret too literally the language of authors in whom license and exaggeration are a merit. Thus Boeckh¹ conceives "that, even in the time of the Trojan war, the precious metals were well known in the Peloponnesos," because Homer describes Menelaus as possessed of both gold and silver.² But the Achæan prince had travelled in the East, whence, according to the poet, he brought his gold, and it does not appear historically that the precious metals were "well known," which extensive use only could render them, till some ages after the Trojan war. The Dorians, however, whatever may have been the case with the Achæans, long continued to be scantily supplied with the precious metals, which may be accounted for from their isolated mountainous country, want of industry, and aversion for all intercourse with strangers, without adopting the unphilosophical fancy, that they were instigated by a kind of argyrophobia strictly to prohibit the use of gold and silver.³ Conceiving that, by cutting his people off from human intercourse, he might render them more warlike, as dogs are made savage by chaining, Lycurgos, or whoever was the author of the Spartan constitution, may have desired to keep them poor, and therefore have prohibited commerce. But even in their own domestic traffic, the necessity of some instrument of exchange was soon perceived, and iron⁴ being as plentiful as gold and silver were scarce, he adopted the expedient of employing iron money. At first the metal was used in bars or spits (ὀβελοί, ὀβελίσκοι) which were stamped with some mark in

¹ Econ. of Athen. ii. 385.

² Od. δ. 80, sqq. 351, sqq. Cf. Strab. i. 2. p. 62.

³ Which is Boeckh's fancy. ii. 386.

⁴ The people of Byzantium are said by some writers to have imi-

tated the Spartans in their numismatic taste, and like them to have used iron money. Πλάτων Πεισάνδρῳ "χαλεπῶς ἂν οἰκησαίμεν ἐν Βυζαντίοις, ὅπου σιδαρέοισι νομίσμασι χρῶνται." Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 250.

the furnaces of Laconia, just as in other countries bars of silver or copper were used; "whence the "obolos or *spit* and the drachma or *handful* received "their names."¹

When the Argives, in the reign of Pheidon, abandoned the use of metallic bars, and began to coin money, the Spartans followed in their train, but still adhered to the use of iron, so that the coins which first proceeded from a Laconian mint, probably resembled quoits more than crown-pieces. Mr. Müller observes, but I know not on what authority, that the chief coin was called from its *shape*, and perhaps also from its *size*, *πέλανος*, the cake used in sacrifices. If this was the case it must have been a coin of extraordinary conformation, for the *pelanos* resembled, in figure, a bull, horns and all,² and was habitually offered to Apollo, Artemis, the Moon, and Hecate. This odd-looking piece of money was in value about four chalci or hemioboloi, that is, about three farthings. But such an unwieldy coinage, which, as tokens, might serve very well for the home currency, would be of no service abroad; so that when Sparta began to aim at foreign conquest, it found it necessary to set aside the ancient laws, and create a currency for effecting its purpose. A tribute was therefore imposed on the islands, and a contribution of a tenth was demanded from all those Greeks who acknowledged its supremacy.³

It seems, however, to have been intended by the legislator, that individuals should not possess gold and silver money; but the severity of the punishment⁴ awarded transgressors, instead of proving

¹ Bœckh, ii. 386. Plut. Lysand. § 17. See too the authorities quoted by Bœckh. l. i. § 15.

² Pollux. vi. 76.

³ Bœckh, ii. 387. Without such a currency, Sparta, says Mr. Müller, would have been unable to send ambassadors to foreign states,

or to take foreign mercenaries into pay. ii. 220.

⁴ See the remarks of Monsieur Bitaubè, in his "Dissertation sur "La Richesse de Sparte." Nouveaux Mémoires de l'Acad. Roy. des Sciences et des Belles Lettres, de Berlin, t. xxxvii. 560.

how strong the hold of this ancient custom (of being without money) was upon the Spartan mind, shows the direct contrary, for there is no necessity to be severe with men who obey from habit, but with those who evince a disposition to break through all restraint. Besides, the law seems to have permitted the use of the precious metals when wrought into ornaments or articles of furniture. Offerings of gold, such as the stars of the Dioscuri, were dedicated by the state at Delphi, and statues of gold and ivory, the works of native artists, were set up within the city about the period of the Persian war.¹ A hundred years earlier, when the state desired to gild the face of Apollo, at Thornax, they travelled as far as Lydia² in search of the necessary gold, which wholly disproves the assumption of Boeckh mentioned above.

But after all the learned researches of modern writers, this Spartan ordinance respecting the possession of money is surrounded by insurmountable difficulties. For Sparta, unquestionably, carried on some commerce, which it could not have done without possessing a coinage of universal currency; though Mr. Müller is not authorized to state, as he does, that there was a constant export of corn from Laconia and Arcadia downwards to the coast of Corinth, since the passage in Thucydides,³ on which he relies, merely relates in the words of the Corinthians, that unless they joined in the war against Athens in aid of the maritime states, they would find no market for the produce of their lands, (including corn, no doubt,) nor would they be able to import what they might stand in need of from abroad.⁴ However, so far back as the Persian war, the Peloponnesos did not produce corn sufficient for home consumption, since we find

¹ Müller. Dor. iii. 2. 3.

² Herod. i. 69.

³ Book i. ch. iv. § 7.

⁴ Thucyd. i. 120.

it importing it from the countries of the Black Sea. It is, therefore, extremely improbable that it should have done so in the time of the Peloponnesian war, when it had grown far more populous, so that possibly among the things which ἡ θάλασση τῇ ἡπείρῳ δίδωσι corn may have been included.

It appears, therefore, that Sparta both exported and imported; but who were the agents? The state, which alone it is supposed possessed an available instrument of exchange, could not, it is argued, have carried on the trade. But wherefore? "Because it would have required a proportionate number of public officers."¹ Those officers, however, might easily have been found, and, therefore, this is no reason; and that no such officers existed, our knowledge of the government is too scanty to enable us to affirm. Accordingly, it does not follow from this that the trade "was in the hands of the Perioeci." However, if such was the case, the possession of a gold and silver coinage must have been permitted to them, which at once places the great majority of the free inhabitants of Laconia in precisely the same condition as other nations in this respect. Admitting this, it will be difficult to believe that their neighbours and acquaintances, the military and ruling class, would abstain from what they enjoyed. In fact, we cannot consent to believe, that such a state of things "could not have had much influence on the Spartans, since they had not any personal connexion with the Perioeci, the latter being only tributary to the state." The reverse of all this is true, as any one might know without any other testimony than his own experience. Our countrymen in India occupy the same position as the Dorians in the Peloponnesos, and for a short time kept much aloof from the natives. But personal intercourse became inevitable, and it would now

¹ Müller, iii. ch. x. § 10.

be absurd to say, that the wealth of the Hindûs would exercise little influence on the English, supposing the latter to be poor and proud as the Spartans. The fact of the Perioeci being tributary, which seems to be offered as a reason, is no reason at all. It were far better to confess our ignorance at once, than by a series of groundless conjectures, put forward with confidence, to create a semblance of knowledge. There does not appear to be any foundation for the statement, that none but iron money was used in the Spartan market, where the landlords and their serfs disposed of the produce of their lands. On the contrary, it seems probable, that as, in many cases, it must have been sold to the Perioeci for exportation, (foreigners being excluded,) the landlords would receive gold and silver unminted, perhaps, to evade the law in return. Again, the kings of Sparta, it is evident, could possess gold and silver. This, history proves so clearly that Mr. Müller is constrained to confess it. And if the kings and the Perioeci, nay, even the very Helots could amass and enjoy the precious metals, and the luxuries they purchase, it is too much to suppose that the masters of the kings, of the Perioeci and all, would have dwelt in ascetic forbearance in the midst of so many temptations. Besides, we constantly find the Spartans in situations in which their iron money could be of no service to them. What, for example, could it have availed them at Olympia? Yet there they were, the men in person, the women by proxy, with their horses and their chariots, and every mark and indication of wealth.

But to men travelling beyond the borders money was allowed. This sum they might expend, or they might not. If they did not, were they searched on their return, and the surplus taken from them? Otherwise men would make journeys and accumulate cash in that way. Again, we are told, that great obstacles were placed in the way of foreign travel by the necessity of obtaining

a passport along with the travelling expenses (*ἰσόδια*) from the magistrates or the king, and reference is made to Herodotus. But that historian in the passage referred to is speaking of king Demaratos, who being driven from the country by his mother's bad character, takes what money he needs for his journey, and departs without asking leave of any one.¹

However, when straitened in circumstances individuals had sometimes recourse to the kings or to the state as to a bank; and that the thing was customary appears from the fact, that princes, in order to start with a popular measure, always upon their accession remitted the debts of the citizens both to themselves and to the state.² On this occasion they destroyed all the bonds or instruments of mortgage (*κλήματα*), bringing them into the agora, and there piling them up into a heap and setting them on fire.³

It is certain, therefore, and admitted even by Mr. Müller, that whatever may have been the intention of the original Spartan institutions, their severity was soon relaxed, and wealth with all its concomitants, introduced into the state. Even so far back as the ages before the Persian war, as we learn from the speech of Leutychides,⁴ at Athens, foreigners found no obstacle to prevent their bringing gold and silver to Sparta, where one of the most distinguished citizens undertook the keeping of a rich Milesian's money, whose children he afterwards endeavoured to defraud. Could he have made no use of this money he would scarcely have desired to retain it. The share of the plunder accruing to Sparta in the Persian war was evidently not confined to the public coffers, though we may possibly allow that the Persian subsidies went to the defraying of national expenses.⁵ At all events cer-

¹ Herod. vi. 70.

² Id. vi. 69.

³ Plut. Agis, § 13. But this was at a late period, when rich

men and usurers had monopolised all the wealth of Sparta.

⁴ Herod. vi. 86.

⁵ Müller, l. iii. ch. x. § 11.

tain it is that Sparta, about the time of Socrates, was by many regarded as the wealthiest state in Greece, and that not as a community, but individually, reckoning their estates in Messenia, the number of their slaves, Helots and others, their splendid studs, and vast droves of cattle. Nay, their wealth in gold and silver is particularly specified, with the additional remark, that for many ages the precious metals had been flowing into that country, both from Grecian and barbarian sources,¹ but that no one had ever seen any flow out, an observation which Montesquieu,² and others have applied without reflection, to Hindústân.

It exceeds our faith in human nature to believe, with Mr. Müller, that, in spite of these untoward circumstances, "the citizens maintained the same proud indigence." History, in fact, renders inexcusable the belief in such virtue, though men occasionally arose at Sparta, as well as at Athens and elsewhere, who, with a stoical firmness, resisted the allurements of riches and pleasure. The greater number fell, and yielded themselves up with so much enthusiasm to the pursuit of gain, adding acre to acre and gold to gold, that from the Ephoralty of Epitadeus downwards, the city was infested with usurers, great capitalists, and extensive landed proprietors, who, by degrees, got into their hands the whole property of the country. Much less ingenuity than the Spartans possessed would, in fact, have enabled them to evade the old law, which seems to have immediately grown obsolete when the arts of rendering it powerless had been invented. They depo-

¹ Plat. Alcib. i. t. v. p. 342, seq. This inferior production, with its admiration of courts and eunuchs, cannot be Plato's, but contains, nevertheless, several curious facts. On the subject of Spartan wealth, however, it perfectly agrees with Plato's own

opinion in the Hippias, t. v. p. 414. Cf. Bitaubè, Sur la Richesse de Sparte. Nouveaux Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences et des Belles Lettres, de Berlin, xxxvii. 559.

² Esprit des Loix, xxi. 12.

sited their surplus wealth at Delphi, in Arcadia, and several other countries, so that if driven into exile,¹ of which there was always a probability, they might be able to subsist in splendour in their new country.² But these speculations sometimes failed; in the case of the Arcadians, the possession of the gold converted bankers into enemies, as, by picking a quarrel with the owners, they hoped to be able to defraud them.³ Lysander, though he did not commence this practice, at least countenanced it by his example. Gylippos, inheriting from his family the thirst of gold, was condemned and starved to death, by the Ephori, for purloining public property. His father Cleandridas, in conjunction with king Pleistoanax, had accepted bribes from Pericles, and ended his days in exile.⁴ From this period, as seems to be undeniable, the possession of gold and silver by private individuals was permitted by law, or connived at; and the Spartans proceeded, after the manner of all other nations, to divide themselves into very rich and very poor, to house together, in the same city, misery and splendour, extreme luxury and extreme want, until the common fate, foreign conquest and slavery, overtook them.

The trade which, meanwhile, was carried on by Laconia must have been at times very considerable, though there were few points on the coast provided with roadsteads, or harbours, capable of receiving ships of burden. To facilitate intercourse with foreign nations, an artificial harbour was constructed at Trinasos, around which the inhabitants of Gythium, situated on an eminence some distance inland, gradually clustered, deserting their ancient residence for one more convenient and profitable. From hence

¹ This was thought necessary even by so great a man as Lysander. Plut. Lysand. § 18.

² As in the case of Cleandridas, father of Gylippos.

³ Athen. vi. 24.

⁴ Thucyd. vi. 104. Plut. Pericl. § 22. Müller, ii. 225.

the productions of Laconia, which will be enumerated elsewhere, were shipped for foreign countries, Libya for example, and Egypt, whence merchandise of various kinds were obtained in return. But, as this port appears to have been little commodious or secure, the merchantmen, on their return from Africa, usually put into the island of Cythera,¹ where are several harbours, amongst which that of St. Nicholas, anciently Scandeia,² on the eastern coast, is sheltered and spacious, and provided with so narrow an entrance that it may at pleasure be closed with a chain. The inhabitants of this island, like those of the Laconian territories on the main, were free Lacedæmonians, who appear to have directed their attention entirely to commerce and agriculture, and the management of the productive purple fishery, carried on among the shoals and rocks encircling their island.³ Besides its use in dyeing, this fish is said to have been employed as a bait in taking the pelamys, and there was, likewise, in this sea, a considerable whale fishery. The nerves of these leviathans, properly prepared, were used in stringing the psaltery, and other musical instruments, and also for bowstrings. It may, therefore, be presumed, that they formed an important article of commerce.⁴

Here, likewise, were quarries of porphyry,⁵ from

¹ Thucyd. iv. 53.

² Pausan. iii. 23. 1. Steph. de Urb. p. 672.

³ Strab. viii. 5. l. ii. p. 186. Plin. Nat. Hist. ix. 60. xi. 22. xxxv. 26. Horat. Carm. ii. 18. 8. The purple of Laconia was esteemed only second to that of Phœnicia:—κόχλους δὲ εἰς βαφὴν πορφύρας παρέχεται τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐπιτηδειοτάτας μετὰ γε τὴν Φοινίκων θάλασσαν. Pausan. iii. 21. 6.

⁴ Dapper, Description des Iles

de l'Archipel. 554. Ælian. De Animal. xvii. 6.

⁵ At least I find this notion in Dapper, Desc. de l'Arch. p. 375—378, who observes "D'autres assurent qu'elle avoit été ainsi nommée à cause du porphyre qu'on y trouve en abondance." The name has with more probability, however, been derived from the purple fish (Πορφύρα) which abounds on the coast, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Πορφύρουσσα, διὰ τὸ κάλλος τὸ παρὰ τῶν πορφυρῶν, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης. Steph. de Urb. 487, a.

which, in earlier ages, the island is said to have obtained the name of Porphyrussa. At the distance of a mile and a quarter from Scandia stood the city of Cythera, with an Acropolis situated on a very high rock. At this place was a temple of the celestial Aphrodite, esteemed one of the most ancient in Greece,¹ the inhabitants having addicted themselves to the worship of this goddess, because, when she first sprang from the waves, she is said to have come floating thither on a shell of mother-of-pearl.² How many of the productions of this island passed annually into commerce cannot be known. But, it is described as abounding, in modern times, with wild asses, and deer, and hares, and quails, and turtle-doves,³ which last were, of old, sacred to the goddess of the isle. Corn, also, and oil, and wine of excellent quality, were found in Cythera, though by no means in abundance. It likewise produces tragoriganon and bastard dittany. The island being thus productive, it is by no means surprising that the Spartans should have set a high value on it, and sent thither, annually, a magistrate, named Cytherodices, together with a garrison of heavy-armed men. Another advantage which Sparta derived from the possession of this island was, that it served it as a kind of defence against the incursions of pirates, commanding, in some sort, the narrow sea between Peloponnesos and Crete.

To the same purpose, Eustathius ad Dion. Perieg. 498: *ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ, φασί, καὶ Πορφυροῦσσα ποτὲ, διὰ τὸ καλλίστας ἔχειν πορφύρας.* Cf. ad Il. o. p. 1031. 13. Plin. Nat. Hist. iv. 19.

¹ Paus. iii. 23. 1.

² This mythological incident is beautifully engraved in the Museo Real Borbonico, from an ancient painting found at Pompeia. Honest Buondelmonte, who, instead of describing the

island, amuses himself with relating its mythology, delineates, elegantly enough, another picture of the floating goddess: "Sculpebatur etenim puella pulcherrima, nuda et in mari natans, tenens concham marinam in dextrâ, ornata rosis et à columbis circumvolantibus comitata, &c." Christ. Buond. Lib. Insul. Archip. c. ix. p. 64.

³ Dapper, Desc. de l'Archip. 375—379.

That this was no small advantage will be evident if we consider to what extent, and with how much cruelty, piracy was exercised in old times. It dogged incessantly the heels of commerce, appearing on every sea and penetrating to every land whither industry betook itself for the acquisition of wealth. It may be said, indeed, to have been a kind of bastard brother of trade, both proceeding from the desire of gain. Against the masters of this craft the first war-galleys appear to have been fitted out in the Mediterranean. For, among the principal exploits of the half-fabulous king of Crete is enumerated his clearing the sea of pirates, his object being to secure the transmission of his revenues from the smaller islands to the seat of empire. For, in old times, both the Greeks and barbarians of the continent, inhabiting the sea-coast, and all those who dwelt in the islands, no sooner addicted themselves to navigation, than they took to piracy, being led by their most powerful fellow-citizens, partly for their own advantage, and partly with a view of providing for the poor; and falling suddenly on unwall'd cities, or people dispersed in villages, they plundered the whole country, and thus chiefly procured themselves subsistence. Nor, in fact, was this sort of life attended with disgrace, but with some degree of honour. Even in Thucydides' own time, many tribes of the continent gloried in their piratical skill, and from the ancient poets, he says, it was clear the same feeling had always prevailed; for, the first question put to seamen, on their landing, was, whether they were pirates or not; and this without the persons interrogated considering it to be any offence, or those who asked intending any.¹ No idea of caste seems to have existed. The reception of Pelops, who came with great wealth from Asia into Peloponnesos, shows that riches, however acquired, were valued before both; for he might have been, and, probably, was, a pirate.²

¹ Hom. Odyss. γ. 312.

² Thucyd. i. 9.

In the interior, also, plundering expeditions were carried on by land, as on the borders of England or Scotland, and more anciently on the Welsh marshes. And up to the period of the Peloponnesian war, many Greek nations still continued to live after the ancient manner, as the Ozolian and Epicnemidian Locrians, the Ætolians, the Acarnanians, and other neighbouring tribes, of which their habit of wearing arms may be considered as a memento. To repress the ravages of these half-civilized races was often an object of great concern to the Athenians, who, to check the cruises of the Opuntians, long accustomed to enrich themselves by plundering the coast of Eubœa during the Peloponnesian war, took and fortified the uninhabited island of Atalantè.¹ Some ages before, they had, under the conduct of Cimon, expelled from Scyros the piratical Dolopians, who not only scoured the neighbouring seas, but even plundered such vessels as put into their harbour.² Nothing, however, could extirpate the evil, which has always continued to be the curse of those seas, sometimes denounced, sometimes encouraged, by the princes of the neighbouring countries, who, like Philip of Macedon, find it convenient, according to the exigencies of their affairs, to make war upon the buccaneers, or to unite with them in pursuit of plunder.

Of all the Doric states the most commercial was undoubtedly Corinth. That, situated on the isthmus by which the Peloponnesos is united with the rest of Greece, became very early an emporium, and rose to opulence³ and splendour; for whatever merchandise was transported from northern Greece into any of the states of the peninsula by land, necessarily passed through this city, and paying, as was customary, transit dues, tended greatly to enrich it. The same thing may be said of the productions of the Peloponnesos, which, by this road, found their way into Hellas. Afterwards addicting themselves to navigation, the Corinthians, from their two ports of

¹ Thucyd. i. 151.

² Plut. Cim. § 8.

³ Luc. Dial. Mort. 11.

Lechæum and Cenchreæ,¹ carried on an extremely extensive commerce with Italy and the countries on the Adriatic on the one hand, and with Asia Minor² and the islands on the other; so that whatever articles of commerce are reckoned among the imports of Athens were likewise in a measure to be found at Corinth. The aversion of the ancient mariners to double Cape Malea long secured its trade to Corinth. There was a proverb³ which said, that whoever sailed round that redoubtable promontory must be unmindful of his friends at home; and, in truth, the boisterous and contrary winds which still encounter the mariner who passes from the Myrtoan to the Ionian sea might well appear terrible to the small craft of remote antiquity. To avoid this dangerous navigation these barks themselves, together with the merchandise they carried, were drawn across the isthmus, and launched again on the opposite sea. The project of Nero, therefore, who designed to open a canal at this place, would, if completed, have proved of the greatest service to the Corinthians, whose city might have continued to be enriched by it to the present day.

With respect to the articles which Corinth herself supplied to commerce, they will be found enumerated among the exports and imports of Greece. Her manufactures were numerous and important,⁴ consisting, among others, of rich coverlets, fine woollen garments, costly pottery, and works in that rich metal known under the name of Corinthian bronze. This, it is said, consisted of a small mixture of gold and silver with brass; though, according to another account, it was produced by heating the metal red-hot, and in that state plunging it into the waters of Peirenè.⁵

¹ Steph. de Urb. p. 464. d.

² Strab. viii. 6. t. ii. 213. Pausan. ii. 2. 3.

³ Μαλεὰ δὲ κάμψας ἐπιλάθου τῶν οἴκαδε. See the long and interesting note of Berkelius ad Steph. de Urb. p. 531, seq.

⁴ And, doubtless, worked by

their forty-six myriads of slaves. Athen. vi. 103. The Pythian Oracle calls the Corinthians Chœnix Measurers, probably because they allowed their slaves a chœnix of corn per day.

⁵ Paus. ii. 3. 3. Florus, ii. 16.

Much trade was carried on in the territories of Corinth during the celebration of the Isthmian games, which, bringing together a vast multitude of people from Ionia, Sicily, Italy, Libya, Thessaly, and the extremities of the Black Sea, necessarily attracted thither, among the rest, the retailers of all kinds of provisions. These finding a speedy market for their goods, other tradesmen followed their example, so that at length assemblies, originating in religion, resembled prodigious fairs,¹ whither every description of merchandise was conveyed for the admiration and purchase of the pilgrims.²

It is, however, with much difficulty that we obtain an insight into the manner³ in which the inland traffic of Greece was carried on in the earlier ages; but it is probable, that, as in India, Egypt, and Arabia, great fairs were held on some convenient spot, whither the sellers and buyers resorted from all the countries around. That this was the case in many places we know. There was, for example, a monthly fair held at Aleision,⁴ near Amphidolis in Eleia, on the mountain road from Elis to Olympia, to which all the peasants of the neighbourhood resorted. Among the Romans smaller fairs or markets were held every nine days, and were thence called *nundinia*.⁵ On these occasions the rustics intermitted their usual employment and repaired to the city, as well to furnish themselves with what they needed, as to learn what new laws or regulations might have been promulgated in the interim.

The Epidamnians, who, as Müller⁶ observes, "retained much of ancient custom, paid great atten-

¹ It is said, moreover, that Iphilo established a fair at Olympia, together with the sacred games. Vel. Pat. i. 8. Strab. viii. 3. t. i. p. 178.

² Dion Chrysost. i. 289.

³ Plat. De Rep. ii. t. vi. p. 79. 84. See in Mons. Thiersch. Etat.

Actuel de la Grèce, t. ii. p. 74, a somewhat detailed description of the internal trade of modern Greece.

⁴ Strab. viii. 3. t. ii. p. 151.

⁵ Columel. i. Præf. ii. 1. Dacier, in Fest. i. p. 501.

⁶ Dorians, ii. 223.

“tion to the intercourse with foreigners,” and held great annual fairs, which were frequented by the neighbouring Illyrians. By this is meant, strange as it would seem, that they sought to cut off all such intercourse. For, as Plutarch¹ relates in his Greek Questions, the people of Epidamnia living in the vicinity of the Illyrians, and observing, that such of their citizens as associated with them grew corrupt, and fearing innovation, elected one of their chief citizens to conduct the necessary intercourse and the barter which took place annually at a great fair. This officer, called Poletes, acted as broker-general for his fellow-citizens.

¹ Quæst. Græc. 29. Var. sqq. Palmer. Descrip. Græc. Antiq. t. ii. p. 317. Cf. Steph. tiq. p. 73, sqq. 118, sqq. Pausan. de Urb. voce Ἀγοράρχιον, p. 316, vi. 10. 8.

CHAPTER IX.

COMMERCE OF ATTICA.

To speak now of the commerce of Attica, the most extensive and important in the ancient world. It is an error shared by persons in other respects above the vulgar, that a commercial people is necessarily sordid; and hence Napoleon considered it opprobrious to the English, that they are a nation, as he expressed it, of shopkeepers. There are some lessons in the science of human nature that Napoleon had not learned, among which this is one,—that the greatest, wisest, and most virtuous of mankind have risen and flourished in trading communities, and been themselves in many instances engaged in commerce. No country in the modern world has produced men of more chivalrous honour or heroic disinterestedness than England; and in antiquity the Athenians, as a community and as individuals, far outshone in wisdom, high-mindedness, and patriotism, every other people with whom we could compare them. In one word, they were the English of antiquity;—bold, adventurous, indefatigable people, equally renowned in trade, philosophy, and war. That they were less fortunate may be accounted for from their geographical position, lacking the inestimable advantage which we enjoy in being seated on an island,—a misfortune well understood by Pericles, who alludes to it in his first oration for the war.¹

¹ Thucyd. i. 143. Boeckh, therefore, is certainly in error when he says, that Attica enjoyed *all* the advantages of insular position. Book i. § 9.

No country, however fertile, produces all that its inhabitants, when advancing in civilisation, require, which tends more than any other circumstance to promote the amelioration of society; and Attica, from its comparative barrenness and very limited extent, peculiarly experienced the necessity of foreign commerce. To this accordingly the Athenians from a very early period applied themselves, and with so much success, that whatever commodities the ancient world produced were generally to be found in the greatest abundance in their city.¹ They enjoyed as has been already observed, most of the advantages of insular position, that is,² excellent harbours conveniently situated, in which they received supplies during all winds,³ and, in addition to these, some of the compensating advantages of being situated on the continent, in facilities for inland traffic. Chief of all, however, were the blessings flowing from the wisdom, and moderation, and liberality, of its government, which rendered Athens the resort of all the enterprising and enlightened men of every other country. Its dealings with foreigners were facilitated by the purity of the coin, as the traders who did not choose to purchase merchandise might take bullion, which, as Xenophon expresses it, was a very handsome article, and of so little alloy as everywhere to pass for more than its nominal value, like the old Spanish dollars, and English gold currency in the East.⁴ Prohibitions to export money, as Boeckh observes, were unknown in ancient times, and are only compatible with bills of exchange.⁵

Though war to a certain extent interfered with Athenian commerce, yet, being masters of the sea, they could generally command a plentiful supply of foreign commodities, so that many articles re-

¹ Cf. Xen. de Rep. Athen.
ii. 6.

² Boeckh, Pub. Econ. of Athens, i. 65.

³ Xenoph. de Vectig. i. 7.

⁴ Id. iii. 2.

⁵ Boeckh. Pub. Econ. of Athens, i. 65.

garded as rare in other countries might be found abundantly in the warehouses of the Peiræus. "Hither, on account of the richness of our city," says Pericles, "are borne the products of all lands, so that we are not more familiar with the use of wheat grown in Attica than with the productions of other countries."¹ So Isocrates: "the Peiræus, has been established as an emporium in the heart of Greece, and so far excels all its rivals, that articles with difficulty met with singly in other ports may be readily found here altogether."² And true it is, that every region of the east and island of the Mediterranean poured their productions into Attica, whence they were distributed throughout Greece. Thither were brought the magnificent carpets and fine wool of Persia, Phrygia, and Miletos; the gloves and purple of Tyre and Sidon; the fine linen of Egypt;³ the gold and ivory of Africa; the pearls of India and the Red Sea;⁴ white and black slaves, and corn, and timber, and spices, and costly wines, and perfumes from Spain, Sicily, Italy, Cypros, Lydia, the Black Sea, and the farthest regions of the east.⁵

This extended commerce, and the encouragement which strangers of all countries found to settle at Athens, rendered it the home of all languages and religions,⁶ and led to the adoption of many barbarous words. But she thus created a boundless market for her own exports, whether consisting of manufactures or the surplus produce of the soil; and as we now retail to the Continental nations many productions of Eastern Asia, so the Athenians disposed, in the uncommercial countries around, of the commodities they had elsewhere collected. For example, they found a vent among the nations on the Black

¹ Thucyd. ii. 38.

² Isocrat. Panath. § 11.

³ Demosth. cont. Aphob. § 6.

⁴ Philost. Vit. Soph. ii. 21. §

². See chapters xi. xii. and xiii. of this book.

⁵ Boeckh, i. 66.

⁶ Strab. ix. 1. Xen. de Rep.

Athen. ii. 7.

Sea for the wines of the islands and shores of the Ægean, Peparethos, Cos, Thasos, Mendè, Skionè, Lemnos, and Crete.¹ From a passage in Xenophon, it would appear either that Greek sailors amused themselves by reading on their voyages, or that books were exported to Pontos, for there seems to be no foundation for the suspicions that they were blank books.² "Here," says Xenophon, speaking of the coast of Thrace, "are found numerous beds, cabinets, books, "and such other things as shipmasters are accustomed "to transport in chests."³ Theopompos represents the Persians as carrying books (χάρται βιβλίαν) along with them in their invasion of Egypt, and the Greeks could have been scarcely less literary.⁴ Certain, at all events, it is, that there was a book-market at Athens, probably resembling the bazars of the East, where the dealers in manuscripts kept their shops;⁵ and thence, in all likelihood, the Greek cities on the Black Sea were supplied; and this is by no means inconsistent with the proverb respecting Hermodoros, Plato's Sicilian publisher, who was said, contemptuously, to traffic in words; for, as he himself was one of Plato's hearers, it may have been thought beneath him to turn trader.⁶ Somewhat later we read of Zeno, a stranger in the city, going into a bookseller's shop to sit down, where he finds the owner reading Xenophon, and is recommended by him to follow Crates.⁷

So extensive a trade as Athens carried on could not be conducted without protecting regulations, and the co-operation of a commercial police. Accordingly the government exhibited much wisdom and

¹ Boeckh, i. 66. Demosth. in Laert. § 8.

² Boeckh, i. 67.

³ Anab. vii. 5. 14. Larcher would read βυβλία, and translate "beaucoup de cordages;" but where he learned that sailors used to carry cables, or cordage either, in their sea-chests, does not appear.

⁴ Ap. Longin. De Sublim. § 43.

⁵ Pollux, ix. 47, with the commentary, t. vi. p. 934, seq.

⁶ Cicero ad Att. xiii. 29. Suid. in v. λόγοισιν Ἑρμόδωρος ἐμπορεύεται. t. ii. p. 54. b.

⁷ Diog. Laert. vii. p. 164. c.

liberality in whatever related to commerce, by all means seeking to encourage enterprise and industry. Numerous officers were appointed to watch over the commercial dealings of the citizens; such as the superintendents of the harbour, ten persons appointed annually by lot; the overseers of the market, likewise ten, of whom five superintended the markets in the city, the other five, those in the Peiræus; fifteen inspectors of weights and measures, ten of whom attended in the city, the other five those in the port; and subordinate, probably, to these were the public meters, who seem to have been Scythians, and therefore slaves of the state: their duty was to measure whatever grain was sold in the market,¹ for which was paid a small sum, applied, it may be supposed, to the augmentation of the revenue. Great care, in fact, was bestowed on the subject of weights and measures, and to the market regulations generally; and yet we find from the comic poets² that much fraud was occasionally committed.³

It is, by some writers, supposed that credit was at a low ebb in Greece; but this notion seems to have been formed hastily, without allowing for circumstances, as the condition of the times sufficiently accounts for the facts which suggested it; for all large and established houses are known to have possessed almost unlimited credit, since they were able, on the mere security of their name, to raise whatever money they needed; so that none, probably, but persons little known, or not known advantageously, were required to give security.⁴ The inhabitants of certain cities, as, for example, of Phaselis, enjoyed, as we say, a bad reputation,⁵ and were, no doubt, among those whom people refused to trust.

¹ Harpocrat. in *v. προμετρη-
της* and see the note of Grono-
vius, p. 111, seq. Bekker omits
more than half the article, p. 158.

² Aristoph. *Eq.* 1005.

³ But see Bœckh, *Corp. In-
script.* i. 164.

⁴ Vid. Dem. adv. Polycl. § 15.
Compare Thiersch, *Etat Actuel
de la Grèce*, ii. 78, seq. 85.

⁵ See the opening of the speech
against Lacritos (§ 1), where the
orator heaps his compliments un-
sparingly upon those "honest

If severity, however, in the laws of debtor and creditor have any tendency to support credit, the confiding portion of the community had little reason to complain at Athens, since the spirit of this branch of Athenian jurisprudence was unusually stern. The man who obtained the loan of money and fraudulently withheld his security, was deemed to have committed a capital offence, nor could his high rank or honourable connexions skreen him from punishment.¹ For it was considered, observes the orator, that an offender of this description not only defrauded the individuals with whom he dealt, but also made an attempt against the sources of public prosperity, commercial operations depending not on the borrower but on the lender, without whose coöperation no ship, or captain, or passenger, can move. On which account the most effective protection was afforded them by law.

Merchants and sea-captains were also defended by very severe enactments against false accusers, who, upon conviction, were heavily fined, and, in default of payment, deprived of the rights of citizenship.² Causes of this kind were tried in the Commercial Court of the Nautodikæ, which was also empowered to examine the claims of citizens accused of foreign extraction.³ The causes were introduced by the Thesmothetæ, and in lawsuits between citizens of different nations, by virtue of

dealers," whom he describes as "the most unjust and villanous of mankind:" *πονηρότατοι ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀδικώτατοι.*

¹ Dem. in Phorm. § 17. Mr. Bœckh, if the English translation exactly represents his meaning, understands this passage differently, and his interpretation is more favourable to the Athenian law: "Even a citizen, who, in his capacity of a merchant, *withdrew* from a creditor a pledge for a sum vested in bottomry,

"could be punished with loss of life." (Pub. Econ. of Athens, i. 69.) It may be doubted, however, whether *οὐ παρασχόντα τὰς ὑποθήκας* can mean anything more than "withholding the securities;" and I, therefore, suppose Bœckh's translators to have employed the verb "withdraw" for "withhold."

² Liban. arg. ad Orat. in Theocrin. t. viii. p. 334.

³ Poll. viii. 126. Petit, v. 5. p. 522.

a particular agreement, there existed an appeal from one state to the other.¹ Nothing more clearly shows the consideration in which nautical and mercantile affairs were held at Athens, than the laws which regulated the proceedings of this court: in the first place, not to interrupt the course of business and occasion loss to individuals, the Nautodikæ sat during the winter months, from September till March, when navigation was usually suspended. At first, indeed, they did not commence their sittings till January;² but this was found inconvenient, the decision of the court being frequently delayed till late in the spring or summer, to the great loss and detriment of the litigants. Consequences still more disastrous, perhaps, ensued when the cause stood over till the ensuing winter, when, as new judges would be appointed, the whole business had to be commenced *de novo*. To remedy this evil a plan of reform was conceived by Xenophon,³ but with nothing like a statesman's views, its chief merit consisting in proposing a prize to be awarded to the most able and expeditious judge. His scheme, however, may have had the merit of fixing the attention of wiser men upon the subject, which at length produced the monthly suits to which belonged all causes concerning trade-clubs, dowries, and mines.⁴ Upon the introduction of this improvement in the practice of the commercial court the advantage proposed by Xenophon was fully obtained, since causes could not, as some have imagined, stand over from month to month, but must absolutely be decided within the term.⁵ The more completely to protect and advance the interests of commerce, each state had its consul⁶ (προξένος) who represented

¹ Bœckh, i. 69. Cf. Kühn ad Poll. viii. 63. t. iv. p. 675.

² Lysias, περὶ δημοσ. χρημ. § 4. Harpocrat. v. ναυροδίκη, p. 131. Suid. t. ii. p. 208, seq. Cf. Sigon. de Repub. Athen. iv. 3. 441.

³ De Vectigal. iii. 3.

⁴ Poll. viii. 63. 101, with the Notes. Bœckh. i. 70.

⁵ Demosth. in Apatur. § 7, in Pantænet. § 1.

⁶ Demosth. in Callip. § 3, adv. Leptin. § 14. Suid. in v. p. 609.

the interests of his country, and, like our own consuls in the Levant, was bound to receive and entertain such citizens as arrived at the port where he resided. Besides, when a merchant or trader died abroad, it was part of the consul's duty to take charge of his property, and transmit immediately to his friends an account of what had taken place, with the necessary particulars.¹ Occasionally, however, very improper persons obtained this respectable and, no doubt, lucrative situation, as the man Lycidas, formerly one of Chabrias's slaves, who contrived, by intrigue, to be appointed consul of Messima; and Dionysios, a man of like origin and character, and by birth a Megarean, who enjoyed the honour of representing Athens at Megara.²

It has been made a question, whether or not perfect freedom of trade existed among the ancients, and upon the whole it appears, that among the Athenians, at least, no unwise or vexatious interference habitually took place.³

Boeckh remarks that, in the plan of Xenophon for restoring the revenue, no allusion is made to the removal of onerous restrictions on trade; from which it may be inferred that none such existed. Heeren⁴ is clearly of this opinion: "nothing was known of the balance of trade, and consequently all the violent measures resulting from it were never devised by the Greeks. They had duties as well as the moderns; but these duties were exacted only for the sake of increasing the public revenue, not to direct the efforts of domestic industry by the prohibition of certain wares. There was no prohibition of the exportation of the raw

a. b. Poll. iii. 59. viii. 91.
Προξένους ἐκάλουν, τοὺς τεταγ-
μένους εἰς τὸ ὑποδέχισθαι τοὺς
ξένους τοὺς ἐξ ἄλλων πόλεων
ἡκοντας. Schol. Aristoph. Av.
1022. Kust.

¹ Boeckh, Pub. Econ. of Athens,
i. 71.

² Demosth. adv. Lept. § 28.
Cf. Dem. in Callip. § 3.

³ Publ. Econ. of Athens, i.
71, seq. Xen. de Vectigal. pas-
sim. Cf. Heeren, Polit. Hist.
of Anc. Greece, c. x. p. 163.

⁴ Polit. Hist. of Anc. Greece,
c. x. p. 163.

“ produce ; no encouragement of manufactures at
“ the expense of the agriculturist. In this respect,
“ therefore, there existed a freedom of industry, com-
“ merce, and trade. And such was the general
“ custom. As every thing was decided by circum-
“ stances, and not by theories, there may have been
“ single exceptions, and perhaps single examples,
“ where the state for a season usurped a monopoly.
“ But how far was this from the mercantile and
“ restrictive system of the moderns ! ”

This it appears to me is the philosophical view of the matter, which is not modified materially by the remarks of Boeckh. No doubt the interests of the state were regarded as paramount, comprehending, as in just states they do, the interests of all individuals ; but for this very reason they would, to the best of their knowledge, beware of interfering capriciously or unnecessarily with private interests, since a prosperous community cannot be constituted of unprosperous members. Mr. Boeckh seems, with all his learning and acuteness, to misapprehend the political theory of the ancients, and to imagine that, because the right of governments to regulate the actions of individuals was recognized, they might safely do so on all occasions without rhyme or reason. But in this he is certainly in error. The object of government was understood then as well as it is now ; so that I am apt to think that the erudite professor advances, in the following passage, a doctrine which would have met with but a cold reception among the Athenians, though adopted literally by the historians of the Doric race : “ Not in Crete and Lacedæ-
“ mon alone, two states completely closed up, and
“ from their position unsusceptible of free trade,
“ but generally throughout the whole of Greece, and
“ even under the free and republican government of
“ Athens, the poorest as well as the richest citizen
“ was convinced that the state had the right of
“ claiming the whole property of every individual ;

“any restriction in the transfer of this property,
“regulated according to circumstances, was looked
“upon as just, nor could it properly be considered
“an infringement of justice before the security of
“person and property was held to be the sole ob-
“ject of government; a light under which it never
“was viewed by any of the ancients.”¹

It would be difficult to select from any writer, ancient or modern, a passage more abounding than this with erroneous conclusions. Neither Lacedæmon nor Crete was excluded by its position from the advantages of free trade; and at Athens there was no citizen, however poor or ignorant, who acknowledged in the state any such right as Mr. Bœckh speaks of, except for the purpose of providing for the general safety, in which case it would be as cheerfully acknowledged in every modern community. While penning the concluding sentence, Mr. Bœckh must have been thinking of the despotic governments of Germany. An Englishman considers the preservation of his political rights as much an object of government as the protection of his person or his property, and would as strenuously contend for it, in which feeling he resembles the Athenian. But I will not permit even this theme to tempt me from the matter in hand.

There can be no difficulty in admitting that, as the very existence of commerce, properly so called, depends on the existence of political communities, the state has a right to interfere, under certain circumstances, with the movements of commerce. For example, merchants may justly be prevented by the laws from furnishing their country's enemy with arms, with ammunition, with provisions, in short, with any article whatsoever, which, by strengthening the hands of the foe, may tend to the detriment of their own community. Again, in famines and scarcities, the law of self-preservation authorizes states to restrain

¹ Public Economy of Athens, i. 72.

the exportation of articles absolutely required for home consumption; because distress produces discontent and tumult and insurrection, and may thus endanger the very existence of the government itself. Prohibitions to export, originating in such motives, are perfectly defensible. But so much can scarcely be said for monopolies, which were not unknown to the Greeks, though it is not denied that they were of short duration.¹ "It can, however, be safely asserted," says Mr. Boeckh, "that no republic ever demanded of its citizens that they should furnish commodities to the state in specific quantities, and at prices arbitrarily fixed at a low rate, with a view to secure to itself a monopoly: such a demand could only have been enforced in countries under the government of a tyrant."² The folly, as well as the wickedness, of such despotic interference, I witnessed in the depopulation and misery of Egypt, which at length proceeded so far as to alarm the Pasha himself, and produce some amelioration of his vicious system.

It is, no doubt, possible, that many monopolies of which we know nothing may have existed in antiquity;³ but it will be quite evident that, upon such possibility, it would be useless to reason. The monopolies which we know to have existed were few, and of short duration. Aristotle, while observing what advantages both individuals and states sometimes derived from them, attributes a better policy to Athens. He gives two or three examples of private monopolies, the well-known story of Thales and the oil-presses, and that of a man who bought up all the iron⁴ at Syracuse, and adds, that, in great pecuniary straits, governments were sometimes found to imitate them.⁵ Thus, at a late period of their history, the Athenians are supposed to have monopolised the lead obtained from the silver mines of

¹ Aristot. Polit. i. 7.

² Pub. Econ. of Athens, i. 73.

³ Id. Ibid.

⁴ Dr. Gillies translates "corn,"

and calls the man a banker!

"Ethics and Politics," ii. 52.

⁵ Aristot. Pol. i. 11, seq. 18,

seq. Bekk.

Laureion, which they did, we are told, at the instigation of Pythoclos; that is, they bought it up at the usual price of two drachmas the commercial talent, and sold it at six drachmas.¹ At Rome the price was higher. As there can be little doubt that the lead was for exportation, no injury was inflicted on individuals. With respect to the monopoly granted by the Byzantines to a banker, it may be observed, that it was only one of the many shifts to which the nakedness of their treasury compelled them to have recourse. The list is given in the second book of the Economics, and is not without interest. I would not affirm that their contrivances were innocent.² Again, the Selymbrians, in a period of public difficulty, constituted themselves monopolists in a manner which Mr. Boeckh might fearlessly have pronounced "less defensible." By law they were not permitted to export in times of scarcity; but being in want of money, they decreed that the state should purchase all the old stock at a fixed price, leaving individuals sufficient for their yearly consumption, after which they sold the surplus at a higher price, with permission to export.³

It is difficult to say what men will agree to consider "perfect freedom of trade;" but it appears to me, that commerce was as unshackled at Athens as it could have been consistently with the welfare of the community. Mr. Boeckh says, "There are abundant proofs that exportation and importation were regulated according to the exigencies and interests of the community, which is by no means consistent

¹ Aristot. *OEcon.* ii. 37. Boeckh it is who conjectures the commercial to be meant, no weight being mentioned in the original. *Pub. Econ. of Ath.* i. 44. 73. Cf. *Plin. Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 48. Dr. Wordsworth restores, with great felicity, the true reading in the passage of Aristotle: *τῶν ἀργυρίων* for *τῶν τυρίων*. Athens and

Attica, p. 208. Boeckh's conjecture, though ingenious, is less probable. *Publ. Econ.* ii. 429.

² Aristot. *OEcon.* ii. 4.

³ *Id.* ii. 18. From Mr. Boeckh's account it might seem as though the exportation of corn was always prohibited at Selymbria (*Pub. Econ.* i. 73); whereas this was the case during famines only.

“with the perfect freedom of trade.”¹ There appears to lurk a fallacy in this. Such freedom as this writer would call perfect is inconsistent with the very existence of civil society, whose fundamental laws require that no man’s freedom shall trench upon the freedom, and still less upon the life, of another. But if in commerce the exigencies and interests of the community could have been set at nought, there would have been an end of such community, since frequently its well-being, if not its being, depended on its commercial relations with foreign states.

So far, therefore, it must, doubtless, be admitted, that commerce was not free. To this extent, and no further, does Aristotle counsel or contemplate interferences with trade: “With regard to importation and exportation,” he says, “it is necessary to know how large a supply of provisions the state requires, and what proportion of them can be produced in the country and what imported, and what imports and exports are necessary for the state, in order that commercial treaties and agreements may be concluded with those of whom the state must make use for this purpose.”²

With regard to the prohibition to export attributed to Solon, it is necessary either to abandon the subject altogether, or to understand it in the contrary sense to that usually given. Plutarch, as his text now stands, tells a very strange story, observing, that the exportation of every thing but oil was prohibited by Solon, and therefore he adds, it is not wholly improbable that figs also were prohibited.³ I understand the matter differently. Solon, probably observing that Attica, at that time, produced barely sufficient oil for its own consumption, prohibited its exportation, though as agriculture improved, the law fell into desuetude, and oil became a principal export. From this example, Plutarch

¹ Pub. Econ. i. 73, seq.

³ Plut. Solon. § 24.

² Rhet. i. 4.

thinks it not improbable, that figs also may at some time or another have been prohibited. The matter is thus clear and natural. Besides, the Scholiast on Pindar, alluding no doubt to some particular period, observes, that the exportation of oil was not permitted.¹ It is therefore surprising that Boeckh should have laid any stress at all on so contradictory a passage, without endeavouring to restore it, particularly as Solon was himself a merchant and a transgressor of his supposed law. That the exportation of corn should not have been allowed is both intelligible and reasonable, as Attica never produced sufficient for its own consumption; and they were not disposed to adopt the system of the modern Tuscans, who would sell their own corn to the English, and subsist on an inferior sort from the Black Sea, if indeed it be inferior.²

Certain commodities were, however, undoubtedly not allowed to be exported, as for example, timber, tar, wax, rigging, and "leathern bottles, articles "which," as Boeckh observes, "were particularly important for the building and equipment of the fleet."³ But the word which this distinguished scholar conceives to mean "leathern bottles," had a very different signification, and meant that leathern defence through which the oars passed, and which was designed to keep the sea from rushing in at the row-port. This we gather as well from the scholiast on Aristophanes,⁴ as from several passages of Pollux overlooked by Boeckh. This writer observes, that the leathern defence of the row-port was called *ἄσκιμα*,⁵ and elsewhere he says that a woman's breast, when full of milk, was also so

¹ Pind. Nem. x. 64. Shulz. Cf. Dissen. t. ii. 505. Petit, p. 417.

² Bowring, Statistics of Tuscany, p. 15. Ulpian, to whom Boeckh, i. 74, refers, merely repeats the well-known prohibition to ship-captains to take a cargo of corn to

any foreign port. Orat. x. p. 271. a.

³ Economy of Athens, p. 75.

⁴ Ran. 364: *ἄσκιμα δὲ δερμάτιον τι ᾧ ἐν ταῖς τριήρεσι χρῶνται, καθ' ὃ ἡ κώπη βάλλεται.*

⁵ Pollux. i. 88: *τὸ δὲ πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ σκαλμῷ δέρμα ἄσκιμα.*

called;¹ from which we may conjecture what form the askoma assumed, when the oar forced it outwards during the act of rowing. Nor do I suppose that such prohibition existed only during time of war, for it would have been equally imprudent to furnish such articles to men preparing for war, as men always are in peace, as to such as were actually engaged in it. From a passage in Theophrastus, it has been inferred that permission to export timber for ship-building was sometimes granted free of duty to individuals; but as it is the Boaster who makes the assertion, adding that, to avoid envy, he never made use of it,² it may be regarded as no less a joke than the reason for prohibiting lampwicks from Bœotia, viz., that they might set the fleet on fire!³

The prohibition to export arms during war to the country of the enemy, and that under pain of death,⁴ was an obvious measure of self-defence. In time of peace, however, the trade in arms was as free as any other trade; and the Athenians imported from their neighbours, the Bœotians, helmets,⁵ in the manufacture of which this people excelled. No doubt, as states derive the sinews of war, in part at least, from commerce, the Athenians had the sagacity to attack their enemies in the vulnerable point of their pride, for the purpose of bringing them the sooner to reason. They thus, too, taught the inferior states, such as Megara and Bœotia, that Athens was independent of them in all respects, while it was for them to

¹ Pollux. ii. 164: τὸ δὲ ὑποπιμπλάμενον τοῦ γάλακτος, κόλπος καὶ ἄσκωμα. Cf. Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 97. Hesych. Etym. Mag. et Suid. in v. But more especially Scheffer, De Militiâ Navali, p. 13, Cf. Brunck ad Ran. 364. This confirms the extremely ingenious conjecture of Mitford, though he was mistaken in supposing the thing to have been

called ὑπηρέσιον, which meant simply "a cushion." Hist. of Greece, iii. 154. Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. p. 344, is very unsatisfactory.

² Theoph. Char. p. 63. Casaub. 344.

³ Aristoph. Acharn. 916.

⁴ Dem. de Fals. Legat. § 90.

⁵ Poll. i. 149.

consider whether they were equally independent of her.¹ Thus the Ocean Queen of antiquity was said to exercise (as Great Britain formerly) a despotic sway over trade; as when, for example, she exacted a tenth from all ships sailing to or from the Black Sea;² though in this, as in all human affairs, the despotism³ arose naturally from the possession of superior power, and could scarcely have been guarded against. To weaken the enemy by every possible means was the object of a wise policy; so that in contemplating every coast belonging to a power not in alliance with Athens as in a state of blockade,⁴—in seizing, capturing, or detaining, all vessels of every description by which her interests could be infringed, Athens only acted in self-defence. That she was hated for her superiority we need not be surprised, who know with what heart-burnings and secret aversion our own maritime supremacy has ever been beheld by the nations of the Continent, who repeat against us all the accusations anciently muttered by the surrounding states against Athens.

Utopian speculators, reading history in their easy chairs, find it facile to condemn the measures of ancient statesmen. But allowing them to have been reprehensible, it remains to be seen whether, in the same circumstances, we could have carried any better into execution; for the ability to imagine better is nothing, unless we suppose that events always allow men to act up to their knowledge. However this may be, the Athenian government found itself compelled by its position sometimes to interfere with the course of trade; but it may well be doubted whether any other freedom of trade than there existed be either possible or desirable. For, both commerce, and every other mode in which the energies of a nation can develope themselves, should no other-

¹ Conf. Acharn. 660, sqq. and Boeckh, i. 76.

² Xen. Hellen. iv. 8. 27. Dodwell, Chron. Xenophon. § 21.

³ Xen. Rep. Athen. ii. 3. 11. 12.

⁴ Xen. ut sup. Thucyd. v. 83.

wise exist than as they are beneficial to the nation at large; and of this the managers of public business ought always to be better judges than merchants or speculators, who only consider their own interests, which may not always be identical with those of the state. I am far, however, from designing to maintain that the commercial regulations of Athens were in no case oppressive. Perhaps in the matter of the corn-trade they were so; and yet much may be said for a populous city surrounded by a barren country, and therefore solicitous about its own subsistence. Let us examine those regulations. According to the letter of the law, which was often transgressed, no inhabitant of Athens could land a cargo of corn anywhere but on the Peiræus; but, arrived there, and the necessities of the state provided for, the remainder could be disposed of elsewhere. This was the full amount of the grievance, if it ought to be so called.

With respect to the law which is supposed to have restrained capitalists from lending money on any vessel not returning to Athens with corn or other commodities, it would be highly unreasonable, with Mr. Boeckh, to denominate it "excessively oppressive," until we understand it.¹ For my own part, until something better be proposed, I must adopt the interpretation of Salmasius, that it was not permitted to lend money for the purpose of buying corn in other countries except upon the condition, that that corn should be imported into Athens.² There no doubt are difficulties attending this view of the matter; but this is equally the case in whichever way we understand it. It may have been that, in order to render Athens as far as possible the emporium of the world, the law required that money should not be lent to merchants or supercargoes, unless it was their intention to return

¹ Pub. Econ. of Athens, i. 77.
i. 65.

² De Modo Usur. ap. Vet. p.
193, sqq. Boeckh, i. 78.

thither with a lading, whether of corn or some other commodity. But even this seems very doubtful.

But, by whatever laws this branch of trade was regulated, no doubt can exist as to its extent and importance. For, as the population of Attica had, at a very early period, outgrown the means of subsistence supplied by the country itself, the republic found itself constrained to depend for the primary article of food upon the productions of foreign states, to the amount of nearly one-third of its whole consumption; that is to say, while there were grown at home two hundred and ninety-two thousand three hundred and ninety-two quarters, as may be proved by calculation,¹ there were imported a hundred and eighteen thousand quarters in the age of Demosthenes. Earlier its importation of corn was still more considerable, when the greater part of the supply was obtained from Eubœa, by the way of Oropos and the pass of Deceleia.²

Of the hundred and eighteen thousand quarters abovementioned, about sixty thousand were obtained from the countries on the Black Sea, chiefly from Theodosia, now Kaffa,³ in the Crimea, the remainder

¹ Adv. Lept. § 9. Consult on this subject the note of Clinton. Fast. Hellen. t. ii. p. 392, seq.

² Thucyd. vii. 28.

³ Cf. Strab. vii. 4. t. ii. p. 95. Dem. adv. Lept. § 9. Herod. vii. 147. The climate of this country was regarded as extremely severe by the ancients, so that at Panticapæum, a city lying between the modern Kertsh and Yenikale, neither the myrtle nor the laurel would grow on account of the cold, though many attempts had been made to rear them for sacred purposes. And yet the laurel was found to brave the inclemencies of the season on Mount

Olympos. Most fruit-trees, however, as apples, pears, figs, and pomegranates flourished in the Crimea abundantly, though the pomegranate required to be covered in winter, and all fruits ripened later. The usual timber trees of the country were the oak, the elm, and the ash; the pine, the silver-fir, and the pitch-tree, finding the climate uncongenial. Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 5. 3. The nitrous plains around Panticapæum are still bare of wood, though covered thickly by the harmala, a plant which grows spontaneously upon saltpetre grounds. Pallas, Travels in Southern Russia, iii. 356.

from Thrace, the islands of the Ægæan, Egypt, and Sicily.¹

Yet the people of Athens were subject to few scarcities; and those they experienced happened in later times, when their enemies had acquired the superiority at sea. For so long as this state attended to her own navy and maintained her maritime supremacy, there was never, I believe, a deficiency of the grain in Peiræus,² though attempts were frequently made by the corn-dealers to create a monopoly and extort famine prices from the public,³ for which they were sometimes punished with death. Numerous proofs of the ease with which Athens could provision herself, occurred during the latter years of the Peloponnesian war, and the age immediately succeeding. Thus, when the Spartans, with their king Agis, were in possession of the pass of Deceleia, and ravaged habitually the whole territory of Attica, they felt that even the occupation of that important post was scarcely of any avail to them so long as Athens remained mistress of the sea, since they daily saw numbers of corn ships from all parts of the Levant, sailing into the Peiræus.⁴ Afterwards, when the Spartans had begun to apply themselves to naval affairs, one of their first endeavours was to distress Attica, by attacking her corn ships, as on the occasion when Pollis sought to capture the transports in the neighbourhood of Geræstos, which however were relieved by the fleet under Chabrias.⁵

No inconvenience was ever experienced from the reluctance of the corn-growing states to export their

¹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. viii. 4. Lysias in Diogit. § 5. Athen. ii. 13. xiii. 50.

² Though afterwards in the decline of the republic it was otherwise. See in Plutarch an account of the base infraction of the law of nations by Demetrius which caused a famine in Athens. De-

met. § 33. Cf. Xenoph. Hellen. v. i. 23.

³ See the whole oration of Lysias, against the Corn Monopolists in the *Oratores Attici*, ii. 523. Cf. Dem. cont. Dionysod. § 2.

⁴ Xenoph. Hellen. i. 35.

⁵ Id. v. 4. 61.

produce. On the contrary, the petty kings of the countries on the Euxine were so anxious to secure to themselves the custom of Athens, that they conferred on that state numerous privileges and made her great presents, in order to tempt her corn ships into their harbours and prevent the application to rival states. It may indeed be said, that peace was scarcely ever interrupted between Athens and the exporting countries, and that not through the Athenians truckling to them to obtain their corn, but through their truckling to the Athenians to be allowed to supply them. Thus, as far as the experience of antiquity can be relied on, it must be concluded, that the country which purchases agricultural produce invariably exercises a paramount influence over the countries which supply it. It is in fact a rule all the world over, that it is the customer who coerces the dealer, not the dealer who influences the customer.

But, further, this immense importation of grain did not throw any of the lands of Attica, however poor and barren, out of cultivation.¹ On the contrary, the powers of the soil were still taxed to the utmost, and the processes of agriculture carried to a much higher degree of perfection than in any other part of Greece.² In fact, with its vineyards, the whole of Attica resembled a continued garden up to the very walls of the city.³ From which, as well as from positive testimony, it appears evident, that the Athenians always retained their partiality for rural labours,⁴ notwithstanding the extent to which the manufacturing system was carried among them. The cultivation of the soil has, indeed, so many charms for mankind, that they will never desert it so long as it is able to provide for their wants. Men become manufacturers only when they can no longer live by agriculture.

¹ Xenoph. de Vectigal. ch. i.

² Xenoph. Œconom. *passim*.

³ Dicæarchos, p. 1.

⁴ Aristoph. Acharn. 32, sqq.

It should, perhaps, be added, that of the grain imported into the Peiræus the surplus was frequently exported to other parts of Greece, when the wants of the commonwealth had been properly supplied, and that a slight fixed duty, for the sake of revenue, appears to have been always levied on imported grain.¹

But this necessary of life was not generally paid for in specie. On the contrary, it was with manufactures that Greece purchased the corn of the rude nations on the Euxine, whom, by her trade, she gradually reclaimed from barbarism, inoculated with a taste for harmless luxuries, and, at length, even for Hellenic literature.²

In one case we find that the Nomadic Scythians applied themselves to the cultivation of the soil, and, of course, became stationary merely for the purpose of supplying Greece with corn.³ Again, in the later ages of the Roman republic, when a corn-field was a rarity in Italy, which had been almost entirely converted by the nobility into gardens and pleasure-grounds,⁴ Sicily, Egypt, and other agricultural countries of the Levant, furnished so ample a supply of grain, that scarcity was never experienced, except when the public officers were grossly negligent of their duty. In fact, the carrying trade devolved upon the Phœnicians, who, to a great extent subsisting by it alone, were necessarily most careful, for their own sake, to keep up the supply.⁵ Had the Romans been themselves a commercial people, like the English, their traffic might have been still better regulated.

To return, however: it is admitted, that liberal as, upon the whole, the principles of trade were in antiquity, those of the Athenians were the most so of any.⁶ The Argives and Æginetans, at one

¹ Dem. cont. Neær. § 9.

² Xenoph. Anab. vii. 5. 14.

³ Herod. iv. 17.

⁴ Varro de Re Rust. l. 1.

⁵ Lucian. Navig. § 6.

⁶ Bœckh. i. 80.

period, prohibited the importation of Athenian manufactures, particularly their pottery, or, at least, prohibited the use of them in religious ceremonies, though up to that period they had been allowed. The object, of course, was to bring their own earthenware into use, Argos,¹ especially, possessing a manufacture which at length rivalled that of Attica itself. It is regarded as a mark of ancient simplicity, that neither gold nor silver, nor jewelled plate, but fictile vases merely, were originally employed in making libations to the gods.²

The same principles which regulated maritime commerce governed also the intercourse which nations carried on by land. It would, therefore, be unreasonable to look for what is, oddly enough, denominated "unrestricted freedom," since, without at all admitting that "the police mixed itself with everything," we cannot deny that the state, in this, as in all other respects, sought to advance its own interests. Foolish attempts were sometimes made to bring down the price of certain necessities, as salt, an example of which is mentioned by Aristophanes; but the law was soon abrogated.³ Had the state been disposed to interfere tyrannically in anything, it would have been where corn was concerned. It is, however, admitted by Bœckh, who has taken the wrong side on this question, that in this article "we certainly find a great freedom of prices," though the law interfered to prevent the evil consequences to the public of combinations among corn-dealers for the purpose of creating a monopoly.⁴

In general, the business of retail-dealing in the market was confined by law to the citizens, but this was not always rigidly enforced, since we find Egyptians, Phœnicians, and other foreigners, had

¹ Herod. v. 88. Athen. iv. 13. xi. 60.

² Concion. 813, with the Scholiast.

³ Valcken. ad Herod. Wessel. p. 416.

⁴ Econ. of Athens, i. 81.

their stalls there, for which, it would appear, they paid a distinct duty.¹ They were more especially found among the fishmongers and dealers in small wares. But, in the Peiræus, the number of foreign traders greatly exceeded that of the natives. For their use, moreover, a species of exchange (δᾱγμα) was created, whither they brought specimens of their merchandise for exhibition, the place being usually crowded with buyers from all the neighbouring countries. This was, possibly, the most striking scene in Greece, crowded with merchants from the East, in their gorgeous and varied costumes, intermingled with Greeks of all classes, and gay women who came hither to see and be seen.²

On the prices of things in antiquity, compared with those at present prevailing, we have only one way of judging, and that is by ascertaining whether a greater degree of labour was required to provide the necessaries of life. The contrary was certainly the case in Attica, which, nevertheless, was, probably, the most expensive place of residence in the world. Even the slaves would appear to have enjoyed more leisure and exemption from toil than the industrious classes of our own most industrious community: and the citizens themselves, with their numerous festivals and amusements, public and private, evidently devoted a far greater proportion of their time to pleasure than would now be possible to any save the opulent. This, in fact, resulted from the moderate custom duties charged by the state, but much more from the superior fertility of the soil, which yielded greater returns for less labour, and from the comparative fewness

¹ It is thus that Bœckh understands a passage in the speech against Eubulides, § 10, which both Wolf and Taylor interpret very differently. With respect to the fact, however, of foreign

dealers actually holding stalls, we are not left to depend on any doubtful testimony.

² Pollux, ix. 34. Comm. t. ii. p. 911, seq.

of unproductive inhabitants. In modern language, the supply was greater in proportion to the demand. Still, it appears quite certain, that, though the duties laid on by the state were moderate, the merchants and retail dealers made very great profits. "This," as Boeckh observes, "is sufficiently proved by the high rate of interest on money lent upon bottomry, in which thirty per cent for one summer was not unfrequently paid."¹

I am not quite sure that, as a general rule, "a high rate of interest and profit is an infallible sign that industry and trade are yet in their infancy," and still less that lowness of interest is a sign of a flourishing country.² On the contrary, I should infer, from the former, that trade was in that healthy state in which it is scarcely a speculation; and, from the latter, that its current had become stagnant. However, a high interest was paid, and great profits were made in antiquity. Of this a striking example is furnished by Herodotus. A Samian ship trading with Egypt was, by some accident, led to push its way westward, as far as Tartessos, in Iberia, antecedent to the period at which the Greeks began to trade regularly with that port.³ What the nature and value of its cargo may have been is not known, any more than the articles which it received in exchange. The conjecture, however, that it received silver at a low rate, as the Phœnicians anciently did, is not improbable. At all events, the merchants engaged in this adventure cleared upon that one cargo the sum of sixty talents, of which, in pious gratitude, they dedicated a tenth to Hera the tutelary goddess of their island. And this historian adds, that, with the exception of Sostratos of Ægina, the most fortunate of mercantile adventurers, no Grecian merchant had ever up to his time made so successful a voyage.

¹ Pub. Econ. of Ath. i. 81, seq.

Boeckh's Public Economy of Athens, i. 82.

² Compare Hume's Essay on Interest, p. 172, sqq. with Mr.

³ Herod. iv. 152.

CHAPTER X.

NAVIGATION.

As the art of navigation was not invented by the Greeks, it will be in this place unnecessary to inquire very minutely into its rude beginnings. Most maritime tribes doubtless discovered for themselves the means of traversing such rivers, and creeks, and bays, and arms of the sea, as lay in their immediate neighbourhood and impeded their communication, whether hostile or friendly, with the various tribes on their borders. Another motive, moreover, which probably tempted men to trust themselves very early upon the waters, was the desire to regale on those dainty fish which abound on nearly all shores, and constitute among the most savage nations an important article of food. It will readily be believed that history cannot pretend to name the individual who in any country first launched his raft or canoe upon the deep. Nevertheless, tradition among the Phœnicians, endeavoured to supply the defect of history. Opusoös, we are told,¹ a primitive Arab hero, observing the trunk of a large tree overthrown, perhaps by a hurricane, near the shore, lopped off the branches, set it afloat, and committed himself along with it to the mercy of the waves. He had very soon an abundance of imitators. In every part of the Red Sea, on the Nile, the Indus, and the Persian Gulf, hardy navigators made their appearance, who undertook voyages more or less hazardous, in piraguas constructed of a

¹ Sanchoniath. ap Euseb. Præp. Evang. i. p. 23, bis. Leroy, *Manière des Anciens Peuples*, p. 188.

single bamboo, or the shell of a vast tortoise, or of a wicker-work frame covered with leather¹ — the coracles of our British ancestors still in common use on many streams in Wales. Occasionally, too, more especially on the rivers and shores of the Euxine, capacious, long, and sturdy barks² were scooped out of the trunks of enormous trees, which were denominated *Monoxyla*, and seem to have been at one time or another in general use all over the world from the island of Australasia to the Arctic Circle. A specimen of those employed by our own forefathers may be seen in the colonnade of our national Museum. On the Nile were several kinds of barks peculiar to Egypt, such for example, as those which were plaited from the papyrus plant,³ or from rushes. Most extraordinary of all, however, were their boats of earthenware, in which, furnished both with sails and oars, they glided over the serene bosom of the river.

As soon as the Greeks began to apply themselves to maritime affairs, they constructed ports and docks in various parts of the country, where they built numerous ships, rude enough at first, perhaps; but improving by experience and study⁴ they in time equalled, and at length surpassed, the Phœnicians, by whom at the outset they may perhaps have been instructed. Among the greatest difficulties they had to encounter was the scarcity of ship-timber, for which they were always compelled greatly to depend on other countries. The materials, however, being collected, their shipwrights appear to have proceeded in much the same man-

¹ Herod. i. 194.

² In the sea of Marmora, a boat somewhat similar in form, though different in construction, is still used, and known under the name of *piade*. It is narrow, and “from twenty to forty feet “in length, very sharp both in

“the prow and stern; it is built “of willow, and often beautifully “carved and ornamented.” Douglas, *Essay, &c.*, p. 13.

³ Herod. ii. 96. Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 8. 4.

⁴ Cf. Hom. Il. *α*. 316. Thucyd. i. 10.

ner as those of modern times, laying down the keel, fixing in the ribs, planking, decking, caulking, and pitching, until the hull was completed.

In their war-galleys,¹ constructed under the superintendence of a naval architect elected by lot, they exhausted all the resources of art in their endeavours to communicate to them the greatest beauty of form and splendour of appearance. Painting, carving, and gilding,² were called in to cover both stern and prow with images and ornaments of the most fanciful kinds, glowing with bright blue or vermilion,³ intermingled with scrolls and flourishes of other colours, and figures of burnished gold. Occasionally beneath the rim of the prow were bright cerulean bands,⁴ painted in encaustic and defended by so durable a varnish that they could neither be blistered by the sun, nor dimmed by the action of the sea-water. In this part, beneath the roots as it were of the acrostolion, were placed those ornaments resembling eyes, one on either side, over which the name of the ship was written.⁵ The sweep of the deck was a gentle curve, the lowest dip of which was at the ship's waist. On the poop stood a deep alcove in which the pilot took his station,⁶ protected in a great degree from wind and weather, and having over his head a large lantern, in which a bright light was kindled at nightfall.

Firm and lofty bulwarks rose along the ship's sides, protecting the mariners from being swept off in tempests by the passing surge. On the bows again, there was usually a square tower furnished with lofty portals, through which the combatants,

¹ Vid. Gyrald. de Navig. c. xvi. t. i. col. 646. Thucyd. i. 13, seq. Athen. xi. 49. Aristoph. Lysist. 173. On the names of different classes of vessels, see Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 143. Eq. 1363. Thucyd. iv. 67.

² Poll. i. 84. Goguet, iv. 261. Winkel. i. 26. n.

³ Lucian. Charidem. § 25.

⁴ Athen. v. 37.

⁵ Poll. i. 86.

⁶ In this he had a seat which was called *ικρία*. Hesych. in v.

protected from annoyances on both flanks, poured, in close fight, their darts into the enemy's ship, or rushed forward to board it. At the very front of the prow, where our bowsprit is now placed, arose an elegant winding scroll, which though projecting slightly beyond the hull, could never touch the corresponding part of the enemy's galley until the iron or brazen beaks¹ below had met and shattered each other. The rudder² consisted of two paddles placed one on either side of the ship, which was impelled along by oar and sail. The row-ports of these galleys being somewhat capacious might, if left open, have shipped a great deal of water, on which account they were furnished with strong leather bags, in form like a woman's breast, projecting outwards, nailed to the circle of the row-port, and fitting tight about the oar. The rowers, to render their condition more comfortable, were furnished with cushions or soft-dressed fleeces.³

The merchantmen differed considerably both in form and general arrangements from the war-galleys. As in our own ships of burden, under the old system of admeasurement, the hull instead of sinking down sharp towards the keel, bellied outwards at the sides, so as to render the bottom al-

¹ Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 552.

² Spallanzani in describing the preparations made by the Portuguese for the first doubling of the Cape of Good Hope, mentions, among other things, a double rudder, so "that in case one should be damaged there might be another to act." Travels in the Two Sicilies, iv. 201.

³ The sea-term *ἰπηρέσιον* which occurs in Thucydides, ii. 93, is very variously explained. Mitford (Hist. Greece, iii. 154) contends, that it means a sort of bag placed in the *ρημα*, or aperture through which the oar passed,

and was designed to prevent the flowing in of the waves. This bag, however, as I have already remarked in pp. 289, 290, was called *ἄσκιμα*. Poll. ii. 154. Potter (ii. 136,) thinks it was a skin on which the rowers sat. Lilius Gyraldus, (De Navigiis, c. vi. p. 627,) supposes it to have been that part of the galley on which the oar rested, and sometimes signified the oar itself. The Greek scholiast on Thucydides, (t. v. p. 399,) agrees with Potter, saying, that it means a sheepskin with the fleece which covered the rowers' benches.

most flat. They were very much shorter, moreover, in proportion to their height than ships of the line,¹ which, from their slender elongated figure, obtained the appellation of long galleys. In trading vessels,² much greater stress was laid on sails than on oars, since the crews could never be sufficiently numerous to furnish constantly fresh relays of rowers; and, in their protracted voyages, it would have been impossible for the same men to remain perpetually on the benches. The masts consequently were here of very great height, equalling, according to rule, the length of the ship, which rendered it practicable to crowd an immense quantity of canvass, but at the same time rendered them liable to capsize in a heavy gale, as is still the case with the Levant-built ships, which are generally much taller rigged than ours. They commonly gave a greater length to the hull of transports, though not altogether so great as to ships of war. Pirate luggers were always built without decks,³ and extremely low that they might be the better able to approach their prey unperceived. Their sloops, smacks, and lighters,⁴ together with all the other small craft employed in the coasting trade, exhibited every variety of form, but appear to have been generally stout-built and well-appointed.

Respecting the tonnage and dimensions of the largest class of merchantmen, we possess little positive information. It would appear, however, that in comparison with the vessels engaged in the corn-trade, between Alexandria and Italy,⁵ they were of

¹ Cf. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 1363.

² One of these vessels, when built for speed, would, with a fair wind, make a hundred and fifty miles in the twenty-four hours. Herod. iv. 86.

³ Thucyd. i. 10. Schol. t. v. p. 311.

⁴ Much of the coasting trade of the Mediterranean is still carried on in extremely small barks or

open boats. See Spallanzani, Travels in the Two Sicilies, iii. 122, sqq. In the Adriatic, however, the necessity has at length been felt of employing vessels of a broad and flat construction, and extremely solid, to resist the violence of the storms so frequent in that sea, id. iv. 200.

⁵ Lucian. Navig. § 5.

very moderate burden, since the appearance of one of those large ships in the Peiræus excited general astonishment. The size of this Egyptian trader, which seems to have been no way distinguished from others engaged in the same traffic, may perhaps assist the imagination in forming some definite idea of an ancient merchantman: its length, from stem to stern, was one hundred and eighty feet, its breadth nearly fifty, and its clear depth in the hold about forty-five. It was furnished with one enormous mast, with yards in proportion, and a capacious mainsail, composed of numerous tiers of ox-hides. The cables and anchors, capstains, windlasses, with all the other appurtenances of a ship, were on a suitable scale, while the crew was so numerous as to be compared to an army. In the stern were airy and spacious cabins, above which rose the gilded figure of a goose. On either side of the bows stood an image of Isis,¹ bending over the waves and appearing to afford her divine protection to those who had chosen her for their tutelar goddess. Among the Greeks, however, the place assigned to the tutelar divinity was sometimes the stern, where oaths were taken, expiations made, prayers and sacrifices offered up, and where such of the crew as had committed any offence took sanctuary. On the top of the mast was a vane² of burnished metal which, turning and flashing in the sun, appeared like a streak of flame. As their ships, more especially during long voyages, ran perpetual risk of being assailed by pirates, they were abundantly supplied with all kinds of arms

¹ On the bows of the Athenian war-galleys a wooden statue of Athena, richly gilded, occupied the place here assigned to Isis. Aristoph. Acharn. 457, et Schol.

² See on vanes, flags, &c., Beckmann, History of Inventions, iv. 161. As many of our sailors carry about their persons a child's caul as an amulet to protect them

against the dangers of the ocean, so the mariners of Greece attributed a sort of miraculous power to the skins of the seal and the hyæna, which they bound around the summits of their masts as a safeguard against lightning and thunderbolts. Plut. Sympos, iv. 2. 1.

and implements of war, which were ranged along the cabin partitions and elsewhere with so much order and regularity, that they could always, by night or day, be found at a moment's warning.

It was by very slow advances that the ancients arrived at that high degree of excellence in the art of ship-building, which, in the most flourishing ages of Greece, its maritime states exhibited. In the Homeric age, the largest vessels known were of very moderate burden, since even the poet, who would doubtless allow himself some licence, speaks of no transport which could carry more than one hundred and fifty men. These barks, too, Thucydides thinks, were undecked, like the pirate vessels of his own times, and indeed in ours also, in most parts of the *Ægean*, though I have myself sailed in a large Greek brig, of piratical construction, which carried several guns, and was not only decked, but so admirably built, that after labouring ten days in a storm, she made not an inch more water than when in port.

The various stages in improvement have not been marked. They went on, however, each age excelling that which had preceded it, until at length having reached the utmost perfection of which their system was susceptible, they began to apply their skill to the creation of huge fabrics merely for show and magnificence, and calculated rather for the gratification of an insane luxury than for the genuine purposes of trade. One of these naval monsters was constructed at Syracuse under the eye of Archimedes, and at the expense of king Hiero.

Having procured from the forests of Mount *Ætna* timber sufficient for the building of sixty triremes, together with a variety of other materials from Italy, Spain, and Gaul, as crooked timber for ribs, hard wood for pegs, with pitch and hemp, and Spanish broom¹ for cables, he assembled a sufficient number of ship-

¹ Athen. v. 40.

wrights, with Archias, the Corinthian, at their head, and set them to work under the inspection of Archimedes, though he himself spent the greater part of his day overlooking the workmen at the dock. When in about six months the planking had been carried to about half the height of the hull, and properly sheathed with lead in lieu of the copper at present employed, the ship was launched¹ by means of a machine, invented for the purpose by Archimedes, into a sort of floating dock, where it was completed in other six months. The planks were fastened to the ribs with copper bolts, of which some were of ten and others fifteen pounds' weight, passed through holes prepared for them by the auger; and over the heads of these bolts plates of lead were fixed, having been first lined, as it were, with a layer of wadding steeped in pitch.

They next proceeded to the interior arrangements, the explanation of which is replete with difficulty. The whole depth of the ship seems to have been divided into four stories, of which the lowest, or hold, was filled by the cargo; the second, descended to by long flights of steps, was appropriated to the rowers, who were ranged in twenty banks; the third was laid out in cabins for the use of the crew, while the military officers and the men occupied the uppermost. The kitchen was situated in the stern.

All these cabins were adorned with pavements in mosaic, representing in a long series of compartments

¹ By what ceremonies a ship-launch was accompanied in antiquity, I have nowhere discovered. Those which take place on the occasion in modern Greece are extremely pleasing, and may, perhaps, have had a classical origin. A crown of flowers "is suspended from the prow of a vessel when it is first launched, and the 'καπόβανηρι,' or master of the ship, raises the jar of wine

"to his lips as he stands upon the deck, and then pours it on the ground. Surely, nothing can be more beautifully classical; and it were to be wished that we could trace some part of a ceremony that takes place with us upon the same occasion to this source, and not consider it as an imitation of one of the most sacred rites of our religion." Douglas, p. 65.

the entire action of the *Iliad*; while the furniture, doors, and ceilings were furnished with proportionate splendour and elegance. On the upper deck was a gymnasium, exactly proportioned to the dimensions of the ship, together with a number of walks running through the midst of gardens laid out on leaden terraces, and containing all kinds of odoriferous plants and flowers. All these alleys were arched with trellis-work, overlaid with the intermingled foliage of the white-ivy and the vine growing out of troughs filled with earth, arranged along the promenades, and watered like other gardens. In a different part of the ship was a magnificent apartment called the *Aphrodision*, furnished with three couches, and having a pavement variegated with agates, and all the richest and most beautiful marbles of Sicily. It was wainscotted and roofed with cypress, while its doors were of Atlantic citron-wood inlaid with ivory. On all sides, moreover, it was adorned with pictures and statues and vases and goblets, of the most fanciful and varied forms. Contiguous to this chamber was the library, furnished with five couches and store of books. Its doors and wainscot were of box, and on its roof was a sun-dial, constructed in imitation of that in the *Achradina*. There was also a bath, in which were three couches, and three caldaria of bronze, together with a basin containing five metretæ, lined with Taurominian marble of various colours. There were numerous cabins fitted up for the soldiers and the crew, from whom was selected a number of persons whose sole business it was to superintend the pumps.¹ The ship likewise contained twenty stables, ten on either hand, well supplied with fodder, and every convenience for the grooms.

In the bows was a prodigious reservoir of fresh-water, lined with tarpaulin, and kept under lock and key; and near it lay the *piscina* or fish-pond, overlaid with lead, and filled with sea-water, in which

¹ Cf. Schol. Aristoph. *Eq.* 432.

was preserved an ample supply of fish for a long voyage. On projecting galleries, extending along the ship's sides, were situated the wood-house, the kitchen, the bake-house, the mills, and other conveniences. At different distances along the sides were ranged numerous figures of Atlas, nine feet in height, supporting the triglyphs and the projecting portions of the ship: its whole surface, moreover, was adorned with suitable paintings.

There arose from the deck eight towers, two on the stern, two on the prow, and four in the ship's waist, in diameter and elevation proportioned to the dimensions of the whole. From the outer battlements of each of these turrets projected two immense beams, hollowed out like troughs, which being balanced in the middle on the edge of the tower, could be filled with huge stones, that, by elevating the inner extremity of the machine, were launched into the enemy's ship as it sailed beneath. These engines were probably worked by ropes and pulleys attached to the opposite battlements. Six armed men, two of whom were archers, took their station in each turret, the whole interior of which was filled with stones and darts. All round the ship, supported by a series of triangles, ran a gallery, defended by a parapet and battlements. On this stood a catapult, invented by Archimedes, which cast darts eighteen feet long, with stones upwards of three hundred and fifty pounds in weight, to the distance of a furlong. This gallery, as well, I presume, as the men who worked the engine, was protected by a close net-work of large ropes suspended from brazen chains. To each of the three masts was attached a couple of engines, which darted iron bars and masses of lead against the enemy. The sides of the ship bristled with iron spikes, designed to protect it against boarding; and on all sides were likewise grapples, which could be flung by machines into the galleys of the foe, so as to retain them within reach of the missiles from on board. Along the galleries,

and round the masts and catapults, were drawn up two hundred and forty men in complete armour. In the fore, main, and mizen-tops were stationed other warriors, who were supplied with stones and similar missiles by baskets running on pulleys, and worked by boys. The ship was supplied with twelve anchors, of which four were of wood, and eight of iron.¹

Very little difficulty was experienced in discovering pines sufficiently lofty for the fore and mizen-masts of this huge galley; but it was only by accident that a swineherd in the mountains of the Abruzzi found a tree of sufficient magnitude for the main-mast. It was conveyed to the sea by Philias, an engineer of Taurominium. The pump, notwithstanding its great depth, was easily worked by the screw of Archimedes, and only required the labour of one individual. The name first bestowed on this ship by Hiero was "The Syracusan;" but when afterwards he despatched it as a present to King Ptolemy, he changed it to that of the "The Alexandrian."

Besides the individuals already enumerated, there were six hundred men stationed on the prow; and to administer justice in this floating commonwealth a court was instituted, consisting of the captain, the pilot, and the principal officers in command in the forecastle, who judged according to the laws of Syracuse. It was followed on the voyage to Egypt by a number of smaller craft, of which the majority were fishing-smacks.

The cargo of "The Alexandrian," which, together with the vessel itself, was presented to King Ptolemy at a time when famine raged in Egypt, consisted of sixty thousand medimni of corn, two thousand jars of salt-fish, twenty thousand talents of wool, and

¹ Cf. Artemid. Oneirocrit. ii. 23, p. 110, with the amusing conjectures of Goguet, &c., on the origin of anchors, *Origine des Loix*, ii. 221. Pausanias attributes the invention of the anchor

to Midas, i. 4. 5. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 753. If we may trust to the testimony of Lucian, a small boat-anchor could be bought for five drachmas. *Dialog. Mortuorum*, iv. 1.

an equal quantity of other commodities. The poet Archimelos having written a copy of verses on this nautical castle, Hiero felt so greatly flattered by the compliment that he sent the author a thousand medimni of wheat, which he landed for him at the Peiræus.

In order to convey some idea of another department of nautical architecture among the ancients, in which there was probably a greater display of fancy than of science, we shall here introduce the description of a pleasure-barge in which Ptolemy Philopater and the ladies of his court used to sail upon the Nile.¹ Among the caliphs and sultans of the East we find traces of a similar taste for gorgeous and magnificent barks; but neither in history nor fiction do we remember to have met any account of a vessel so curiously constructed, or so superbly and sumptuously adorned. It was, in the first place, half a furlong in length, flat-bottomed, and rising high above the water on account of the swell, with projecting keel, and prow of most graceful curvature, — or, I should rather, perhaps, say, prows, for it appeared double in front, as though a pair of galleys had been lashed together. Along the sides and stern ran two galleries, the one above the other, where the persons on board might stroll and take exercise as the barge was wafted along by the wind. Of these the lower one resembled an open peristyle, the upper a close arcade furnished at intervals with windows looking out upon the river.

Considering the whole barge as one great building, the architect placed the extreme hall encircled by a single row of columns at the extremity of the stern, where it was, doubtless, approached from the upper gallery. Having traversed this, you next beheld a propylæon erected with the most

¹ The great attention paid to navigation by the Egyptians, under the government of the Ptolemies, may be inferred from the

fact, that they possessed at one time upwards of four thousand ships of all sizes. Athen. v. 36.

precious wood and ivory. This led into a proscenion roofed over, in the vicinity of which lay a variety of chambers. Of these the most remarkable was a vast peripheral hall fitted up with twenty couches. This apartment was wainscotted with cedar and Milesian cypress; the doors, twenty in number, were formed of panels of citron wood richly inlaid with ivory. The hinges, the nails, the knockers, and door-handles, were of copper, gilt. The shafts of the columns were cypress wood, and the Corinthian capitals of gold and ivory were surmounted by an architrave richly overlaid with gold. Above this again was a broad frieze adorned with numerous figures of animals roughly sculptured in ivory, but remarkable for the costliness of the materials. The ceiling was of cedar wood elaborately carved and covered with a blaze of gilding. Close at hand were the apartments of the women, in the structure and ornaments of which equal magnificence was displayed. In another part of the bark was a chapel of Aphrodite surmounted by a dome. It contained a statue of the goddess in Parian marble. This sacred edifice was surrounded by other suites of apartments among which was a symposion adorned with pillars of Indian marble. Towards the prow was a saloon sacred to Dionysos, surrounded on all sides with pillars furnished with numerous couches, and adorned with gilded cornices. The roof was enriched with ornaments suited to the character of the god, that is, in all probability orgeastic processions of Bacchantes and Bacchanals, with crowns of ivy and vine leaves. On the right hand this saloon opened into a grotto or cavern, in which the colours of rocks were imitated by an incrustation of precious stones, whose brilliance was in various parts relieved by ornaments of gold. The busts of the royal family sculptured of Parian marble were ranged round the grot.

On the roof of the great saloon was erected a

small symposion, in the form of a tent, exceedingly agreeable from its airiness and the fine prospect it commanded over the whole valley of the Nile. It was completely open in front, and the roof consisting of a series of semicircular hoops like the top of a calèche, it could be bent down and drawn forward at pleasure, and was covered with purple hangings. By a winding staircase constructed in a different part of the bark, you ascended to another hall, constructed and decorated after the Egyptian manner, being adorned with a number of round pillars composed of a succession of blocks of equal height, alternately white and black. Their capitals, likewise were round, but contracting rather than expanding at the top like an elongated rose-bud.

In all this part of the column, technically denominated calathos, there were neither volutes nor rows of open and projecting foliage as in Greek architecture, but bells of the river lotos, or other flowers, intermingled with newly formed fruit of the date palm. To correspond with these columns, the walls of Egyptian edifices were frequently lined with black and white slabs alternating with each other. Of these the white were sometimes of alabaster.

This bark was furnished with but one mast, one hundred and five feet in height, to which was fitted a single sail of byssus with purple fringe. The dimensions of the sail must, however, have been prodigious, but from the fineness of its fabric it could never have been hoisted in rough weather.

If we turn now to the materials wherewith the ships of the ancients were constructed we shall find that they here differed as much from the practice of modern nations, at least in the north, as in the form and style of rigging. With us scarcely anything but oak or teak is employed in those parts which come in contact with the water, whereas

the Greeks constructed their war galleys, in which speed was of the greatest moment, of fir,¹ while they chiefly made use of pitch pine in the building of merchantmen, as that wood long resists the corrosive action of the sea.

The Cypriotes appear in all cases to have given the preference to the pine which abounds in the island, and was esteemed superior to the pitch tree,² though the latter was sometimes appropriated to the building of ships of war. Among the Syrians and Phœnicians, in whose country a supply of pine was not to be obtained,³ the custom prevailed of building ships entirely of cedar.⁴ The practice of employing oak⁵ had, likewise, already been introduced, though it does not appear to have been common; but in the larger classes of ships the keel was always of that timber, in order that, when drawn on shore, it might be able to sustain the weight of the superincumbent mass. In the holcades or merchantmen, the keel, like the ship itself, was of pitch pine; but all such vessels were in those days supplied with a false keel, called *chelysma*,⁶ of oak, or *oxya*, designed to act as a protection when they were drawn up into dry dock. Masts and yards were commonly of the silver fir;⁷ oars of such timber as grew on the northern slopes of mountains.⁸ The turned work used in ornamenting the interior was commonly of mulberry, ash,

¹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 6. 5. Plat. de Legg. iv. t. vii. 333.

² Cf. Artemid. Oneirocrit. ii. 25, p. 113.

³ Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 7. 5.

⁴ Id. iv. 5. 5. v. 6. 5. There were cedars on Mount Lebanon eighteen feet in circumference. v. 8. 1.

⁵ Theophrastus appears to give the preference to the oak of Epeiros, the acorns of which had been frequently sown in other parts of

Greece, but produced, he says, inferior timber. Hist. Plant. ii. 2. 6. Cf. Orph. Argonaut. 130. Cf. Valer. Flacc. viii. 161. i. 303.

⁶ Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 7. 2, seq. iii. 10. 1.

⁷ Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 1. 7.

⁸ Id. iv. 1. 4. The oar was usually fastened to the row-port by a stout thong, which, of the size used in boats, seems to have cost about two oboloi. Lucian. Dial. Mortuor. iv. § 1.

elm, or platane wood, of which the last was least esteemed.¹

Sails were made and manufactured from a variety of materials. It has been seen above, in speaking of the Egyptian war ships, that they sometimes consisted of a number of hides sown together. They were, likewise, in various countries, plaited, as now in China,² from reeds, or rushes, but the sailcloth of the Greeks was generally, like our own, woven from hemp.³ For this, in Egypt, the papyrus was sometimes substituted. Princes and grandees occasionally, in their pleasure-boats, employed, in lieu of these rude materials, cotton or fine linen, dyed, to augment their beauty, of the most brilliant purple. To this Shakespeare alludes in the following passage, which though familiar, perhaps, to the reader, I must, nevertheless, beg permission to quote :

The barge she sat in, like a burnish'd throne,
 Burnt on the water : the poop was beaten gold ;
 Purple the sails, and so perfumed, that
 The winds were love-sick with 'em : the oars were silver ;
 Which to the tune of flutes kept stroke, and made
 The water which they beat to follow faster,
 As amorous of their strokes. For her own person,
 It beggar'd all description. She did lie
 In her pavilion, (cloth of gold of tissue,)
 O'er-picturing that Venus, where we see
 The fancy out-work nature. On each side her,
 Stood pretty dimpled boys, like smiling cupids,
 With diverse-colour'd fans, whose wind did seem
 To glow the delicate cheeks which they did cool ;
 And what they undid, did. —
 Her gentlewomen, like the Nereids, or
 So many mermaids, tended her i 'th 'eyes,
 And made their bends adorning ; at the helm
 A seeming mermaid steers ; the silken tackles
 Swell with the touches of those flower-soft hands,
 That yarely frame the office. From the barge
 A strange invisible perfume hits the sense
 Of the adjacent wharfs.⁴

¹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 7. 3.

² Gouquet, iv. 260.

³ Theoph. Hist. iv. 8. 4.

⁴ Anthony and Cleopatra, Act ii. Scene 3.

An ancient anonymous writer on the art military describes a vessel closely resembling our steam-boats in construction, but in which bullocks, stationed in the hold, worked the paddle-wheels instead of an engine. It flew along the water, says the author, without oars or sails, simply by the impulses of wheels, which, rising partly above the waves, operated, when in action, like a succession of oars.

Ropes and cables¹ were manufactured in antiquity from a great variety of materials. At first, the cordage most in use would appear to have been composed of twisted thongs; for which, in process of time, was substituted goats' hair,² the Spanish broom,³ the bark of the cornel⁴ and linden-tree,⁵ with byblos, hemp,⁶ and flax.⁷ The enormous cables which supported the bridge thrown by Xerxes over the Hellespont were manufactured from mixed materials, of which two-thirds were byblos and one-third white flax.⁸ They were of dimensions so vast that a piece half a yard in length weighed one hundred and twenty-five pounds.

Of the sailors, upon whose energy, skill, and courage, the success of every voyage necessarily depended, ancient writers have been more than usually scanty in their communications. We know, however, that the mariners as well on board the merchantmen of Athens as those of the other states of Greece, were partly citizens, partly strangers, and in many instances slaves. Leading a life full of hardship and danger, engaged as it were in a perpetual conflict with the elements, their tempers grew fierce,

¹ Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 129. Æschyl. 175.

² Geop. xviii. 9. Common sacks and cushions for rowers on board the galleys were likewise manufactured from the same material. Cf. Var. de Re Rustic. ii. 7. Columel. 7. 6. 2.

³ Athen. v. 40.

⁴ Plut. Alexand. § 18.

⁵ Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 7. 5.

⁶ Dioscor. iii. 165.

⁷ Herod. vii. 25.

⁸ Id. vii. 34. 36.

their manners boisterous and rude,¹ and their morals none of the most elevated. During the intervals they spent on shore, they endeavoured by snatching at all the coarse pleasures within their reach, to make themselves some amends for their habitual privations. The excuse, however, for this conduct was often sophistically borrowed from religion, for during the prevalence of storms at sea, it was customary to make vows to Poseidon, or Castor and Polydeukes, or some of the other patrons of the nautical art; and on reaching port the victims were slain and offered up, and the sacrifice of necessity was accompanied by a feast. To these their boon companions, dancing-girls, female flute-players, *hetairæ*, jugglers, and low parasites, were invited, and the whole usually terminated in excessive intoxication and a battle royal. Most mariners were attached to some dame of equivocal reputation in the Peiræus or elsewhere, to whom on their return from voyages they were in the habit of bringing presents, such as a pair of gilded slippers, a dainty cheese, a jar of pickles, or saltfish, or a measure or two of onions. What was the amount of wages, which enabled them to indulge in this kind of liberality, I have nowhere been able to discover, though in all probability it was at least equal to the pay received by seamen in the war-galleys, that is from three to four *oboloi* a-day. Their operations while on board, were regulated of course by circumstances and the accidents of the weather. Thus, when the breeze was strong and favourable, they might lounge or sit about the decks, or sleep, during the greater part of the twenty-four hours, without shifting a sail or handling an oar, though a man was always stationed at the prow to keep a sharp look-out, and watch the aspect of the sky.² In calms, however, or when the swell and roar of the sea foretold an approaching tempest, the whole crew

¹ Plat. *Phædr.* t. i. p. 34.

² Aristoph. *Eq.* 548.

took to their cushions, and raising at the command of the boatswain,¹ a loud chant,² which contended in volume with the angry voice of the ocean, they strained every nerve to augment the velocity of their bark, and gain some friendly port before the storm fairly set in. Occasionally, however, they were overtaken by tempests in the neighbourhood of rocky islands or bleak and inhospitable promontories like the Chelidonian rocks, where from whatever point of the compass the wind might blow a heavy surge beat upon the shore perpetually. Under these circumstances it was observed, more especially during the darkness of the night, that two brilliant glancing lights played evermore about the masts and yards, shooting hither and thither, and kindling up the crest of the surge by their luminous appearance. These were the Dioscuri, the tender and affectionate brothers of Helen, whose benevolence towards mankind in general was only to be equalled by their attachment to each other. When matters came to extremities and the waves appeared ready to engulf both crew and passengers, all on board became keenly sensible to the irregularities of their past lives, and the whispered interrogation passed round the bark: "have you been initiated?" Because those to whom the truths treasured up in the sanctuary of Eleusis had been revealed, were supposed to be better prepared than other men for meeting death, and appearing at the judgment-seat of heaven. It was now that vows and prayers were heard, and that feelings of repentance were sincere, and it would have required a more than ordinary degree of apathy to forget such circumstances when, by an unlooked-for interposition of Providence, they were snatched from the jaws of death, and restored to their kindred and their homes. We may remark here, by the way, that, to passengers la-

¹ Suid. v. *κελευστής*. Stallb. ad Plat. Rep. i. 198.

² Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 909.

bouring under the effects of sea-sickness, a decoction of a species of thyme¹ (*thymum tragoriganum*) was administered.

In their political predilections,² the mariners of Greece were almost invariably observed to be democratic, probably because being possessed of superior energy they naturally spurned all control save that of the laws, and were ready at all times and under all circumstances to contend for liberty. This was more especially the case with the Athenian seamen, who, in the flourishing periods of Hellenic history bore much the same relation to the other seafarers of Greece, as the sailors of England do to those of the neighbouring European states.

Although the mariners' compass had not yet been invented, the ancient sailors did not, as appears to be generally supposed, creep timidly from headland to headland along the shore, but traversed boldly the open sea, directing their course by the constellations, more particularly that of the greater bear. In this practice the Arabs of Phoenicia led the way as in most other early improvements connected with seamanship.

It is sometimes believed that, in very remote ages, mankind possessed no names for the winds,³ because as they had not yet addicted themselves to navigation, it concerned them very little to observe how or which way they blew. Possibly, however, we somewhat exaggerate the heedlessness and ignorance of the remoter generations of men who must have been singularly obtuse in their intellect if they could not tell whether the wind blew up or down a valley, or on the back or front of their houses, and had failed to designate the several currents of the atmosphere by distinct appellations, whereby to distinguish them when they had occasion to speak of their effects. About the period

¹ Dioscor. iii. 35.

² Plut. Themist. § 19.

³ See Goettling's note on v. 379, of Hesiod's Theogon. p. 38, seq.

of the Trojan war some inventive genius sprang up who gave a name to the north and the south winds, and already in the time of Homer the Greeks had contrived to have four points to their compass, at least the poet speaks but of the four cardinal winds, Boreas, the north; Euros, the east; Notos, the south, and Zephyros, the west. To these other four were afterwards added, and at the same time some change was introduced into the ancient nomenclature, the north-east was called Cæcias;¹ the south-east, Euros; the name of the east being changed to Apeliotes; the south-west, Libs; the north-west, Argestes, and sometimes Olympias,² or Iapyx, or Sciron; which, however, according to Pliny differed from the Argestes, and was peculiar to Athens. These are the winds represented on the tower of Andronicos Cyrrhestes at Athens, spoken of by Varro, Vitruvius,³ and many modern travellers. Pliny,⁴ Galen, and Aulus Gellius differ from Aristotle in confining the name of Aparctias to the north wind, and giving that of Boreas to the north-east, or Aquilo of the Romans.⁵

Winds blowing from the northern points of the compass are most frequent in Greece. Aristotle⁶ remarks, that Boreas is strong at its commencement, but feeble towards its close; and that of the south wind, the reverse is true.⁷ It may, moreover, be added, that the north wind was not only the most common, but also the dryest and most severe, though sometimes accompanied by lightning, and hail, and snow. The same wind brought rain on the Hellespont, and at Cyrenè. The Cæcias commonly prevailed about the vernal equinox, and, in Attica and the islands, was a rainy wind;⁸ the

¹ Called also 'Ελλησποντιας, by Aristot. Probl. xxvi. 58. Plin. ii. 46. Cf. Aristoph. Eq. 435.

² Cf. Theoph. Caus. Plant. v. 2. 5. Hist. Plant. iv. 14. 11.

³ l. i. c. 6.

⁴ Nat. Hist. ii. 46.

⁵ See further in Coray, Disc. Prelim. ad Hippoc. § 61.

⁶ Meteorol. ii. 6.

⁷ Problem. xxvi. 41.

⁸ Arist. Problem. xxvi. 58.

Apetiotes was a humid but soft wind felt chiefly in the morning.¹ The Euros, which, as Goettling² observes, is the Scirocco of the Italians, prevails about the winter solstice, and at first is warm and dry, but afterwards by blowing long over the sea becomes moist, and brings rain, particularly in Lesbos.³ Aristotle, however, speaks of the Notos as the chief rainy wind in this island,⁴ and observes what I have myself verified in the Delta, that during the Simoom objects appear greater than their natural size.⁵ The Notos blows chiefly about the end of autumn in Greece, as I found it also on the Nile immediately after the winter solstice, and at the commencement of spring.⁶ It likewise prevails during the dog-days⁷ (ἐπὶ κυνι). Naturally moist and warm, it was at first weak, but grew powerful as it drew towards its end, when it covered the sky with clouds and ended in rain.⁸ South winds blowing from the sea, by which they were cooled, were considered favourable to vegetation particularly in the Thriasian plain in Attica, lying between the Sciros and the Cephissos. These same winds were supposed to be cold in Libya; I think erroneously, since the south winds are warm in Egypt. The Libs is moist and cloudy, though less so than the Cæcias; but the clouds which it brings are quickly dispersed; it blows chiefly about Cnidos and Rhodes.⁹

The Zephyr¹⁰ which prevails in the spring, at midsummer and in autumn is felt chiefly in the evening and never in the morning. According to Aristotle it is the gentlest wind that blows.¹¹ Theophrastus,

¹ Aristot. Meteorol. ii. 6. Problem. xxvi. 33. 34. 57.

² Ad Hesiod. Theogon. 379.

³ Coray, Disc. Prelim. ad Hippoc. § 61.

⁴ Problem. xxvi. 58.

⁵ Aristot. Problem. xxvi. 55.

⁶ Id. xxvi. 16.

⁷ Aristot. Prob. xxvi. 12.

⁸ Id. xxvi. 2.

⁹ Theophrast. De Ventis, § 51.

¹⁰ Ζέφυρος, τὴν ῥῆν τοῖς κύκλοις ἐνδιδούς. Philost. Icon. i. 9. p. 779.

¹¹ Meteorol. ii. 5. 6. Problem. xxvi. 33. 35. 37. 54. 57.

however, remarks, that it is cold in some countries, though less so than Boreas;¹ but in the opinion of Hippocrates, it is most of all winds charged with rain.² The Argestos is no less dry and serene than the Aparctias, though it sometimes brings thunder-clouds and hail.³ This wind is remarkably cold at Chalcis in Eubœa. When about the winter solstice it happens to blow, it dries up and withers the trees more than long continued heats and droughts.⁴ At Rhodes and at Cnidos it is usually accompanied by heavy clouds.⁵

The Etesian winds which commence immediately after the summer solstice, and continue through the dog-days, are in reality northern winds, but occasionally point obliquely both towards the west and towards the east. They prevail chiefly at night;⁶ and are sometimes exceedingly powerful on the coast of Egypt.⁷ Another class of Etesian winds prevailed earlier in the year, beginning about twenty days after the winter solstice. These are weaker, more variable, and of briefer duration than the real Etesian winds, and I will add, from my own experience, cover the sky with dark clouds, and blow extremely cold even along the shores of Marmarica and Cyrenè. In ancient Greece they obtained the name of *Ornithiæ* — “the Bird Winds” — because they announced the return of the birds.⁸ Or, according to another version of the matter, because they were so cold as to strike dead various kinds of birds during their flight, and strew the earth with their bodies.⁹

During the winter months these cold and piercing winds blow with so much fury over the land-locked seas and islands of Greece, that among the ancients

¹ De Ventis, § 31.

² De Aër. et Loc. § 26.

³ Aristot. Meteorol. ii. 6.

⁴ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 17.
De Caus. Plant. v. 16.

⁵ De Ventis, § 51.

⁶ Aristot. Meteorol. ii. 5. 6.

⁷ Cæsar. De Bell. Civil.

⁸ Coray, Disc. Prelim. ad Hippoc. de Aër. et Loc. §. 76.

⁹ Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 877.

all navigation was suspended during the brumal season. In proof of the violence of these aërial currents, which may almost be said to set steadily in one direction through a great portion of the year, it may be observed, that in several of the islands neither vines nor fig-trees can be trained upright, but are blown down and compelled to creep along the rocks.¹ An example of the strength of the gales which sometimes also prevail on the Hellenic continent is recorded in history; during the retreat of Cleombrotos out of Bœotia, his army being overtaken by a storm as it was traversing the mountain passes leading from Creusis to Ægosthena along the shore of the sea, numerous sumpter asses were blown with their loadings over the precipices; even the shields and arms were in many cases whirled from the hands of the soldiers and precipitated into the waves below; and to prevent similar misfortune the rest of the army turned their bucklers upside down and filled them with stones, while they pushed forward, divested of defensive armour, into the Megaris, a friendly country, from which they afterwards returned and fetched off their shields.²

In cases of shipwreck the protection afforded to crews and merchandise depended in most cases, perhaps, on the character and progress of civilisation of the people on whose shore the accident happened. On the coast of Thrace, in the neighbourhood of Salmydessos, where the whole maritime population appear to have been confirmed wreckers, numerous pillars were set up along the beach to mark the limits within which each little community might claim whatever booty was drifted in by the sea. Previous to this arrangement, the barbarians used frequently to come to blows in the eager pursuit of this inhuman calling, and in these brawls many lives were lost. Afterwards they appear to have

¹ Thiersch, *Etat Actuel de la Grèce*. t. i. p. 284. Della Rocca, *Traité Complet des Abeilles*. t. i. p. 203.

² Xenoph. *Hellen.* v. 4. 17.

carried on their war against distressed mariners with perfect harmony and equanimity.¹ But among the Rhodians, an enterprising mercantile people, the amount of salvage was regulated by a law which, together with the rest of their commercial code, was afterwards adopted by the Romans.

If gold, or silver, or any other article, be brought up from the depth of eight cubits, the person who saves it shall receive one-third. If from fifteen cubits, the person who saves it shall, on account of the depth, receive one-half. If goods are cast up by the waves towards the shore, and found sunk at the depth of one cubit, the person who carries them out safe shall receive a tenth part.² It was customary, moreover, in old times, to keep a number of divers on board ships for the purpose of descending to loosen the anchors when they chanced to take too firm a hold in the sand, as also to recover goods which had been thrown overboard in times of danger.³

On various headlands and promontories of the ancient world beacon-fires were habitually kindled to guide the course of the ships into port; and for these, in after ages, light-houses, adorned with every beauty of architecture, and carried to a vast height, were substituted. Of these the most remarkable was that erected for Ptolemy Philadelphus, by Sos-tratos, the Cnidian, whose name, by permission of the king, was inscribed upon the structure.⁴ By one author it is described as four hundred and fifty feet high, and equal in dimensions at the base to one of the great pyramids of Memphis. In form it may possibly have resembled the Haram el Kedâb, which consists of a series of square towers from the basement upwards, diminishing in size, and appearing to spring up out of each

¹ Xenoph. Anab. vii. 5. 12, seq.

Livius, xliv. 10. Manil. Astro-

² Beckmann, History of In-
ventions, i. 180.

nom. 449.

⁴ Cf. Lucian. Quom. Hist. sit.

³ Lucian. Pharsal. iii. 697.

Conscrib. § 62.

other. With this the language of Strabo¹ very well agrees, since he tells us, it was a building consisting of numerous stages. On the summit bright fires were kept perpetually burning, so that on that low shore, where there is no hill or mountain for many days' journey, the Pharos was ever the first object which presented itself to mariners at sea, where its light, we are told, was visible at the distance of a hundred miles. Occasionally, however, from its great size and brilliance, it was mistaken for the moon, as this planet itself, rising behind the dome and towers of a great capital, has suggested to distant beholders the idea of a conflagration.²

¹ Geograph. xvii. 1. t. iii. p. 423.

² Vossius, ad Pomp. Mel. de Situ Orb. l. ii. c. 4. p. 272.

CHAPTER XI.

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS.

ALTHOUGH we have above glanced slightly at the exports and imports of Athens and several other states, we ought here perhaps to enter into greater detail, for the purpose of rendering as complete as possible our idea of the vigorous and extensive commerce carried on by the Greeks. It will not of course be understood, that all the articles enumerated in the present chapters constituted at any one time the floating materials of Hellenic trade; the probability being, that some grew out of fashion and were succeeded by others, for which at a later period they may again have been substituted. But the mind must suppose itself to be dealing with the whole extent of authentic Grecian history, within the limits of which it will be found, that everything we here mention was trafficked in, though it seems to be now impossible to observe in these matters a strict chronology and fix the epoch at which each particular commodity came into vogue, or was abandoned for something else.

Attica itself exported comparatively few of its own natural productions;¹ but having obtained the raw materials from other regions, it expended upon them so much skill, and taste, and industry, that they appeared to undergo a new creation, and were issued

¹ Observing the plenty and prosperity always found in free states, Sir Josiah Child observes, that good laws are sufficient of themselves to render any region fertile. Discourse of Trade, p. 24. Among the best productions

of Attica was its barley, though I nowhere remember to have seen it said that it was exported: Ἀθήνησι δ' οὖν αἱ κριθαὶ τὰ πλεῖστα ποιοῦσι τὰ ἄλφιτα κριθοφόρος γὰρ ἀρίστη. Theoph. Hist. Plant. viii. 8. 2.

from the Peiræus like the native growth of the soil. This was the case with various kinds of arms and armour, as sabres, and scimitars, greaves, cuirasses, and helmets.¹ These were sometimes richly gilt or inlaid with gold, and adorned with embossed figures of rare workmanship.²

Perfumes,³ also, with unguents and essences,⁴ and odoriferous oils were among the exports of Athens, which, indeed, at one period retailed to the rest of Greece the manufactures of every country in the civilised world.

Among the articles of merchandise,⁵ the peculiar produce of her own soil, were the fragrant gold-coloured honey of Hymettos, the best in the ancient world; olives, and olive oil,⁶ which likewise appear to have been unrivalled; fruits of various kinds, but more especially figs,⁷ which were transported to Persia and most of the other regions of the East.⁸

¹ Εὐδόκιμα δὲ, θώραξ Ἀττικουργῆς. Poll. i. 149.

² Ἐνιοὶ μέντοι τοὺς ποικίλους καὶ τοὺς ἐπιχρύσους θώρακας μάλλον ὠνοῦνται. Xenoph. Memor. iii. 10. 14.

³ Μύρον ἐξ Ἀθηναίων. Antiph. ap. Athen. i. 49.

⁴ Τὸ δὲ Παναθηναϊκὸν λεγόμενον, ἐν Ἀθήναις. Athen. xv. 38.

⁵ Μέλι πρωτεύει τὸ Ἀττικὸν, καὶ τούτου τὸ Ὑμήττιον καλούμενον. Dioscor. ii. 101. Strab. ix. 1. t. ii. p. 246. Geopon. vii. 17. viii. 25. 1. Ἀριστον μέλι τὸ Ἀττικὸν, καὶ τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ τὸ Ὑμήττιον. Diophan. ap. Geopon. xv. 7. 1. Plin. Nat. Hist. xi. 13. xxi. 10. Galen. de Antidot. i. 2. Virg. Georg. iv. 177. Tzetz. Chil. vii. 93. xi. 370. Synes. Epist. 147. Eustath. ad Dion. Perieg. 530.

⁶ Petit, de Legg. Att. v. 5, p. 417. Æschin. Epist. 5. Orat.

Att. xii. p. 305. Geopon. ix. 1. 1. Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 14.

⁷ Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 767.

⁸ The importation of these delicacies, however, originally profited the subjects of Persia only, the king having been forbidden by a fundamental law of the monarchy the use of all foreign commodities. The ordinance of course was speedily dispensed with, since we find the eunuchs placing before their master, at his dessert, the figs of Attica, which on one occasion, drew from the Shah a right royal remark: Ἐρωτῆσαι ποταπαὶ εἶεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπύθετο ἐξ Ἀθηναίων, τοῖς ἀγορασταῖς ἐκέλευεν ὠνεῖσθαι, ἕως, ἂν ἐξουσία γένηται αὐτῷ λαμβάνειν ὅταν ἐθέλῃ, καὶ μὴ ἀγοράζειν. Athen. xiv. 62. The best figs came from the Demos Ægilia. Id. ibid. Ἀπ' Αἰγίλῳ ἰσχάδα τρώγοις. Theocrit. Eidyll. i. 147. These fruits we

A trade was carried on too in herbs and plants, which being more fragrant and possessing greater virtues here than in any other country, the citizens of the neighbouring states sought to obtain the like, by procuring slips and seeds from Athens. Thus strangers having observed that the knolls and uplands of Attica were covered with thyme,¹ which, flowering about midsummer, filled the air with sweetness, and enabled the owners of bees to foretell with exactness whether honey would be scarce or plentiful, desired to transplant it to the neighbourhood of their own cities. It was found however by experience, that it flourished and attained its natural luxuriance only in such situations as were reached by the sea breezes.² In Arcadia, for example, it refused to be naturalised, though the climate of that country was found to agree very well with the marjoram, and the summer savory. Among the simples employed by the ancients in their materia medica were the Attic valerian,³ hemlock,⁴ and melilot.⁵ Kermes also were produced in this country.⁶

The Athenian pottery,⁷ being the most tasteful and

find reached Persia in a state of the greatest freshness and perfection. Plut. Alexand. § 50.

¹ Ægialeus appears, for example, to have been no less celebrated for its thyme than Hy-mettos, Suid. v. μάσσον. t. ii. p. 104. a. Meurs. Rel. Attic. i. p. 2. Plin. Nat. Hist. iv. 11.

² Οὐ γὰρ φασὶ δύνασθαι φύεσθαι καὶ λαμβάνειν, ὅπου μὴ ἀναπνοὴ διῖκνεῖται, ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης· διὸ οὐδ' ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ γίνεται· θύμβρα δὲ καὶ ὀρίγανον καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ καὶ πολλαχοῦ. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vi. 2. 4.

³ Sibthorp, Flora Græca. tab. 29. Dioscor. i. 10.

⁴ Dioscor. iv. 79. According to Plutarch, however, it was not a common plant; for speaking of

a prodigy which happened during the misfortunes of the republic, under the reign of Antigonus, he says: περὶ δὲ τοὺς βωμοὺς τοὺς ἐκείνων ἐξήνθησεν ἡ γῆ κύκλῳ πολὺ κώνειον, ἄλλως μὴδὲ τῆς χώρας πολλαχοῦ φύόμενον. Vit. Demet. § 12.

⁵ Dioscor. iii. 48. Damogeron, ap. Geopon. vii. 13. 4. Pollux. vi. 106.

⁶ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxiv. 4.

⁷ Schol. Aristoph. Lysist. 2. Potters, notwithstanding the utility of their calling, appear to have been assailed by many a joke among the Athenians, who sometimes sarcastically denominated them Prometheuses. Καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς χυτρεάς, καὶ ἱπνοποιούς, καὶ πάντας, ὅσοι

beautiful known to the ancient world, was consequently in great request and exported in immense quantities to all the countries on the shores of the Mediterranean.¹ At one time, however, the people of Ægina and Argos, partly out of resentment,² and partly to encourage some less costly manufacture of their own, prohibited its introduction; while the people of Aulis,³ Samos,⁴ and Rhodes,⁵ became, in this branch of industry, the rivals of the Athenians, whom they endeavoured to undersell by producing an inferior article.⁶

Among the other exports of Athens we find enumerated soft fine wool,⁷ linen and woollen cloths,⁸ slippers,⁹ beds, chests, books,¹⁰ wine,¹¹ Sphettian vinegar,¹² sweetmeats,¹³ glaucisci,¹⁴ anchovies,¹⁵ sheep,¹⁶ live

πηλουργοί, Προμηθέας ἀπεκάλουν, ἐπισκώπτοντες ἐς τὸν πηλὸν, καὶ τὴν ἐν πυρὶ οἶμαι τῶν σκευῶν ὀπτησιν. Lucian. Prometh. 2. Cf. Chandler, ii. 166.

¹ Athen. i. 49.

² Herod. v. 88. Athen. xi. 107. Poll. vi. 100. Steph. Byzant. v. Ἀιγίνα. p. 53. a.—v. Γάζα. p. 257. a.

³ Pausan. ix. 19. 8.

⁴ Theoph. De Lapid. § 63. “On faisoit autrefois d'excellente poterie à Samos, et c'étoit peut-être avec la terre de Bavonda.” Tournefort, Voyage du Levant, t. ii. p. 112.

⁵ Athen. xi. 11. 95. 101. 108.

⁶ The inferiority of the Samian pottery may be inferred from the following passage of Cicero: “Ille, homo eruditissimus, ac Stoicus, stravit pelliculis hædinis lectulos Punicanos, et exposuit vasa Samia: quasi verò esset Diogenes Cynicus mortuus, et non divini hominis Africani mors honestaretur.” Pro Muren. 36. Cf. Plin. xxxv. 46.

⁷ Athen. v. 60.

⁸ Thucyd. i. 6.

⁹ Lucian. Rhet. Præcept. § 15.

¹⁰ Xenoph. Anab. vii. 5. 14.

¹¹ Much of the wine, however, exported by the Athenians into foreign countries was the produce of the islands. Demosth. cont. Lacrit. § 8.

¹² Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 720. Athen. ii. 76.

¹³ Plat. De Rep. iii. t. vi. p. 142. Sweetmeats seem in Greece to have been exported exactly as at present, in boxes of peculiar construction in which they were afterwards kept till eaten. This I think may be inferred from the following passage of the letter from Hippolochos to Lynceus: καὶ τελευταῖαι ἐπεισῆλθον ἐπιδορπῖαι τράπεζαι· τραγήματά τ' ἐν πλεκτοῖς ἐλεφαντίνοις ἐπεδόθη πᾶσι, καὶ πλακοῦντες ἕκαστα γένη, Κρητικῶν, καὶ τῶν σῶν, ἑταῖρε Λυγκεῦ, Σαμιακῶν, καὶ Ἀττικῶν, αὐταῖς ταῖς ἰδίαις τῶν περμάτων θήκαις. Athen. iv. 5.

¹⁴ Athen. vii. 24.

¹⁵ Aristoph. Acharn. 901, sqq. Athen. vii. 22.

¹⁶ Athen. xii. 57.

fowls,¹ Hymettian² and Pentelic³ marbles, quick-silver,⁴ ochre,⁵ and cinnabar.⁶

Another class of exports consisted of statues and works of arts of all kinds, in gold, marble, bronze, and ivory, jewellery, and engraved gems.

But the most valuable and commodious of all her merchandise was that silver⁷ of unrivalled purity and fineness which so long placed her foremost among the commercial states of antiquity, and was one of the great props of her empire both by sea and land.

In the matter of imports we shall consider Athens in a double point of view; first as the purchaser of the surplus produce of the other Grecian states,⁸ and second as the representative of Greece in general, collecting together in her ports the commodities of the rest of the world, and afterwards distributing them among her neighbours. With the Megaris, which once formed part of her own territory, Athens, at particular periods of her history, carried on an active traffic in the common necessities of life,—as groats,⁹ fish,¹⁰ salt,¹¹ goats, vegetables,¹² leverets, poultry, pigs, and cattle.¹³ Hemlock was likewise numbered among the exports of Megara,¹⁴ together with

¹ Athen. vii. 23.

² Strab. ix. 1. t. ii. p. 246.

³ Lucian. Jup. Tragœd. § 10. Chandler, ii. 280.

⁴ Bœckh, Pub. Econ. of Athens, ii. 434.

⁵ Dioscor. v. 108. Plin. xxxiii. 56.

⁶ Theophrast. De Lapid. § 59. Plin. Nat. Hist. iii. 37.

⁷ Strab. ix. 1. t. ii. p. 246. Suid. v. ἀργυροῦν, t. i. p. 415. e. Thucyd. ii. 55. vi. 91. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 361, 1091. Pausan. i. 1. 1.

⁸ Ἐπεισέρχεται δὲ διὰ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως ἐκ πάσης γῆς τὰ πάντα· καὶ ξυμβαίνει ἡμῖν μηδὲν οἰκειότερα τῇ ἀπολαύσει τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὰ γιγνόμενα καρποῦσθαι, ἢ

καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων. Thucyd. ii. 38.

⁹ Athen. iii. 101.

¹⁰ Id. vii. 45.

¹¹ Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 760. Dioscor. v. 126.

¹² As for instance radishes, (Athen. vii. 23,) and cucumbers. (Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 966. Acharn. 494.) I know not whether the samphire (κρίθμον) now found growing among the Saronian rocks (Chandler, ii. 225) entered into the list of the exports of Megara, though it was used both as a medicine and as a vegetable. Dioscor. ii. 157.

¹³ Aristoph. Acharn. 519, seq.

¹⁴ Dioscor. iv. 79.

jars,¹ and rough upper garments.² It seems probable moreover that, as numerous sheep were reared in this territory, fine wool was likewise on occasions imported thence into Attica,³ together with the rich sweet wine made at Ægosthena.⁴

From the various divisions of the Peloponnesos, which we may here regard as one country, several useful commodities were exported. In the matter of corn these divisions of Greece were alternately exporters and importers according, probably, to the fluctuations of the season or peculiar exigencies created by the accidents of peace or war.⁵ They perpetually, however, supplied their neighbours with cheese and wine, and various other articles of use or luxury.

The poet Alcman celebrates a fragrant wine produced in the vicinity of Sparta,⁶ but it is nowhere stated whether it was exported or not. The little state of Phlius produced likewise a superior wine which was esteemed at Athens.⁷ Laconia exported cheese, which, being shipped at Gythium,⁸ was commonly supposed to be made at that place. The cheese of Tromileia in Achaia enjoyed as great a reputation throughout Greece, as the Parmasan in modern Europe. It was remarkable for the extreme delicacy of its flavour, and was made from goat's milk with the juice of the fig-tree instead of rennet.⁹ Sicyon carried on a considerable trade in salted conger.¹⁰

Several medicinal plants were obtained from this part of Greece, as liquorice vetch¹¹ found on the tops

¹ Athen. i. 50.

² Xenoph. Memor. ii. 7. 6.

³ Diog. Laert. vi. 2. 41.

⁴ Athen. x. 56. Pausan. i. 44.

4. Steph. De Urb. p. 54. a.

⁵ See above, Book vi. chap. 9.

⁶ Athen. i. 57.

⁷ Id. i. 49.

⁸ Lucian. Dial. Meret. § 14.

⁹ Athen. xiv. 76. Eurip. Cyclop. 136.

¹⁰ Athen. vii. 31. i. 49.

¹¹ Ἀστράγαλος, Dioscor. iv. 62.

“ Peut-on rien voir de plus beau,
“ en fait de plantes, qu'un Astra-
“ gale de deux pieds de haut,
“ chargé de fleurs depuis le bas
“ jusques à l'extrémité de ses
“ tiges ? ” Tournefort, Voyage du
Levant, t. iii. p. 101.

of lofty mountains where the snows lay unmelted during a considerable portion of the year. The canton which most abounded in this plant seems to have been the country round Pheneon in Arcadia.

In the neighbourhood of Psophis in the same state, the cultivation of the heracleean all-heal¹ was carried on to a great extent, as Arcadia traded largely in this article of the materia medica. The juice was collected in two ways, and at two different seasons of the year; first from the root when the plant began to germinate in spring. A small trench having been excavated about it, an incision was made in the root and a number of broad leaves spread around to receive the liquor which flowed forth. This, at first white, assumed externally as it dried, a saffron hue. The second method was to make an incision in the stem about harvest-time, when the fluid appears to have been collected in the same manner as before. Near Nonacris was obtained a poisonous water which distilled slowly like dew from a rock. It was of a sharp and icy coldness, and so bitter and acrid, that no vessel whatsoever could contain it save the hoof of an ass, in which accordingly it was preserved.²

Among the poisons of the Peloponnesos was the root of the meadow-saffron,³ found chiefly in Messenia, where likewise grew the æthiopis, a plant used by magicians as well as by the children of Æsculapius.⁴ The centaury,⁵ likewise, and the seseli,⁶ were among the exports of this part of Greece.

From Arcadia were obtained large carbuncles,⁷

¹ Plin. Nat. Hist. xii. 56. Παράκες Ἡράκλειον. Dioscor. iii. 55. Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 11. 3. Cornel. Cels. v. 19. 3. Cf. Tournefort, Voyage du Levant, t. iii. p. 25.

² Plut. Alexand. § 76. Senec. Quæst. Nat. iii. 5. Plin. Nat. Hist. ii. 106. xxi. 19.

³ Κολχικόν. Dioscor. iv. 84.

⁴ Dioscor. iv. 105.

⁵ Id. iii. 8.

⁶ Id. iii. 92. Celsus, iv. 18. 29. This plant was employed in preparations to drive away serpents. Geopon. xiii. 8. 2. Nicand. Theriac. 76. Apul. de Herb. c. xcv.

⁷ Theoph. de Lapid. § 33. Cf. Anselm. Boet. Gem. et Lap. Hist. ii. 9, p. 141.

which were cut and polished into mirrors, with timber of all kinds,—as deal, larch, and pine, together with the smilax,¹ which was sawed into thin planks, and used for necessary articles of furniture. The neighbourhood of Mantinea produced an excellent species of radish which was exported.² Arcadia likewise produced, in its rich pastures, fine herds of cattle, together with asses and horses, no way inferior to those of Thessaly.³

Argos exported also horses,⁴ with purple garments,⁵ wild boars,⁶ caldrons,⁷ shields,⁸ and richly varied carbuncles,⁹ found in the neighbourhood of Trœzen;¹⁰ Sicyon, pictures,¹¹ wine,¹² and a peculiar kind of shoe which looked well with white socks or stockings;¹³ Elis, magnificent horses,¹⁴ whips,¹⁵ flax,¹⁶ poisons, iris unguent,¹⁷ centaury from the skirts of Mount Pholoë,¹⁸ nenuphar,¹⁹ which was found growing on the river Anygros, and sea-coal, used chiefly by smiths;²⁰ Achaia mistletoe, parsley,²¹ head-nets, all kinds of fine linen, manufactured at Patræ,²² and the Pellenian cloaks,²³ which were proposed as prizes in certain games. Epidauros was remarkable for its noble breed of horses;²⁴ Corinth, which was frequently supplied with corn from Epeiros,

¹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 16. 3.

² Athen. i. 6.

³ Plin. Nat. Hist. viii. 68.
Strab. viii. 8. t. ii. p. 226.

⁴ Strab. viii. 8. t. ii. p. 227.

⁵ Plut. Vit. Alexand. § 36.

⁶ Athen. vii. 32.

⁷ Athen. i. 49, seq. Poll. i. 149.

⁸ Dissen, ad Pind. Nem. x. 41.

⁹ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvii. 25.
Theoph. de Lapid. § 33. Athen. v. 26.

¹⁰ Anselm. Boet. Gem. et Lap. Hist. ii. 9, p. 142.

¹¹ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxv. 36.

Winkelm. Hist. de l'Art, t. ii. p. 200, seq.

¹² Plin. Nat. Hist. xiv. 9.

¹³ Lucian. Dial. Meret. § 14.
Rhet. Præcept. § 15. Ammon. v. Σχίσταλ, p. 133.

¹⁴ Plat. Hipp. Maj. t. v. p. 424.

¹⁵ Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 724.

¹⁶ Pausan. viii. 21. 14.

¹⁷ Dioscor. i. 66.

¹⁸ Id. iii. 8.

¹⁹ Id. iii. 148.

²⁰ Theoph. de Lapid. § 16.

²¹ Plin. Nat. Hist. xix. 46.

²² Pausan. vii. 21. 14.

²³ Strab. viii. 7. t. ii. p. 224.

²⁴ Strab. viii. 8. t. ii. p. 227.

itself exported¹ carpets, ladies' summer mantles, linen tunics,² articles of virtu in bronze and gold,³ and carbuncles variegated like those of Trœzen, with purple and white, but of a paler hue.⁴ Quinces⁵ of the richest colour and finest flavour, were found in this part of the isthmus; and probably pears which were found every where else in Peloponnesos. Corinthia abounded also with large and excellent turnips, which were no doubt exported to the neighbouring countries.⁶

Among the productions which Laconia⁷ supplied to commerce were a bearded and somewhat light wheat,⁸ cheese, rather figs,⁹ cabbage, lettuces, cucumbers,¹⁰ which required much watering, the euphorbia, hemlock, second in virtue to that of Susa,¹¹ clouded canes,¹² beautiful green marbles,¹³ hones and emeralds from Mount Taygetos.¹⁴ The dogs of Sparta were highly prized by the rest of Greece,¹⁵ and exported

¹ Athen. i. 49. xiii. 45.

² Athen. xii. 29.

³ Athen. v. 30. Plin, Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 12. ix. 65. xxxiv. 6. Cf. Goguet, Orig. des Loix, v. 303. Iorio, Storia del Commercio, t. iv. l. ii. c. vi. p. 251.

⁴ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvii. 25. Theoph. de Lapid. § 33.

⁵ To this fruit Euphorion alludes in the following verses :

Ὠριον οἷά τε μῆλον, ὃ δ' ἀργιλ-
λώδεσιν ὄχθαις
Πορφύρεον ἐλαχείῃ ἐνὶ τρέφεται
Σιδόεντι.

Athen. iii. 22. Geopon. x. 3. 6.

⁶ Εὐαυξεστάτην δὲ τὴν Κορινθίαν (ράφανίδα), ἥ καὶ τὴν ῥίζαν ἔχει γυμνήν· ὠθεῖται γὰρ εἰς τὸ ἄνω, καὶ οὐχ ὥς αἱ ἄλλαι κάτω. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vii. 4. 2. Plin. Nat. Hist. xix. 25.

⁷ Cf. Huet, Hist. of Commerce, p. 47. Goguet, Orig. des Loix, v. 309.

⁸ Plin. Nat. Hist. xviii. 20. Cf. Xenoph. iii. 4. 3.

⁹ Id. xvi. 49.

¹⁰ Id. xix. 23. 38. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vii. 4. 6.

¹¹ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxv. 95. Schol. Aristoph. Concion. 404.

¹² Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. p. 174. Plin. Nat. Hist. xvi. 66.

¹³ Pausan. ii. 3. 5. iii. 21. 4. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 11. Tibull. Eleg. l. iii. el. 3. v. 13, seq. The marble of Tænaros was of a yellow colour. Sext. Empir. Hypot. p. 26. Cf. Winkel. Hist. de l'Art, i. 40.

¹⁴ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 47. xxxvii. 18. Douglas, Essay on the Modern Greeks, p. 167.

¹⁵ Athen. i. 49. Plin. Nat. Hist. x. 83. Pollux. v. 37. Aristot. Hist. Animal. viii. 28. Spanh. Observ. in Callim. in Dian. 94, t. ii. p. 196.

largely for the chase ; according to Shakespeare, as early as the age of Theseus.

My hounds are bred out of the Spartan kind,
So flew'd, so sanded ; and their heads are hung
With ears that sweep away the morning dew ;
Crook-kneed and dew-lap'd like Thessalian bulls,
Slow in pursuit, but match'd in mouths like bell
Each under each. A cry more tuneable
Was never hollow'd to, nor cheer'd with horn
In Crete, in Sparta, nor in Thessaly.

In addition to the above, Sparta exported cothons,¹ a species of fictile cups of a dusky brown, and so small as to have been conveniently carried in the long-necked wicker baskets which served the soldiers of Greece in lieu of a knapsack. It had one handle, and the rim projecting inwards, kept back the grosser particles of mud contained in the water, or rather, perhaps, deceived the eye by its hue. It was, moreover, the common drinking vessel of sailors on board ship.² The manufacture of these cups formed a distinct branch of business, the individuals engaged in which were called cothon-makers,³ to distinguish them from ordinary potters.

In their festivals and marriage entertainments, as well as in war which they regarded much in the same light, the Spartans indulged in the luxury of fictile vessels, but at their common tables they drank out of wooden bowls,⁴ for the production of which, as well as of smaller goblets, Laconia was famous. It likewise, in later times at least, manufactured for exportation massive gold plate curiously chased, which, under the Macedonian kings, found its way to Egypt.⁵ Indeed these military

¹ Suid. v. κώθων et κώθωνες. t. i. p. 1510. a. b.

² Suid. v. κώθωνες, t. i. p. 1510. b. Hesych. in v. Athen xi. 66. Plut. Lycurg. § 9. Poll.

vi. 96, seq. Xenoph. Cyrop. i. 2. 8.

³ Poll. vii. 160.

⁴ Polem. ap. Athen. xi. 66.

⁵ Athen. v. 28. 30.

utilitarians appear to have excelled in the making of all articles of ordinary convenience, as couches, easy-chairs, and tables, which accordingly were much sought after.¹ Doors have likewise been enumerated among Laconian exports,² but with little probability, especially when we recollect the directions given by the Spartan legislator for the construction of this part of domestic defence;³ nor is it a jot more likely that the carts and waggons which the Lacedæmonians constructed of smilax ever found their way beyond the borders of Laconia, unless employed in carrying provisions for its own armies.⁴

The steel and iron, however, of the Lacedæmonian forges were, as elsewhere stated, in great request for the making of carpenters' and stonecutters' tools, augers, files, chisels,⁵ &c.; as were likewise the Laconian locks and keys, which were divided into three wards, and far more intricate than those in common use.⁶ The manufactures which flourished in the city of Sparta itself, and were chiefly, perhaps, designed to supply the home-market were those of iron rings, daggers,⁷ short scimitars, swords, spits, axes, hatchets, and scythes, together with felt,⁸ walking-sticks,⁹ lute and bow-strings, which, as well as several of the above, we know to have been exported.¹⁰

¹ Plut. Lycurg. § 9.

² Müller, Dorians, ii. 25. Meurs. Lacon. ii. 17.

³ Plut. Lycurg. § 13.

⁴ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 16. 3.

⁵ Steph. de Urb. v. Λακεδαιμόνων, p. 505. c. seq. Eustath. ad Il. β. 222. 27. Xenoph. Hellen. iii. 3. 7. Plin. Nat. Hist. vii. 56. Cf. Æn. Tactic. ii. 16.

⁶ Suid. v. Λακωνικαὶ κλεῖδες, t. ii. p. 6. b.

⁷ Poll. i. 149. 137. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 4. Xenoph. Anab. iv. 8. 25. Suid. v. ξυήλην, t. ii. p. 258. e. f.

⁸ Poll. i. 149.

⁹ Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. p. 174. The καλαύροψ, or shepherd's crook, was most probably reckoned among the exports of Arcadia. Cf. Etym. Mag. 485. 36. Suid. t. i. p. 1356. c.

¹⁰ Περὶ τὰ Κύθηρα δὲ ἔτι καὶ μείζω τὰ κήτη ὑμνοῦσι γίνεσθαι. Ἔοικε δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ νεῦρα λυσιτελῆ εἶναι εἰς τὰς τῶν ψαλγῆριων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀργάνων χερδοστροφίας· καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐς τὰ πολεμικὰ ὀργάνα αἱ τούτων νευραὶ δοκοῦσι λυσιτελέσται. Ælian. de Animal. xvii. 6.

The citizens of Amyclæ excelled in the making of ladies' slippers;¹ and in the other parts of Laconia were produced an elegant kind of men's shoes of red leather,² like those at present worn by the Turks.³ In weaving and dyeing, also, the Lacedæmonians distinguished themselves, their mantles⁴ and their woollen garments, whether of purple or scarlet,⁵ having been in much esteem throughout Greece, as was likewise the purple by itself.⁶

If we proceed now to the states of northern Greece, commencing with Bœotia, we shall find, that their exports were little less rich or varied. For the daily consumption of life⁷ the Athenians obtained from this country a plentiful supply of poultry and wild-fowl,⁸ such as the francolin, the coot, ducks, divers, geese,⁹ jackdaws, and pyctides. Cats, too, were among the exports of Bœotia, (though whether, as in Spain, they were substituted for rabbits at table, seems hard to determine,) together with foxes, moles, otters, hares, and hedgehogs.¹⁰

This state, likewise, furnished the rest of Greece with reeds¹¹ for the manufacture of pipes and flutes: they were produced on the banks of the Melas, a river which, according to the ancients, resembled in character and productions the Egyptian Nile. The wheat of Bœotia, where such is the fertility of the soil, that it returns fifty for one, was of old observed

¹ Theocrit. Eidyll. x. 35, cum Schol. Cf. Aristoph. Vesp. 1159.

² Steph. de Urb. v. Λακεδαιμόνων, p. 505. c. seq. Suid. v. Λακωνικά, t. ii. p. 6. a. Lucian. Rhet. Præcept. § 15. Athen. v. 54. Ὑποδήματα ἀρίστα Λακωνικά. Id. xi. 66.

³ Poll. vii. 88. Müller, Dorians, ii. 25.

⁴ Athen. v. 28. Suid. v. Λακωνικά, t. ii. p. 6. a.

⁵ Hesych. v. πντά.

⁶ Plin. Nat. Hist. ix. 60. xxi. 22. Horat. Od. ii. 18. Pausan.

iii. 21. 6. Iorio, Storia del Commercio, t. iv. l. ii. c. x. p. 267.

⁷ Aristoph. Acharn. 860, sqq. Schol. ad Pac. 968, ad Lysist. 703. Poll. vi. 63.

⁸ Cf. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1079.

⁹ Cf. Geopon. xiv. 22.

¹⁰ Aristot. Hist. Animal. viii. 28.

¹¹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 11. 5, seq. Strab. ix. 2. t. i. p. 624. Casaub. On the river Melas and its plants see Plut. Sylla. § 20.

to be so heavy and full of nourishment, that the *athletæ*¹ considered a *choenix* and a half of it as equal to two *choenices* of that produced in Attica. If any country, therefore, could, in the matter of bread, have been expected to be independent of its neighbours, it would doubtless have been Bœotia, which, nevertheless, we find importing, in times of scarcity, corn from Thessaly.²

The remaining exports of this state may be thus enumerated: cucumbers,³ radishes, leeks from Ascræ, turnips from Thebes,⁴ mustard, heracleian all-heal, pennyroyal, wild marjoram, nenuphar, or madonia, found in the river Haliartos,⁵ the best black hellebore from Mount Helicon,⁶ lampwicks, mats,⁸ locusts, cheese,⁹ wine and stock-fish from Anthedon,¹⁰ and eels from Lake Copais.¹¹ Granite, likewise, and a valuable kind of marble, now called *brocatello*, was obtained from the quarries near Thebes.¹²

The magnet¹³ also was found in this country, as well as a species of myrrh extracted from the root of a tree,¹⁴ and resembling in fragrance and medicinal qualities the celebrated Arabian gum. Of manufactured goods no great quantities seem to have been sent out of Bœotia,¹⁵ though its helmets and chariots, together with its apothecaries' mortars¹⁶ and the pottery of Aulis enjoyed a great reputation.¹⁷

¹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. viii. 4. 5.

² Xenoph. Hellen. v. 4. 56.

³ Plin. Nat. Hist. xix. 23. Quintil. ap. Geopon. xii. 19.

⁴ Athen. i. 6. ii. 48. Plin. Nat. Hist. xix. 25.

⁵ Πανάρες Ἡράκλειον. Dioscor. iii. 55.

⁶ Dioscor. iii. 148. Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 13. 1.

⁷ Dioscor. iv. 151. Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 10. 3. Geopon. vii. 12. 21. Lomeier, de Lustrat. cap. xxiv. p. 304.

⁸ Aristoph. Acharn. 860, sqq.

⁹ Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 477.

¹⁰ Dicæarch. ap. Geogr. Minor. ii. 18.

¹¹ Athen. i. 49. vii. 45. Aristoph. Lysist. 30. Acharn. 961. 1000. 1002. Schol. ad Pac. 970.

¹² Theoph. de Lapid. § 6. See Sir John Hill's Notes, p. 35.

¹³ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 25.

¹⁴ Dioscor. i. 78.

¹⁵ Poll. i. 149. Athen. i. 50.

¹⁶ Dioscorid. v. 102.

¹⁷ Pausan. ix. 19. 8.

Phocis exported a celebrated kind of cutlery,¹ manufactured at Delphi, golden tripods,² fans which found their way even to Cyprus,³ together with excellent wheat and barley grown in the neighbourhood of Elatea,⁴ an inferior kind of deal,⁵ black⁶ and white hellebore from Anticyra,⁷ apples from the uplands around the shrine of Apollo,⁸ agrostis from Parnassos,⁹ purple fish caught at Bulis,¹⁰ and kermes from the plain between Ambryssos and Stiris:¹¹ the colouring matter it was known proceeded from an insect which, however, was supposed to exist in the fruit of the tree.¹²

The principal articles which Thessaly supplied to commerce were shoes,¹³ easy chairs, slaves, branded on the forehead, and usually shipped at Pagasæ,¹⁴ horses,¹⁵ cattle, wheat,¹⁶ chironæan all-heal,¹⁷ the best black hellebore,¹⁸ the nymphæa nelumbo from the waters of the Peneios,¹⁹ gypsum,²⁰ poisonous water, like that of Nonacris,²¹ found near Tempè, and medicinal chalk.²²

¹ Aristot. Polit. i. 1. Athen. iv. 74.

² Athen. v. 26. ³ Id. vi. 70.

⁴ Theoph. Hist. Plant. viii. 8. 2.

⁵ Id. v. 2. 12.

⁶ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxi. 76.

⁷ Ruf. Frag. p. 22, ap. Schneid. ad Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 10. 2. Dioscor. iv. 150. Chandler, ii. 276. Polyænus, vi. 13.

⁸ Athen. iii. 6.

⁹ Dioscor. iv. 32. The reed-agrostis, which grew by the wayside in Babylonia, was said to be fatal to the cattle which fed on it. Id. iv. 31.

¹⁰ Chandler. ii. 228. Steph. de Urb. p. 238. c. Οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι οἱ ἐνταῦθα πλέον ἡμίσεις κόχλων ἐς βαφὴν πορφύρας εἰσὶν ἀλιεῖς. Pausan. x. 37. 3.

¹¹ Chandler, ii. 279.

¹² Pausan. x. 36. 1.

¹³ Steph. Byzant. de Urb. v. Θεσσαλία. p. 394. a. Poll. vii. 89.

¹⁴ Athen. i. 49. 50.

¹⁵ Oppian. Cynege. i. 171. Strab. viii. 8. t. ii. p. 226.

¹⁶ Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 14.

¹⁷ Πανάκης Χειρώνιον. Dioscor. iii. 57.

¹⁸ Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 10. 2, with the note of Schneider.

¹⁹ Dioscor. iii. 149. The root of this plant, which as has above been seen was eaten in Greece, forms to this day an article of food among the Chinese. The poor even eat it raw, in which case it is said to be not very palatable. Osbeck, Voyage to China, i. 310.

²⁰ Theoph. de Lapid. § 64.

²¹ Senec. Quæst. Nat. iii. 25, who gives as the reason, that the water springs from iron or copper mines.

²² Theoph. de Lapid. § 64. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxv. 57.

From Epeiros were obtained wheat,¹ gypsum, shepherds' dogs,² a large superior sort of round apple,³ excellent horses, a breed of oxen remarkable for their size,⁴ magnificent oak timber,⁵ and acorns in large quantities for the planting of forests in other parts of Greece;⁶ Ætolia, saffron,⁷ black hellebore,⁸ and guinea-fowls,⁹ or, perhaps, wild turkeys, of which it was the original country; Narycia, in the territories of the Epicnemidian Locrians, tar;¹⁰ Acarnania, slings,¹¹ mother of pearl,¹² and gold and silver-coloured pyrites.¹³

The productions which Macedonia and Thrace contributed to the commerce of the ancient world were numerous, and, in many cases, of the highest value; as, for example, gold and silver,¹⁴ of which there were mines¹⁵ both in Mount Pangæos,¹⁶ Scapte Hyle,¹⁷ and several other places along the coast. History makes particular mention of those which existed in the neighbourhood of Crenides,¹⁸ after-

¹ Lycurg. cont. Leochar. § 8.

² Aristot. Hist. Animal. ix. 1. Poll. v. 39. Ælian. de Nat. Animal. iii. 2.

³ Dioscor. i. 162. Plin. Nat. Hist. xv. 15.

⁴ Plin. Nat. Hist. viii. 70.

⁵ Theoph. Hist. Plant. ii. 2. 6.

⁶ Palmer. Descrip. Græc. Antiq. p. 222.

⁷ Dioscor. i. 25. In Venetian times the environs of Naupactos were thought to produce the best wines of all Greece. Coronelli, Mem. de la Morée, p. 231.

⁸ Dioscor. iv. 151.

⁹ Μελεαγρίδες. Athen. xiv. 70. Suid. t. ii. p. 122. a. Aristot. Hist. Animal. vi. 2.

¹⁰ Virg. Georg. ii. 438. Plin. Nat. Hist. xiv. 25.

¹¹ Poll. i. 149.

¹² Plin. Nat. Hist. ix. 56.

Rondelet. i. 48. Aristot. Hist. Animal. v. 15.

¹³ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 30.

¹⁴ Lucian. de Sacrif. § 11. Id. Fugitiv. § 24. Id. Icaromenip. § 18. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 21. vii. 57. Herod. vii. 112. ix. 75. Xenoph. Hellen. v. 2. 12. Athen. ii. 16. Strab. vii. frag. 17. t. ii. p. 133. Pausan. i. 29.

¹⁵ The mines in the neighbourhood of lake Prasias, produced, in the time of Alexander, son of Amyntas, a talent of silver a day. Herodot. v. 17.

¹⁶ Xenoph. Hellen. v. 2. 17. Plin. vii. 57.

¹⁷ These mines of Scapte Hyle produced to the Thasians, when they possessed a power on the continent, a revenue of eighty talents a year. Herodot. vi. 46. Appian. Bell. Civil. iv. 106.

¹⁸ Diodoro. Sicul. xvi. 8.

wards Philippi, contending for which the Athenian general, Sophanes, lost his life in a battle with the Edonians.¹ In the country of the Pœonians the husbandmen, cultivating the fields, often turned up bits of virgin gold with the plough. To these we may add ship timber, pitch, and tar,² upon which the Athenians in the later ages of the republic, chiefly depended for the construction of their navies, with rich and fragrant wines, such as those of Mendè and Maronea.³

From the gardens at the foot of Mount Pangæos the rose of a hundred leaves appears to have been propagated throughout Greece.⁴ Rue, the leaves and seeds of which were much used in ancient medicine,⁵ abounded in a certain district of Macedonia, but does not appear to have been introduced into commerce because it was esteemed a poison, and flourished in a district greatly infested with vipers. The rose-root,⁶ exported from Macedonia, resembled that of the costus in form, and diffused an odour analogous to the perfume of the rose. It was applied with oil of roses to remove the head-ache.

¹ Herodot. ix. 75. Meurs. Lecton. Att. vi. 31.

² Æschin. adv. Timarch. § 6. Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 1. 4. Thucyd. iv. 108. Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 2. 1. The wood grown on the northern slopes of mountains was esteemed toughest, and, therefore, best suited for oars. Id. Hist. Plant. iv. 1. 4.

³ Athen. i. 47. Iorio, Storia del Commercio, t. iv. l. ii. c. iii. p. 235. Hom. Odys. ix. 197. Steph. de Urb. v. Μέγδην, p. 550. b. In the vineyards of Mendè the husbandmen used to sprinkle the grape clusters with the juice of the wild cucumber, which communicated to the wine a medicinal quality. Athen. i. 53.

⁴ Theoph. Hist. Plant. vi. 6. 4. The Greek fable on the birth of the rose is familiar to every reader, but it may not, perhaps, be so well known, that the Mahomedans believe it to have sprung from the sweat of their prophet: "Ut veteres rosam ex sanguine Veneris, sic isti (Turcæ) ex sudore Mahumetis natam sibi persuaserint." Busbeq. Epist. i. p. 51.

⁵ Dioscor. iii. 52. From a passage in Polyænus it would appear, that Thrace carried on habitually a trade with the neighbouring countries in hay and straw. Stratagem. iii. 15.

⁶ Dioscor. iv. 45.

Among the other exports of Thrace and Macedonia were wine flavoured with wormwood,¹ truffles,² beans from about Philippi,³ heracleian all-heal,⁴ the juice of which was called opopanax, odoriferous roots some of which exhaled the perfume of spike-nard,⁵ the meon,⁶ alum,⁷ corn,⁸ cheese,⁹ salt-fish,¹⁰ mullets from Abdera,¹¹ delcani from the lake Delcon,¹² eels from the Strymon,¹³ skates from Ænia,¹⁴ enormous horns of wild bulls,¹⁵ timber for ships¹⁶ and oars,¹⁷ chrysocolla,¹⁸ alum, reddle, jet from the neighbourhood of Bena,¹⁹ dark carbuncles,²⁰ and earths for preserving corn found near Olynthos.²¹

From the countries situated on the Bosporos and the Black Sea, Greece imported numerous valuable commodities, among which the principal were corn,²² salt-meat,²³ and fish,²⁴ — as thunnies, corduli, turbot, the kolias, a kind of mackerel, Tethæan oysters from Chalcedon, amiaë,²⁵ mullets,²⁶ sturgeons,

¹ Dioscor. iii. 26.

² Athen. ii. 20. Theoph. Hist. Plant. i. 6. 13.

³ Theoph. Hist. Plant. viii. 8. 6.

⁴ Dioscor. iii. 55.

⁵ Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 7. 3. Dioscor. i. 1.

⁶ Dioscor. i. 3.

⁷ Id. v. 123.

⁸ Lys. in Diogit. § 5. Boeckh. Pub. Econ. of Athens, i. 107.

⁹ Athen. ii. 68.

¹⁰ Id. vii. 45.

¹¹ Id. vii. 77. ¹² Id. iii. 87.

¹³ Id. vii. 53. ¹⁴ Id. vii. 25.

¹⁵ Herod. vii. 126. Spanh. ad Callim. in Dian. 157. Plin. Nat. Hist. viii. 16.

¹⁶ Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 1. 4.

¹⁷ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 1. 4.

¹⁸ Dioscor. v. 123. 104. Beckmann, Hist. of Inventions, i. 292.

¹⁹ Theoph. de Lapid. § 15.

²⁰ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvii. 25.

²¹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. viii. 10. 7.

²² Demosth. adv. Polycl. § 2. Cont. Lept. § 9. This wheat, however, was considered lighter than that grown in Greece. Theoph. Hist. Plant. viii. 45. 5. Herod. vii. 147. Thucyd. iii. 2. Iorio, Storia del Commercio, t. iv. l. ii. c. iii. p. 219.

²³ Demosth. in Lacrit. § 8. Busbequius, Epist. i. p. 67.

²⁴ Athen. iii. 84, sqq. § i. 49. Strab. vii. 6. t. ii. p. 112. A species of rhombos, bret, or turbot, is still caught in considerable quantities in the sea of Azof and in the Black Sea. Pallas, Travels in Eastern Russia, iv. 243. Cf. Strab. ix. 2. t. ii. p. 401.

²⁵ Athen. vii. 6.

²⁶ Id. vii. 77.

oxyrunchi,¹ coracini, skates, herrings,² crabs,³ and the edible mussel.⁴ The way in which some of these fish were caught in the Euxine is perhaps worth describing:⁵ the natives pitching, in winter, their tents on the ice,⁶ cut therein large open spaces, towards which the fish thronging to enjoy the light, were taken in great numbers.

To the above may be added⁷ nuts, chestnuts, walnuts,⁸ honey, wax,⁹ tar, wool, rigging, leather, goatskins, timber,¹⁰ horses¹¹ and pheasants from the Phasis,¹² and slaves, particularly archers.¹³ The honey of Heraclea, like that of Mazanderân, and certain poisons, is said to have produced a temporary

¹ Athen. iii. 84.

² Lucian. Diall. Meret. § 14. Somn. seu Gall. § 22. Dioscor. ii. 7. Pallas informs us, that at the present day large quantities of fat and delicate herrings are caught with the trail-net in the Black Sea. Travels in Southern Russia, iv. 242.

³ Athen. vii. 45.

⁴ Id. iii. 64.

⁵ The Borysthenes which produced in its pure waters numerous species of delicate fish, abounded likewise with a large kind, cured by the inhabitants with the salt found plentifully at its mouth. Herod. iv. 53. Eustath. ad Dion. Perieg. 311.

⁶ Aristot. Meteorol. i. 12, p. 29. A similar mode of fishing is practised on Lake Ontario. "In the winter, when the bay (of Toronto) is frozen over so-
"lidly, huts are erected, and
"holes made in the ice, where
"the fish are caught by spear-
"ing." Sir R. H. Bonnycastle, Canadas, &c. i. 166.

⁷ Athen. ii. 13. Cf. Bœckh. Pub. Econ. of Athens, i. 66.

⁸ Didym. ap. Geopon. x. 68.

1. Plin. Nat. Hist. xv. 22.

⁹ Dioscor. ii. 105.

¹⁰ Lucian. Navig. § 23. Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 2. 12.

¹¹ There are in modern times few countries where horses are cheaper and more numerous than in Colchis:—"Il n'y a point
"d'homme si pauvre dans la
"Colchide qui n'ait un cheval,
"car il ne coute rien à entre-
"tenir; entre les gentilshommes
"il y eu a qui en nourrissent
"deux cens et le prince en a
"cinq mille." Lamberti, Relation de la Mingrelie, Voyages au Nord, t. vii. p. 193.

¹² Aristoph. Nub. 109. The woods of Colchis abound still in pheasants and partridges. Busbequius, Epist. iii. p. 205. Lamberti, however, relates, that the race of partridges was almost extinct in Colchis, through the abundance of birds of prey. Voyages au Nord, t. vii. p. 192.

¹³ Thucyd. iii. 2. Plut. Sympos. v. 7. 1. Eurip. in Alcest. 675.

madness.¹ From the kingdom of Pontos was obtained that medicinal root denominated rha,² which has sometimes been confounded with rhubarb,³ though the latter be laxative, the former astringent, together with isinglass,⁴ used in cosmetics, for smoothing the wrinkles of the face, liquorice-root, brought also from Cappadocia,⁵ wild spikenard found growing on shady mountains,⁶ wormwood which fattened sheep and diminished their gall,⁷ amomon,⁸ and germander.⁹

Mehilot¹⁰ was exported from Chalcedon, and Cyzicos, where there was likewise an extensive ma-

¹ There was likewise in Pontos a honey of a bitter taste, (Dion. Chrysost. i. 289, seq.) collected, according to Dioscorides (ii. 103), and Pliny (Nat. Hist. xxi. 44), from the purple flowered dwarf rhododendron which abounds on the northern shores of the Black Sea, more particularly in the vicinity of Trebizond. (Tournefort, t. iii. p. 74, sqq.) This, apparently, was the honey that produced effects so extraordinary upon the Ten Thousand, (Xenoph. Anab. iv. 8. 20,) and had the reputation of causing temporary madness. The shrub above named must be carefully distinguished from the common rhododendron which yields no honey. Della Rocca, i. 352, seq. Another cause of the bitterness of the Colchian honey is assigned by Lamberti: "Ils mettent quelquefois leur miel dans des écorces de citrouilles amères, ce qui a peut-être donné sujet à Strabon, [l. xi. c. 2. t. ii. p. 409, Tauchnitz.] d'en parler comme il a fait, et il est vrai aussi que celui qu'on ramasse dans les montagnes, dans le tems que le laurier-rose est en fleur, fait vomir ceux qui en

"prennent: si bien que les païens, sans, faute d'autre remède, s'en servent pour se purger." Voyages au Nord, t. vi. p. 197.

² Dioscor. iii. 2. It has been conjectured by Prosper Alpinus that the Rha was brought to Pontos from the banks of the Volga, as Ammianus Marcellinus in fact, relates: Rha vicinus est amnis, in cujus superciliis quedam vegetabilis ejusdem nominis gignitur radix, proficiens ad usus multiplices medelarum, l. xxii. c. 8, p. 340.

³ See the whole question ably discussed by Prosper Alpinus, De Rhapontico, cap. ii. p. 9.

⁴ Ἡ δὲ ἰχθυόκολλα λεγομένη κοιλία ἐστὶν ἰχθύος κητύου. Dioscor. iii. 102.

⁵ Africanus, ap. Geopon. v. 24. 2. vii. 24. 4. Dioscor. iii. 7. Plin. Nat. Hist. xi. 119.

⁶ Dioscor. i. 9.

⁷ Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 17. 4. Dioscor. 26, seq.

⁸ Dioscor. i. 14. Damogeron. ap. Geopon. vii. 13. 1. Plin. Nat. Hist. xii. 13.

⁹ Σκορδίον. Dioscor. iii. 125.

¹⁰ Dioscor. iii. 48. Pollux, vi. 106.

nufactory of unguent of marjoram,¹ a plant which appears to have grown abundantly amid the neighbouring hills, and was commonly wreathed in garlands. The making of this article of commerce was a complicated operation, and numerous ingredients entered into its composition,—as oil of green olives, and of acorns, balsam wood, odoriferous rushes and reeds perfumed with marjoram, spikenard, costus, amomon, cassia, carpobalsamon, and myrrh. To render the ointment still more precious cinnamon was sometimes intermingled with it, the vessel in which it was kept moistened with wine, while honey was made the basis of the paste.

The shores of the Propontis furnished wine flavoured with wormwood,² cardamums,³ and the substance called halcyonion, supposed by the ancients to have been that indurated froth of the sea,⁴ with which the halcyon built her nest. It was obtained as well on the continent as from the island of Besbicos, now Kalolimno.⁵ A very similar substance, called Adarces, was found in Cappadocia,⁶ about the rivers and marshes, where it hung suspended on the tops of reeds. Aconite⁷ and origany came from the country of the Maryandinians,⁸ and agaric from Sarmatia,⁹ doubtless by way of the Dnieper. The Sea of Marmora produced black coral, as also a sort of floating petroleum.¹⁰

¹ Dioscor. i. 68. Cf. iii. 47. Cyzicos, likewise exported beans. Theoph. Hist. Plant. viii. 10. 3.

² Id. iii. 26.

³ Id. i. 5.

⁴ Dioscor. v. 136. See a representation of the halcyonion in Forskal, *Flora Ægyptiaca-Arabica*, tab. 27, d. e.

⁵ Dapper, *Description des Isles de l'Archipel*. p. 497.

⁶ Dioscor. v. 137. Cardan, misunderstanding Serapion, has taken the adarces to be a stone, which error is corrected by Sca-

liger, de Subtilitate, Exercit. 130, p. 446.

⁷ Cf. Strab. l. xii. t. ii. p. 818.

⁸ Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 16.

⁹ Dioscor. v. 61.

¹⁰ Γεννᾶται δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀγαρίᾳ τῆς Σαρματικῆς. Dioscor. iii. 1. On its uses cf. Prosp. Alpin. de Medicin. Ægypt. iv. 15, p. 340. Brand, *Journal of an Embassy to China*, in Harris, vol. i. p. 230.

¹⁰ Dapper, *Description des Isles de l'Archipel*. p. 497.

The orpiment¹ of Pontos and Cappadocia enjoyed but a secondary reputation; the first place being given to that of Mysia. The lapis lazuli² of Scythia necessarily found its way into Greece by the Black Sea, as did, likewise, the cinnabar of Colchis, said to have been discovered amid inaccessible rocks and precipices,³ whence it was brought down by darts and arrows. Probably, also, brass was exported from Colchis.⁴ In the Homeric age great quantities of silver⁵ would seem to have been obtained from the country of the Halizones, as in later ages of steel and iron from that part of Asia Minor inhabited by the Chalybes,⁶ who are said to have worked their mines naked. The finest kind of minium was excavated from certain caverns in Cappadocia,⁷ and transported by land to the city of Sinope, whence it was sent into Greece.⁸ It was of three kinds,—the one deep, the other extremely pale, and the third sort a shade between the two. There were likewise in the same district mines of ochre, and both were so infected with damp and malaria, that the workmen, as in our own coalpits, were constantly in danger of their

¹ Dioscor. v. 121.

² Theoph. de Lapid. § 55. From the country of the Agathyrsi a species of diamond appears to have been obtained in great abundance. Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 8, p. 341. Dion. Perieg. 319. Priscian. Perieg. 311. Plin. Nat. Hist. iv. 20. Pompon. Mel. ii. 1.

³ Theoph. de Lapid. § 58.

⁴ Peyssonnel, Observations Historiques et Géographiques sur les Peuples barbares qui ont habité les bords du Danube et du Pont Euxin, p. 68, sqq.

⁵ Hom. Il. β. 857. Heyne, ad loc. t. iv. p. 430.

⁶ Aristot. Auscult. Mirab. t.

xvi. p. 185. Eustath. ad Dion. Perieg. 767. Æschyl. Prometh. Vinct. 301. Xenoph. Anab. v. 5. 1. Steph. Byzant. de Urb. p. 753. a. Salmas. ad Solin. p. 1085. Suid. v. χαλυβες. t. ii. p. 1108. d. Apollon. Rhod. ii. 1005, sqq. v. 374, seq. Valer. Flacc. iv. 610. Ammian. Marcellin. xxii. 8, p. 338. Pollux. vii. 107. x. 186. Strab. xii. 3. t. iii. p. 27. Tauchn.

⁷ Theoph. de Lapid. § 52.

⁸ Συλλέγεται δὲ ἐν τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ ἐν σπηλαίοις τισί. διυλίζεται δὲ καὶ φέρεται εἰς Σινώπην καὶ πικράσκειται. ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ἐπινυμίαν. Dioscor. v. 111. Strab. xii. t. ii. p. 814. Casaub.

lives.¹ Many of the commodities of this place were probably distributed through Greece and Asia by the travelling merchants, who resorted, at the annual festival of the goddess, to the great fair of Komana.²

In speaking of the Black Sea we have already entered upon that of Asia Minor, which, taken altogether, was perhaps the richest and most important anywhere carried on by the Greeks. Every province of this fertile and beautiful division of Asia abounded in costly or useful articles of merchandise, and its roads and rivers incessantly poured towards Greece not only the productions of its own soil, but those also of Central Asia, brought thither by the caravans from both shores of the Caspian. Gold dust³ was collected from the sands of the Pactolos;⁴ marbles of the most brilliant whiteness were exported from Ephesos, (whose inhabitants decreed divine honours to the shepherd Pyxodoros,⁵

¹ Theoph. de Lapid. § 52.

² Τα μὲν οὖν Κόμανα εὐανδρεῖ, καὶ ἔστιν ἐμπορεῖον τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἀξιόλογον· συνέρχονται δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐξόδους τῆς θεοῦ πανταχόθεν, ἔκ τε τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῆς χώρας, ἄνδρες ὁμοῦ ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑορτήν· καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ κατ' εὐχὴν αἰεὶ τινες ἐπιδημοῦσι, θυσίας τε ἐπιτελοῦντες τῇ θεῇ. Strab. xii. 3. t. iii. p. 43. Heeren, Researches on the Commerce and Politics of the Ancients, i. 121. Similar gatherings, partly religious, partly commercial, still take place among the Mahomedans at Mecca, and among the Hindoos at various places, particularly at Haridwârâ, where two millions and a-half of pilgrims have sometimes been known to assemble. Hindoos, i. 224. Asiatic Researches, vi. 311, sqq.

³ Gold was likewise obtained from a place on the shores of the Propontis, lying between Lampsacos and Abydos. Xenoph. Hellen. iv. 8. 37. On the mines found here, Schneider has the following note: "Auri metalli "Lampsacena memorat Plinius "37, sectione 74, et Polyænus ii. "1. 26. Abydena nusquam re- "peri dicta. Forte fuerint in "agro medio inter Lampsacum "et Abydum stadiis 170, distantem à Lampsaco, teste Strabone." Cf. Theophrast. de Lapid. § 32.

⁴ Peyssonnel, Observations Historiques, &c., p. 342. Ovid. Metam. xi. 3. 1, sqq. Winkel. Hist. de l'Art. ii. 67. Cf. Tibull. lib. iii. 3. 13.

⁵ Vitruv. x. 7. Chandler Travels, i. 143, seq.

by whom the quarries were discovered), and from Synnada in Phrygia;¹ large veins of lapis specularis, a stone so transparent² that it served the ancients instead of glass for windows, were found in Capadocia; the precious gem called alabandine³ was procured from the district round Miletos, jet⁴ from Lycia, not far from the river Gagas, and the fortress Plagiopolis. The places whence this mineral is chiefly obtained at present are Inspruck, in the Tyrol,⁵ where it is rolled down by the waters of a certain stream, and Wirtemberg,⁶ where it is wrought into all kinds of ornaments.

The touchstone was found in great quantities in the bed of the river Tmolos.⁷ It resembled in form a flat pebble, though considerably larger, and the side which had lain uppermost exposed to the sun was supposed to exercise a greater power over metals than the side opposite, which was more saturated with moisture. Basalt and the green marble called verdello are now often used instead of it in making experiments on the purity of gold.⁸ From this part of the world also was first obtained that extraordinary stone whose properties slightly observed by the ancients have since effected so wonderful a change in the science of navigation; I

¹ Strab. xii. t. ii. p. 865. Casaub.—Chandler, i. 160. ii. 86. 108. Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, iii. 236.

² Strab. xii. t. ii. p. 814. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 45.

³ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvii. 25. Theoph. de Lapid. § 19. On which see the note of Sir John Hill, p. 76.

⁴ Γαγάρης. Dioscor. v. 146. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 34. Aldrovand. de Metall. iii. 19. Scallig. de Subtilitat. Exercit. civ. 3, p. 383. Florent. ap. Geopon. viii. 8. Orpheus, de Lapid. 468.

⁵ Martin Mathée, Notes sur Dioscoride, p. 503.

⁶ Valmont de Bomare, Dictionnaire d'Histoire Naturelle, t. iii. p. 414. Anselm. Boet. Gemm. et Lapid. Hist. ii. 164, p. 336, observes, that jet is sometimes found in Britain, and our antiquarian, Camden, speaks of its being sometimes dug up from pits near Okewood in Surrey. Britannia, col. 163.

⁷ Theoph. de Lapid. § 47. Dioscor. v. 111.

⁸ Sir John Hill, Notes on Theophrast. p. 190, seq.

mean the magnet, found originally in Lydia, near the city of Heraclea.¹

In the neighbourhood of Ephesos there was a manufacture of cinnabar,² which was produced in the following manner: taking a quantity of sand of a bright scarlet colour, they triturated it to a very fine powder in stone mortars, after which it was washed in brazen vessels, and the remainder pounded and washed as before till the whole had been reduced to the fineness required.

The fossil and mineral salt called alum,³ was dug out of the earth near Hierapolis in Phrygia, from which country also the best salt⁴ was procured. It was found, as at present, on the shores of Lake Tatta, on which account it obtained the name of the Tattæan salt.⁵ A causeway traverses the lake nearly through the centre, as in the case of the lake Tritonis in northern Africa.

The best nitre⁶ known to the ancients came from Philadelphia, near the source of the Cogamos in Lydia. That of Magnesia, in Caria, was esteemed inferior. From Colophon,⁷ in early times was obtained that liquid resin which distils from the pine and pitch trees, on which account it obtained the name of Colophonia.⁸

Medicinal chalk⁹ and dry pitch, of which there were two kinds,¹⁰ were imported from Lycia and

¹ Plat. Tim. t. vii. p. 118.
Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 45.

² Theoph. de Lapid. § 58.

³ Dioscor. v. 123. The alum also of Egypt appears to have been extensively exported, and held in high estimation by Physicians. Celsus, v. 38. 12.

⁴ Dioscor. v. 126.

⁵ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxi. 41. Strabo, speaking of these salt-springs of Tatta, relates a somewhat extraordinary circumstance: ἡ μὲν οὖν Τάττα ἀλοπήγιόν ἐστιν αὐτοφυές· οὕτω δὲ πειρπῆτται

ῥαδίως τὸ ὕδωρ παντὶ τῷ βαπτισθέντι εἰς αὐτὸ, ὥστε στεφάνους ἀλῶν ἀνέλκουσιν, ἐπειδὴν καθῶσι κύκλον σχοῖνινον· τὰ τε ὄρνεα ἀλίσκεται τὰ προσαψάμενα τῷ πτερώματι τοῦ ὕδατος παραχρῆμα πίπτοντα διὰ τὴν περίπηξιν τῶν ἀλῶν. xii. 6. t. iii. p. 58.

⁶ Dioscor. v. 130. Celsus, ii. 33, p. 94.

⁷ Dioscor. i. 92.

⁸ Cf. Suid. v. Κολοφωνία, t. i. p. 1487, seq.

⁹ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxv. 57.

¹⁰ Dioscor. i. 97.

Mysia.¹ From the same country likewise, as well as from Galatia, came the best wild cumin,² a low plant found growing along the slopes and crests of hills. Herb mastic,³ resembling origany in fragrance, was produced in Magnesia and around the Lydian city of Tralles. Both Lydia and Cilicia exported saffron.⁴ That, however, which enjoyed among the ancients the greatest celebrity grew upon the heights of Mount Corycos,⁵ in the neighbourhood of the Corycian cave.⁶

The saffron of Lycia was likewise the produce of a mountain, being found chiefly on the Olympos of that country.⁷

The kermes,⁸ with which alone before the discovery of America and the introduction of cochineal, a bright scarlet dye could be produced, were obtained from various parts of Asia Minor, Galatia, Lycia, and Cilicia, where they were found feeding on the leaves of the scarlet oak.⁹ The gathering of these insects, then, however, supposed to be mere tubercular excrescences, formed an important branch of industry, carried on entirely by women, who separated them from the leaf with a crooked iron instrument, and not with the mouth as has been inferred from a wrong reading in Dioscorides.¹⁰ At present the nail only is used in this operation, which is performed before sunrise, while the dew is still on the tree.¹¹

¹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 2. 5.

² Dioscor. iii. 69. Cf. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vii. 3. 2. Caus. Plant. iv. 15. 2. Sibth. Flor. Græc. tab. 243.

³ Μάστον. Dioscor. iii. 49. Theophrast. de Odor. § 33, seq. Plin. Nat. Hist. xii. 53.

⁴ Dioscor. i. 25. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 301.

⁵ Vit. Sequest. p. 29. Virg. Georg. iv. 127. Martial. iii. 65.

⁶ Galen. de Antidot. c. xiii.

Spanh. Observ. in Callin. in Apoll. 83. t. ii. p. 102. Horat. Satir. ii. 4. 68. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxi. 17.

⁷ Dioscor. i. 25.

⁸ Dioscor. iv. 48. Pollux, vii. 56. x. 42. iv. 154.

⁹ Cf. Scalig. de Subtilitat. Exerc. cxciv. 7. p. 631, seq.

¹⁰ Cf. Serapion. c. cccxi. ap. Beckmann, ii. 170.

¹¹ Garidel, Histoire des Plantes qui naissent aux environs d'Aix. p. 254.

Chervil¹ and oil² were exported from Cilicia; wild spikenard came from Phrygia;³ madder from Caria, where it was cultivated in the interspaces between the olive-trees, and produced an immense return;⁴ wormwood⁵ and the blue flowers of a species of wild thyme from Cappadocia and Pamphylia;⁶ and centaury from the neighbourhood of Smyrna and from Lycia.⁷ In the gathering of this last plant the rizotomists observed certain rules. Going forth at peep of dawn into the fields, they were careful to cull it immediately before the rising of the sun, and during serene weather, when the virtues of plants are in great perfection.

From this country as well as from Cappadocia was obtained the lycion,⁸ a syrup about the consistence of honey, regarded as a remedy against ophthalmia.

The hyssop of Cilicia⁹ was in great esteem for flavouring wine, as were likewise its mountain spikenard,¹⁰ its pickled cactus,¹¹ its agrostis,¹² its œnanthe,¹³ its tragoriganon,¹⁴ its hemlock,¹⁵ its silybos, whose young shoots were eaten as food, while the juice of its root was employed as an emetic,¹⁶ its

¹ Γερυιδίον. Dioscor. ii. 167. Artedia squammata. Sibthorp, Flora Græca, tab. 268.

² Florent. ap. Geopon. ix. 3. 1.

³ Dioscor. i. 9.

⁴ Dioscor. iii. 160. Sibthorp, Flora Græca, tab. 141.

⁵ Geopon. viii. 21. 1.

⁶ Dioscor. iv. 179. iii. 126, 127.

⁷ Id. iii. 8. Celsus, v. 27. 10.

⁸ Id. i. 132. Celsus, v. 28. 16.

⁹ "Est autem optimum (hyssopum) Cilicium e Tauro monte, dein Pamphyliam, ac Smyrnæum." Plin. Nat. Hist. xxv. 87. Dioscor. v. 50. iii. 30. Columell. xii. 35.

¹⁰ Dioscor. i. 8.

¹¹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. vi. 4. 10.

¹² Dioscor. iv. 32. Democrit. ap. Geopon. ii. 6. 23.

¹³ Dioscor. v. 5.

¹⁴ Plin. Nat. Hist. xx. 68. Dioscor. iii. 35. Etym. Mag. 763, 30. Clusii, Hist. Rar. Plant. iii. p. 358.

¹⁵ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxv. 95. Dioscor. iv. 67. Scaliger, de Subtilitat. Exercit. 151, p. 505, sqq.

¹⁶ Dioscor. iv. 159. Cf. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxii. 42.

fossil verdigris,¹ and its cyperus comosus,² used in giving a body to perfumes.³

From Galatia and Cappadocia came the white hellebore,⁴ southernwood,⁵ and wild rue;⁶ from Pisidia, the most fragrant lilies for perfumes;⁷ from Mount Ida, in the Troad, timber,⁸ pitch,⁹ and the æthiopis,¹⁰ a species of verbascum, used by enchanters to open locks and stay the course of rivers; from Sigeion and Lecton, now Cape Baba, on the confines of the same country, and from Æolia, purple fish;¹¹ from Abydos oysters; from Parion sea urchins;¹² from Colophon mustard;¹³ from Galatia and Cilicia agaric, where it grew among the cedars;¹⁴ from Ionia carobs;¹⁵ from Mount Amanos, on the confines of Syria, stone parsley,¹⁶ and cœrulescent wormwood.¹⁷

Among the exports of Pisidia and Cilicia was the gum styrax,¹⁸ which being usually burned on

¹ Μελανθηρια. Dioscor. v. 118.

² Κύπειρον, ἣν τινες ζέρναν καλοῦσι. Democritus, ap. Geopon. 11. vi. 32. Columell. xii. 20. Pallad. xii. 18. Theoph. Hist. Plant. i. 8. 1. De Caus. Plant. vi. 11. 10. Hom. Odyss. δ. 603.

³ Dioscor. i. 4.

⁴ Dioscor. iv. 150.

⁵ (Ἀβροτόνον.) Id. iii. 29. Tarentinus, ap. Geopon. ii. 27. 6. Celsus, iii. 21.

⁶ Dioscor. iii. 53.

⁷ Id. iii. 116.

⁸ Xenoph. Hellen. i. 1. 25.

⁹ Didymus, ap. Geopon. vi. 5. 1. Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 2. 5. Virg. Georg. iii. 450. iv. 41. Plin. Nat. Hist. xiv. 25.

¹⁰ Dioscor. iv. 105.

¹¹ Aristot. Hist. Animal. v. 15.

¹² Archestratus, ap. Athen. iii. 44.

¹³ Athen. ix. 2.

¹⁴ Dioscor. iii. 1.

¹⁵ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 2. 4.

¹⁶ Σμυρνίον, ὅπερ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ πετροσέλιον καλοῦσι. Dioscor. iii. 79. Sibth. Flor. Græc. 289. This plant was used as a bait for fish. Geopon. xx. 24. 1.

¹⁷ Ἀψίνθιον θαλάσσιον. τινὲς δὲ καὶ Σερίφιον καλοῦσι. Dioscor. iii. 27. From the name of this plant the island of Seriphos, according to some, derived its name: "Dicitur à *Serfi* Græcè, *herba*, "Latinè, quæ ad dolorem renum "salutifera hic invenitur." Bondelmonti, Lib. Insul. Archipelag. § 25. p. 83. "È opinione che'l "nome di Serfino li sia stato "dato da un' erba, che nasce quì, "chiamata Serfi, ottima per guaire il mal di fianco." Boschini, p. 32, ap. Ludov. de Sinner, Annot. in Bondelmont. p. 177.

¹⁸ Dioscor. i. 79. Florent. ap. Geopon. xiii. 88. Plin. Nat. Hist. x. 90. Sibthorp. Flora Græca, 375.

the altars of the theatre during the performance of Phrygian airs it was observed by one of the Greeks to be redolent of that wild music.¹ The tree from which this gum was obtained resembled that of the quince. A kind of artificial styrax, in appearance like macaroni, was manufactured in the following manner, and preferred by the ignorant to the gum itself. Taking a quantity of wax and perfumed lard, and working it up into a paste with a certain proportion of styrax, they placed it in the sun during the hottest days of the year, when, having been thus rendered nearly liquid, it was passed through a coarse sieve into cold water.²

Iris unguent³ was exported from Perga, a city of Pamphylia; a sarcophaginous stone used in making coffins,⁴ scammony,⁵ and beans from Mysia; from Smyrna⁶ a superior kind of lettuces.⁷ At present the bees make much honey in the neighbourhood of this city, from the flower of the *hypecoum recumbens*.⁸ Caria exported slaves,⁹ excellent oil and vinegar,¹⁰ gum sycamore,¹¹ purple fish, figs,¹² and carobs,¹³ which were grown in the neighbourhood of Caunos and Cnidos; Paphlagonia chestnuts and splendid almonds;¹⁴ Cappadocia the finest horses known to the ancients;¹⁵ Phrygia slaves,¹⁶ cheese made of mares' and asses' milk,¹⁷ hams of the finest qualities cured at Cibyra,¹⁸ carpets, oil,¹⁹ and fine black wool,

¹ Athen. xiv. 23.

² Dioscor. i. 79.

³ Id. i. 66.

⁴ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 27. Dioscor. v. 142. Theoph. de Ign. § 46. Albert. Mag. ii. 2. De Mineral. 17.

⁵ Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 9. 1—20. 5. Dioscor. iv. 171.

⁶ On the modern fruits of Smyrna see Chandler, i. 77. 247.

⁷ Athen. ii. 53.

⁸ Hazelquist, Travels, p. 242. Sibthorp. Flor. Græc. tab. 155.

⁹ Eurip. in Alcest. 675. Phi-

lost. Vit. Apoll. Tyan. iii. 25. p. 115.

¹⁰ Athen. ii. 74. 76. xiv. 67. Cf. Brunckh. ad Aristoph. Pac. 574. ¹¹ Dioscor. i. 181.

¹² Athen. iii. 9.

¹³ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 2. 4.

¹⁴ Athen. i. 49.

¹⁵ Oppian de Venat. i. 171. Gibbon, Decline and Fall, iii. 13.

¹⁶ Euripid. in Alcest. 675. Athen. i. 49.

¹⁷ Aristot. Hist. Animal. iii. 20.

¹⁸ Athen. xiv. 75. Poll. vi. 48.

¹⁹ Strab. xii. t. ii. p. 865.

which latter commodities were also among the merchandise of Miletos.¹

From this city were likewise obtained the sheep that produced the celebrated fleeces, together with water-cresses,² roses,³ rich tapestry, soft beds,⁴ and cypress wood;⁵ chestnuts, eunuchs, and fine scarlet cloths, with richly-figured carpets of double pile, were also brought from Sardis.⁶ The wines of Asia Minor in most estimation were those of Ephesos, Miletos,⁷ Phygela, Armata, Clazomenè,⁸ and that denominated Catakekaumenitis.⁹ Physicians condemned those of Mount Tmolos as generative of headache. Ephesos exported tents and jewellery;¹⁰ Miletos sea wolves¹¹ and cockles; Smyrna squills; and Patara, in Lycia, seems to have been famous for its gilded sandals.¹² The same country, likewise, supplied hams of a superior quality.¹³

¹ Athen. xii. 17. ² Id. i. 49.

³ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxi. 10.

⁴ Athen. i. 49. ⁵ Id. v. 38.

⁶ Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 112. Athen. vi. 67. ii. 30. Bochart, Geog. Sac. i. 6. Aristoph. Vesp. 1132.

⁷ Athen. i. 52.

⁸ Dioscor. v. 10, 11. Athen. i. 52. Chandler, i. 163. 243. In Homeric times Phrygia was celebrated for its vines. See Il. γ. 184.

⁹ Strab. xiii. 4. t. iii. p. 155. Chandler's description is almost a translation of Strabo. "This region which is above, or to the east of Philadelphia, was called

"Catakekaumenè, or *the Burned*."

"By some it was reckoned in

"Mysia, by others in Mœonia,

"or Lydia. It was five hundred

"stadia, or sixty-two miles and

"a half long; and four hundred

"stadia, or fifty miles broad;

"and anciently bare of trees, but

"covered with vines, which pro-

"duced the wine called by its

"name, and esteemed not infe-

"rior to any in goodness." i. 284.

¹⁰ Lucian. Dial. Meret. vii.

Andocid. adv. Alcib. § 11.

¹¹ Athen. vii. 86. 87. Aris-

toph. Eq. 361.

¹² Lucian. Dial. Meret. xiv.

¹³ Athen. xiv. 75.

CHAPTER XII.

EXPORTS OF THE ISLANDS, ITALY, GAUL, AND SPAIN.

BEFORE we describe the trade of Syria, Egypt, and the farther East, we shall endeavour to give some account of that carried on by the numerous islands of the Mediterranean, together with Italy, Gaul, and Spain, and the whole northern coast of Africa. The commodities furnished to commerce by the various groups and larger islands of the Ægean and Ionian seas scarcely yielded in number to those of Asia Minor. Of these the most important were the wines, which fluctuated in value, strength, and flavour, according to the soil, temperature, and elevation above the sea, of the vineyards which produced them.

The island of Lesbos, during the flourishing ages of the Athenian republic, formed part, as it were, of the territory of that great maritime state which compelled it to carry its wines exclusively to Athens.¹ Among these was the Pramnian,² which, also produced in Achaia, was a strong, harsh wine, apparently resembling port. Most, however, of the islands,³ both large and small, supplied wine—as Tenedos,⁴ Chios,⁵ Cypros,⁶ which furnished, among others, a curious fig wine;⁷ Thasos,⁸ where one par-

¹ Athen. vii. 9.

² Athen. i. 55. Poll. vi. 16. Etym. Mag. 686. 30, seq. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 107.

³ Bœckh. Pub. Econ. of Athens, i. 134.

⁴ Douglas, Essay on the Modern Greeks, p. 140.

⁵ Plut. de Anim. Tranquil. § 10. Dioscor. v. 11. Vib. Sequest. p. 32, ed. Oberlin.

⁶ Plin. Nat. Hist. xiv. 2. Synes. Epist. 147.

⁷ Καροπχίρης or Συκίρης. Dioscor. v. 41.

⁸ Athen. vii. 67. x. 37, 40.

ticular kind was somniferous,¹ Peparethos, Lesbos, Eubœa,² Crete, where among others was found the Malmsey;³ Leucadia, Cos,⁴ and Corcyra.

Few of the islands grew more corn than they could consume, except Eubœa,⁵ which was for many years the granary of Athens. Lesbos,⁶ too, produced the most superb barley, which was grown upon the hills round Eresos, the birthplace of Theophrastus. The Thasians, likewise, cultivated an inferior kind of barley which, from the extreme productiveness of the island, seems occasionally to have been exported, though I remember no authority in proof of the fact. Samos furnished Greece with the best olive oil next to that of Attica.⁷

But of all the minor islands none appear to have supplied so many articles to the coasting trade of Greece as Thasos, whose productions were singularly rich and varied. There, in the earlier ages, the Phœnicians discovered and worked gold mines which in after times became exhausted, but the fertility of the island and the industry of its inhabitants seem never to have failed. From hence were exported radishes,⁸ fish sauce, pickles,⁹ almonds, and walnuts,¹⁰ with the trees of which the island was thickly shaded.

Crete, Cypros, and Naxos exported hones;¹¹ Paros figs¹² and the best white marble¹³ drawn from quar-

i. 52. Florent. ap. Geopon. viii.
23. 1. Theoph. de Odoribus, §
51. Plin. Nat. Hist. xiv. 9.

¹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 18. 11.

² Athen. vii. 13. Andocid. adv.
Alcib. § 11.

³ Athen. x. 56.

⁴ Berytius, ap. Geopon. viii.
24. Cato, de Re Rustica, 112.

⁵ Herod. v. 31.

⁶ Athen. iii. 77.

⁷ Id. ii. 74. A species of oil,
called *Γουβόλα*, was obtained from
the island of Cypros. Hesych.
v. *Βουβόλα*.

⁸ Athen. ii. 48.

⁹ Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 192.
643. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 27.

¹⁰ Athen. xiv. 57. Plin. Nat.
Hist. xv. 24.

¹¹ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 47.

¹² Athen. iii. 9.

¹³ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 28,
29. 43. Bondelmont. § 34. Strab.
x. 5. t. ii. p. 390. Dapper.
Description des Iles de l'Archipel.
p. 260, seq. Steph. Byzant. de
Urb. v. *Μάρπησσα*. p. 537. c.
Chandler, i. 295.

ries, the vast extent of which is still the admiration of travellers.¹ Cypros, sory, a substance resembling verdigris,² sulphate of copper, emeralds, and jasper.³ Linen, white and dyed purple, was brought from Amorgos;⁴ thapsia from Thapsos;⁵ painters' earth of the best quality, that is of loose texture, crumbling, dry, and without fatness,⁶ obtained from the neighbourhood of Pharis; sulphur,⁷ alum,⁸ and pumice stone from Nisyros and Melos,⁹ where this latter substance was extremely light, and sometimes found imbedded in other stones. The pumices of the island of Nisyros¹⁰ were of an inferior description, and crumbled to pieces in the

¹ Tournefort, Voyages, i. 238, seq.

² Dioscor. v. 119. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 30.

³ Theoph. de Lapid. § 35.

⁴ Schol. ad Æschin. Timarch. p. 381. Schol. Aristoph. Lysist. 150, 735. Poll. vii. 74.

⁵ Dioscor. iv. 157. Sibthorp, Flora Græca, tab. 287. See a description of the plant in Tournefort, t. iii. p. 298, sqq. Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 8. 3.

⁶ Dioscor. v. 129.

⁷ Dioscor. v. 124. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxv. "Le soufre de Milo
"est parfaitement beau, et a un
"petit œil verdâtre et luisant,
"qui le faisoit préférer par les
"anciens à celui d'Italie : on
"trouve ce soufre en cette isle
"par gros morceaux en creusant
"la terre, et par grosses veines
"dans les carrières d'où l'on tire
"les meules de moulin." Tournefort, Voyage du Levant. i. 187. Buondelmonti gives the following account of the sulphur of Nisyros :
"Circa medium (insulæ) mons
"erigitur altissimus, quo in sum-
"mitate per subterraneos meatus
"sulphureus ignis die ac nocte

"eructat in altum, ut in insula
"Stronguli apud Liparum habetur. In descensu vero montis,
"ad jactum lapidis, fons calidissimus emanat in imum, et in
"plano circa lacum profundissimumque obscurum aquæ descendunt ; ibique colentes quantitatem maximam sulphuris
"mercatoribus præparant." § 17. p. 76, seq.

⁸ Dioscor. v. 123.

⁹ Theoph. de Lapid. § 21. Pumice stones are at present found in great numbers on the shores of the Troad, whither Chandler supposes them to have been floated by the waves from Mount Ætna or Vesuvius, though an abundant supply appears to be constantly furnished by the volcanic islands of the Archipelago. Travels, i. 26.

¹⁰ Theoph. de Lapid. § 21. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 42. This island likewise supplied the Greeks with excellent millstones. Eustath. ad Dion. Perieg. 526, and purple fish. Steph. de Urb. p. 594. c. Suid. v. Νίσυρος t. ii. p. 234. d. Eustath. ad Il. β. t. i. p. 241.

hand. They were, however, extremely plentiful, occurring in heaps, and generally about the size of the fist.

Carystos in Eubœa exported verde antico,¹ and the amianthos, or stone from which towels and similar fabrics were manufactured, indestructible by fire;² Eretria medicinal earth;³ Chalcis exported copper;⁴ Cimolos chalk and fullers' earth;⁵ Samos jars⁶ and medicinal earths, ash-coloured and white,⁷ in which was found a stone used by jewellers in polishing gold.⁸

From Lemnos three different kinds of earth were obtained,—the first known among the ancients by the name of terra sigillata, was sold in small round cakes mingled, according to Dioscorides,⁹ with the blood of a goat and stamped with his image in the sacred seal of Artemis; though Galen, who visited the island on purpose to examine this earth, denies that, in his time, any blood was intermixed with it. The second of the Lemnian earths¹⁰ was reddle, and the third fullers' earth. The first of these earths, of a slight red colour, was sometimes denominated sacred, apparently because used in sacrifices. In modern times the substance known under this name is usually brown or pink-coloured.

¹ Strab. ix. t. i. p. 667. Dion. Chrysost. Orat. lxxx. p. 664.

² Strab. x. ii. p. 684. Casaub. Coronelli, Mem. de la Morée, p. 208, seq.

³ Celsus, v. 19. 7.

⁴ Steph. Byzant. v. Χαλκίς.

⁵ Ovid. Metamorph. vii. 463. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxv. 16. Tournefort, i. p. 172. Strab. x. 5. t. ii. p. 386. Poll. x. 135. vii. 39. Zoroaster, ap. Geopon. vii. 6. 11.

⁶ "Morning Chronicle," July 17, 1838, p. 3. Cicero, pro Muren. 36. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxv. 48. 46.

⁷ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxviii. 53. 77. xxxi. 46.

⁸ Dioscor. v. 173. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 40.

⁹ Ἡ δὲ Λημνία γενομένη γῆ, ἔστιν ἐκ τινος ὑπονόμου, ἀνθρώπων, ἀναφερομένη ἀπὸ Λήμνου τῆς νήσου, ἐχούσης ἐλώδη τόπον, καὶ κεῖθεν ἐκλέγεται καὶ μίγνεται αἵματι αἰγίῳ ἣν οἱ ἐκεῖ ἄνθρωποι ἀναπλάσσοντες καὶ σφραγίζοντες εἰκόνι αἰγός, σφραγίδα καλοῦσιν αἰγός. Dioscor. v. 113.

¹⁰ Theoph. de Lapid. § 52. Florent. ap. Geopon. x. 90. 1. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 14. Salmas. ad Solin. p. 1156.

The mine¹ whence the sealed earth is at present excavated lies on the summit of a precipitous mountain, on the eastern shore of the island, about four bowshots from the ancient city of Hephæstia. The road leading thither, after arriving at the chapel of Sotira, is divided, and branches off to the right and left. Both ways pass by a fountain; the one on the right bordered with elder, willow, and carob trees, by one which, though closely shaded from the sun's rays, fails in summer; while that on the left conducts to a spring which, lying in a marshy spot, producing nothing but rushes, is perennial. Both these fountains are situated among the roots of the hill, now ascended by steps cut in the rock, but anciently by a road practicable all the way to the summit. The digging of the Lemnian earth appears to have been always under the protection of religion; for, during the operation, a priest anciently stood on the mountain near the mine, and, after having made a sort of libation of corn, which was cast as an offering upon the ground, and performed various other ceremonies, caused a waggon to be laden with the earth and conducted to the city, where it was prepared, sealed, and sold to merchants.

In modern times, ever since the period when the Venetians were in possession of the island, a different and more cumbrous set of ceremonies has been practised.² The principal inhabitants of the island, both Turks and Christians, assembling on the sixth of August, march out in grand procession to the mountains of sealed earth, halting by the way at the chapel of Sotira, where the priests chant the liturgy of the Greek church, and repeat many prayers, after which they ascend the

¹ Dapper, *Description des Iles de l'Archipel*. p. 245. In the island of Cea there were regular pits whence the best reddle was obtained. That found in

iron mines was esteemed inferior. *Theoph. de Lapid.* § 52.

² Cf. *Busbeq. Epist.* iii. p. 214, seq.

acclivity. Arrived at the summit, fifty or sixty stout men commence excavating in search of the stratum of precious clay, which being found, the priests fill therewith a number of skin sacks, which they deliver to the custody of the Subashi.

When a sufficient quantity has been procured the mouth of the mine is closed, and never opened again until that day twelvemonths. A certain quantity is then despatched to the Sultan, who distributes it in presents to princes and monarchs. The remainder is sold as of old to the merchants. It is quite possible that this substance might be discovered in other parts of the island; but the Greeks would set no value upon it unless obtained from the spot in question, and excavated with the proper ceremonies. For any private individual to attempt digging it is a capital offence.

Copper dross or tutty¹ was obtained from the muddy bottom of a copper mine in Cypros.² Having been exposed to dry in the sun, a quantity of brushwood was cast around it and set on fire, by which means it underwent a second calcination, and thence obtained the name of diphryges, or twice-burned.

In the same island was found the recrement of brass called Cadmia³ by the ancients. It was generated in the following manner: the furnaces in which they smelted copper were constructed of iron arched above, and of very large dimensions. As the metal underwent the action of the fire, the lighter and mere aërial particles, detaching themselves from the molten mass, ascended like sparks, rolling upwards along the sides of the furnace and settling on the roof.

Here, these particles forming into layers, one above another, coalesced into a hard substance which was called Cadmia.⁴ Of this there were se-

¹ Διφρυγές, Dioscor. v. 120.

³ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiv.

² Cf. Iorio, Storia del Commercio, t. iv. l. ii. c. vi. p. 249.
Meurs. Cypr. ii. 2. p. 84.

22.

⁴ Dioscor. v. 84.

veral kinds, one of which was produced by the burning of Pyrites, obtained from precipices overhanging the city of Soli. In these extraordinary mountains were found veins of copper ore,¹ sulphate of copper,² sory,³ verdigris,⁴ lapis lazuli,⁵ chrysocolla,⁶ copperas, and tutty.⁷

The recrement of silver was produced in a similar manner during the smelting of the silver ore, but it was in colour paler, and of an inferior quality. In various parts of the island were found in abundance black and white alum,⁸ nitre, sulphur, rock and sea salt,⁹ the former near Citium, the latter in the neighbourhood of Salamis. It likewise exported burnt copper and copper flakes. Several kinds of precious stones were moreover discovered here, as the diamond,¹⁰ the emerald, the agate,¹¹ found also at Lesbos, the opal, the jasper, the sapphire, the eagle stone,¹² the amethyst,¹³ crystal, and talc,¹⁴ and hones from the environs of Arsinoë.

The Egyptians alloyed their silver money with a third part of gypsum, copper, and an equal portion of sulphur. Mines of gold have been in modern times worked in the islands near Nicosia.

The finely tempered steel of Cypros,¹⁵ known by the name of adamant among the ancients, was used in making the best cuirasses and deemed impenetrable.

From this island were obtained the finest spodium and flowers of zinc, which were produced in the

¹ Χαλκίτις. Foës. Œconom. Hippocrat. p. 405. Aristot. Hist. Animal. v. 19.

² Μίον. Dioscor. v. 117. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 31. Oribas. Collect. l. xiii.

³ Dioscor. v. 119.

⁴ Μελαντήρια. Dioscor. v. 118.

⁵ Theoph. de Lapid. § 55.

⁶ Dioscor. v. 104. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 29.

⁷ Dioscor. v. 84.

⁸ Meurs. Cyprus, ii. 4. p. 91.

⁹ Dioscor. v. 124. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxi. 39.

¹⁰ Meurs. Cyprus, ii. 5. p. 93.

¹¹ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvii. 54.

¹² Id. xxxvi. 39.

¹³ Meurs. Cyprus, ii. 5. p. 94.

¹⁴ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 39. 45.

¹⁵ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvii. 15. Marbod. Carm. de Gem. cap. i. Plut. Demet. § 21.

following manner: In a building, two stories high, was constructed a furnace, open at top, and having directly over it a small aperture, communicating with the upper room. The bellows were worked in an adjoining apartment, the snout passing through a wall into the furnace, with which the workman was enabled to communicate by a small door. The fossil Cadmian-stone having been broken into small pieces was cast into the fire through an aperture from above, after which the flames having been blown up to greater fierceness, the mineral converted itself into a dense white vapour, and a cloud of fiery sparks ascended through the mouth of the furnace, the lighter particles attaching themselves like white bubbles or flocks of wool to the walls and vaulted roof of the building, while the heavier, after cooling, fell back into the flames or were scattered about the floor, where they indurated and formed a sort of incrustation. This coarser and weightier substance was usually found when scraped off to contain hairs, splinters, and particles of earth, and received the name of spodion, while that detached from the walls or roof was either milk-white or azure, and was what we now denominate flowers of zinc.

Another mode of manufacturing this article was to cast the fossil Cadmia, reduced to powder, on the surface of the liquid metal in bronze furnaces which caused a similar evaporation. Spodion was likewise procured from gold, silver, and lead, and next after the above this last was considered the best.

Near the village of Amianthos was a celebrated asbestos quarry whose produce, a greyish filamentous stone, was carded like wool and spun and woven into cloth¹ which when soiled was cast into the fire instead of being washed, and came forth brilliant and pure as from the loom, though at each burning

¹ Dioscor. v. 156. Plin. Nat. Hist. xix. 4.

it lost something of its weight. In cerecloths of asbestos the bodies of kings and illustrious personages were burned, in antiquity, to preserve their remains from mingling with the ashes of the pyre.¹ Matches likewise were made of this substance, more particularly for those durable lamps which were kindled by the Pagans in sepulchres,² and supposed to burn on for ever. Other quarries of asbestos were found in Cypros, chiefly at the foot of the precipices bordering the road leading from Geranium to Soli.

There was found in the island of Siphnos a fossil substance, usually of a spherical form, which was scooped out, and turned into various articles, such as vases, plates, and even pots which would bear the fire. When rubbed with oil and exposed to the action of the air it became black and hard, and resembled the finest pottery:³ similar stones are in modern times brought from the island of Minorca.⁴

Two kinds of medicinal earths, the one white, the other ash-coloured, were obtained from Eretria, in Eubœa.⁵ Chios, likewise, exported a white earth used in cosmetics and at the baths.⁶ From time immemorial the Greeks appear to have obtained from the island of Zacynthos⁷ tar impregnated with a bituminous scent. It was found anciently in a pool, about seventy feet in circumference, and of very great depth, situated in a small valley on the sea-shore nearly encircled by mountains. The tar ascended from the bottom in bubbles as large as a cannon-ball, through the clear water, and on reaching

¹ Dapper, *Description des Iles de l' Archipel*. p. 52.

² Valmont de Bomare, v. *Amiante*. t. i. p. 144.

³ Theoph. de *Lapid.* § 42. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 44. Isidor. *Orig.* xvi. 4. Tournefort, i. 209.

⁴ Sir John Hill, *Notes on Theophrastus*, p. 180.

⁵ Dioscor. v. 171.

⁶ Plin. xxxv. 56. Dioscor. v. 174.

⁷ Herod. iv. 195. Dioscor. i. 99. Chandler, ii. 340. Leon- tinus, ap. Geopon. xv. 8. 1. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 51. Vitruv. viii. 3. Dr. Wordsworth's *Greece*, p. 287.

the surface spread over the pond in a kind of film. It was drawn forth with myrtle branches attached to the end of a pole, and laid in pits to harden, after which it was barrelled and exported. It now sells for about two shillings per cask.

Among the medicinal plants and substances produced in the Grecian islands were the argol,¹ anis,² germander,³ hemlock,⁴ hellebore,⁵ and dittany, found chiefly in Crete;⁶ together with the misletoe, the seeds of which⁷ were bruised and beaten into a paste; hyssop,⁸ the cyperus comosus which abounded in the Cyclades,⁹ from which also an excellent kind of honey¹⁰ was exported; marjoram,¹¹ scammony, green terebinth; resin from Cypros,¹² aloes from Andros,¹³ aspalathos from Nisyros, Crete, and Rhodes;¹⁴ hartwort or seseli¹⁵ and onions¹⁶ from Samothrace, an island much vexed by winds; origany from Tenedos; from Chios hemlock¹⁷ and gum mastic,¹⁸ which the Turkish ladies chew constantly to keep their breath sweet and their teeth white;¹⁹ Chios, also, as well as Cos and Crete, furnished also tragoriganon.²⁰ The

¹ Φύκος Θαλασσίον. Dioscor. iv. 100.

² Dioscor. iii. 65. Plin. Nat. Hist. xx. 73.

³ Σκορδίον. Dioscor. iii. 125.

⁴ Dioscor. iv. 79. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxv. 95.

⁵ Demet. Constantinop. de Cur. Accipit. c. clxxviii.

⁶ Dioscor. iii. 39. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxv. 53. Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 16. 3. Florent. ap. Geopon. xiii. 8. 8. Apuleius, de Virtut. Herb. cap. lxii.

⁷ Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. i. 3.

⁸ Florent. ap. Geopon. vi. 8. 1.

⁹ Τὸ δὲ κρίσμα τὸ Ἑρετρικὸν ἐκ τοῦ κυπεύρου κομίζεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Κυκλάδων τὸ κύπειρον. Theophrast. de Odor. § 28. Dioscor. i. 4.

¹⁰ Dioscor. ii. 101.

¹¹ Σαμψύκον. Dioscor. iii. 47. Geopon. xi. 27.

¹² Plin. Nat. Hist. xxiv. 22.

¹³ Dioscor. iii. 25. Sibthorp, Flor. Græc. tab. 341.

¹⁴ Prosper. Alpin. de Medicor. Ægypt. iv. 10. p. 296. Dioscor. i. 19.

¹⁵ Πενκέδαρος. Dioscor. iii. 92.

¹⁶ Athen. i. 49. x. 18.

¹⁷ Dioscor. iv. 79.

¹⁸ Twenty-one villages were, last century, employed in the cultivation of the lentiscus, from which this gum is procured by boring the trunks during summer with a small sharp iron. Chandler, Travels, i. 60.

¹⁹ Hazelquist, Travels, p. 297. Plin. Nat. Hist. xii. 36; xxiv. 74. Dioscor. i. 90.

²⁰ Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 1. Dioscor. iii. 35. Plin. xix. 68.

last-mentioned island alone produced the Idæan bramble, whose flowers were used in remedies for ophthalmia.¹ The inhabitants of Rhodes obtained from the Egyptian, or Pharaoh's fig-tree, a medicinal gum esteemed a remedy against the bite of serpents.² In early spring, before the appearance of the fruit, they gently bruised the bark with a stone, upon which, on all sides, there gushed forth a kind of liquor which, collected with flocks of wool or with sponge, was suffered to harden, formed into small round cakes, and preserved in earthen vases.³

The modes of collecting the ladanum,⁴ of which the best sort appears to have been found in Cypros,⁵ was still more curious. It was found in spring exuding from the leaves of a species of costus on which the goats delighted to feed. As they pastured among the plants the gum attached itself to their beards and the long hair about their legs, from whence it was removed by the goatherds, who melted and strained it like honey, after which it was rolled up into balls and sold to the merchants. Sometimes,

¹ Dioscor. iv. 38.

² Id. i. 181. ³ Id. ibid.

⁴ Cf. Chandler, i. 284.

⁵ Dioscor. i. 128. Plin. Nat. Hist. xii. 37. Tournefort, who gives a representation of the whip of numerous thongs used in collecting the ladanum, describes one of the localities in which it is produced, and the manner in which it is gathered. " Enfin tirant du côté de la mer, " nous nous trouvâmes sur des " collines sèches et sablonneuses, " couvertes de ces petits arbrisseaux qui fournissent le ladanum. C'étoit dans la plus " grande chaleur du jour, et il ne " faisoit pas de vent : cette disposition du temps est nécessaire pour amasser le ladanum. " Sept ou huit paysans en chem-

" ise et en caleçon, rouloient " leurs fouets sur ces plantes : à " force de les secouer et de les " froter sur les feuilles de cet " arbuste, leurs courroyes se " chargeoient d'une espèce de glu " odoriférante, attachée sur les " feuilles ; c'est une partie du suc " nourricier de la plante, lequel " transude au travers de la tissure de ces feuilles comme une " sueur grasse, dont les gouttes " sont luisantes, et aussi claires " que la térébenthine. Lorsque " les fouets sont bien chargés de " cette graisse on en ratisse les " courroyes avec un couteau, et " l'on met en pains ce que l'on " eu détache : c'est ce que nous " recevons sous le nom de ladanum." Voyage du Levant, t. i. p. 88.

however, a number of cords were thrown over the shrubs, about which the gum collected.

In addition to the above, the islands furnished numerous other commodities, such as onions,¹ of which the best came from Cyprus and Corcyra;² beans from Lemnos;³ from Rhodes ampelitis,⁴ pitch,⁵ the best white transparent glue,⁶ raisins,⁷ chalk,⁸ carobs,⁹ dried figs, which procured agreeable dreams,¹⁰ excellent aphyæ¹¹ and cabbage-seed, which last was in great request at Alexandria,¹² almonds from Naxos and Cyprus,¹³ whence also came the best pomegranates,¹⁴ mustard,¹⁵ and excellent lettuces¹⁶ grown in the neighbourhood of Paphos.¹⁷

Lesbos¹⁸ produced myrtle-berries and figs; Cos and Cyprus¹⁹ exported odoriferous unguents²⁰ and honey;²¹ Scyros, variegated marbles;²² Ceos, pears and service-berries;²³ Eubœa, sheep,²⁴ pears,²⁵ shining apples,²⁶ olives,²⁷ walnuts, walnut-wood,²⁸ an inferior kind of

¹ Lucian. Dial. Meret. xiv. Sibthorp. Flor. Græc. tab. 326. Dioscor. ii. 181.

² Plin. Nat. Hist. xix. 32. Cyprus was likewise celebrated for its garlic. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vii. 4. 11. ³ Athen. ix. 2.

⁴ Strab. vii. 5. t. ii. p. 106.

⁵ Didymus, ap. Geopon. vi. 5. 1.

⁶ Dioscor. iii. 101.

⁷ Athen. i. 49.

⁸ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxiv. 1.

⁹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 2. 4. Dioscor. iii. 101.

¹⁰ Athen. iii. 19.

¹¹ Athen. vii. 24.

¹² Id. ix. 9. Cf. Demosth. cont. Dionysod. § 1, for the trade between this island and Egypt.

¹³ Athen. ii. 39. Ammon. v. ἀμυγδαλῇ, p. 12.

¹⁴ Meurs. Cyprus, ii. 4. p. 89.

¹⁵ Poll. vi. 67. Athen. i. 49.

¹⁶ Columell. de Re Rust. xi. 3. p. 454.

¹⁷ Meurs. Cyprus, ii. 4. p. 89.

¹⁸ Athen. xiv. 67.

¹⁹ Athen. xv. 39. In Cyprus a delicate perfume was manufactured from the œnanthe which in Greece was inodorous: αὕτη δ' ἐν Κύπρῳ φύεται ὀρεινῇ καὶ πολυόδμος· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι οὐ γίνεται διὰ τὸ ἄοδμον. Theoph. de Odor. § 27. Plin. Nat. Hist. xiii. 2.

²⁰ Dioscor. i. 70.

²¹ Dióphan. ap. Geopon. xv. 7. 1. Synes. Epist. 147. Eustath. ad II. β. 677. ad Dion. Perieg. 530.

²² Eustath. ad Dion. Perieg. v. 521.

²³ Athen. xiv. 63.

²⁴ Id. v. 32.

²⁵ Id. i. 49.

²⁶ Id. i. 49.

²⁷ Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geograph. Minor. t. ii. p. 19. Plin. iv. 12.

²⁸ Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 7. 7.

deal,¹ marble,² iron, phagroi, anchovies, turbot, and soles ;³ Thera, variegated garments ;⁴ Chios, soft beds and large casks or jars ;⁵ Crete, cypress-wood,⁶ Cyprian figs,⁷ hemlock,⁸ honey,⁹ and bees' wax,¹⁰ which was blanched in the rays of the sun and moon. These articles of merchandise were likewise supplied by Cypros ;¹¹ which also exported rich flowered or variegated hangings,¹² triclinia cushions,¹³ table-cloths,¹⁴ oakum,¹⁵ bronze vessels,¹⁶ nails,¹⁷ &c. Snails,¹⁸ which formed an important article in the materia medica of the ancients, were exported from Chios and Astypalæa,¹⁹ a small island among the Sporades,²⁰ which likewise carried on a considerable fishery,²¹ and boasted an excellent breed of horses.²² Thasos furnished the sculptors of Greece with a fine white marble which constituted the material of two celebrated statues of the Emperor Adrian

¹ Poll. vii. 48. 77. iv. 118.

² Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. v. 521.

³ Athen. vii. 30. 45.

⁴ Tibull. Eleg. iii. 3. 13.

⁵ Athen. i. 49.

⁶ Id. i. 49. Lucian. Ver. Hist. c. ii. § 40. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxiv. 61.

⁷ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 2. 3.

⁸ Dioscor. iv. 79. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxv. 95.

⁹ Pashley, Travels, i. 228.

¹⁰ Dioscor. ii. 105. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxi. 49.

¹¹ Plin. Nat. Hist. xx. 87. xv. 19. Synes. Epist. 147. Dioscor. i. 182.

¹² Τὸ παραπέτασμα Κύπριον τὸ ποικίλον. Aristoph. ap. Poll. x. 32.

¹³ Trebell. Poll. Claud. § 13.

¹⁴ Vopisc. Aurelian. § 12.

¹⁵ Quint. Curt. ix.

¹⁶ Dioscor. i. 134.

¹⁷ Damogeron, ap. Geopon. x. 64. 4.

¹⁸ Dioscor. ii. 11.

¹⁹ Plin. Nat. Hist. viii. 59. xxx. 11.

²⁰ Strab. x. 5. t. ii. p. 392. Bentley, Dissert. on Phal. i. 169. 357, sqq. Steph. de Urb. p. 189, b. speaks of it as one of the Cyclades.

²¹ Dapper, Description des Isles de l'Archipel. p. 185.

²² Cf. Oppian. Cyneg. i. 170. where he celebrates the horses of Crete. In a former chapter I have spoken of a breed of wild asses said to be found in modern times in the island of Cythera or Cerigo. It is Cerigotto, however, that is celebrated by Buondelmonti, for its asses, § 10. p. 65. But Boschini, whom Dapper perhaps follows (Descript. des Isles de l'Archipel. p. 378), restores the animals to Cerigo: "ha gran quantita d'Asini salvatici ch' hanno una certa pietra in la testa, che vale contro il mal caduco; e facilita il parto alle donne." L'Arcipelago, p. 6. Venezia, 1658. 4^o.

at Athens.¹ The marble of Chios was dead black, like the obsidian stone, and slightly transparent.

Cerinthos in Eubœa, furnished a sort of light dry earth,² used to preserve corn in granaries. Malta supplied the idle and luxurious ladies of Greece with a domestic kind of lap-dogs.³ Sciathos was famous for its mullets; Melos exported kids;⁴ Naxos and Scyros, milch goats and lobsters;⁵ Leros, guinea fowl; Samos, peacocks; and Cypros, hairy sheep⁶ and doves.⁷ Among the wild and almost inaccessible cliffs of modern Crete is found a species of blue nightingale,⁸ in size somewhat inferior to the thrush, which it resembled in the richness and variety of its notes. This bird is often caught and kept in cages, where it is sometimes taught to imitate the human voice. Occasionally it forms an article of traffic, and is exported into Italy; but if the ancients traded in these birds, the passage in which it may be mentioned has escaped me. In the same island is found an elegant sort of merops which darts in flocks along the sides of the thymy mountains in pursuit of the bees, which delight in those fragrant places. It is of rich and variegated plumage like the parroquet. The children take it in a very ingenious manner; passing a crooked pin with a fine thread attached through the hard corslet of the cicada, they let go the insect which mounts, thus transfixed, into the air. The merops, bold and voracious, immediately pounces upon and gorges it, when the pin sticks in the throat, the bird becomes hooked like a fish, and is easily drawn down and taken.

¹ Winkel. Hist. de l'Art. t. i. p. 41.

² Theoph. Hist. Plant. viii. 10. 7.

³ Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. p. 331.

⁴ Athen. 1. 6.

⁵ Athen. i. 49. vii. 45.

⁶ Saligniac. Itin. Hierosol. t. iv. c. vii.

⁷ Athen. xiv. 70. 'Η Κύπρος Δ' ἔχει πελείας διαφόρους.

⁸ Dapper, Description des Isles de l'Archipel. p. 460. Travellers make mention of a species of white nightingale in Abyssinia with a tail two palms in length. Jerome Lobo, Voyage d'Abissinie, i. 89.

The next branch of Greek commerce which demands our notice was that carried on with the countries on the Adriatic, Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Gaul, and Spain. This trade was in most instances of later origin than that maintained with regions lying more to the East, but nevertheless came at length to be of considerable importance, especially after the Hellenic colonies in Italy and Sicily had risen to eminence. The cities founded, moreover, on the coasts of Illyria exercised considerable influence over the commerce of Greece, by imparting to the rude natives a taste for her productions and manufactures, and exciting them to the exercise of greater industry to supply suitable commodities in their turn. Nevertheless, the information we possess on this subject is extremely scanty.

The barn-door fowls of these regions,¹ though inferior to those of Greece, and of a smaller size, were yet exported thither, simply because they were foreign, while the natives on the contrary were eager to enrich their country with the breed of Attica. Wild turnips and parsnips,² it has been remarked by the ancients, were found growing in Dalmatia;³ but as they abound in most other countries, it seems not unreasonable to infer, from this particular mentioned of them, that they were exported.⁴ The best iris, the odoriferous roots of which were much used in the making of perfume, came from the interior of Illyria,⁵ where, having

¹ Athen. vii. 23. ² Id. ix. 8.

³ Among the exports of this country gold, found in a virgin state, near the surface of the earth, was at one time included: aurum invenitur aliquando in summa tellure protinus, rara felicitate: ut nuper in Dalmatia principatu Neronis, singulis diebus etiam quinquagenas libras fundens. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 21.

⁴ Thus wild carrots have in modern times been exported from Crete for medicinal purposes. Prosper. Alpin. de Medicin. Ægypt. iv. 11. p. 306.

⁵ Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 5. 3. Damogeron, ap. Geopon. vii. 13. 4. Florent. ap. id. vi. 8. 1. Leontin. ap. id. xi. 21. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxi. 7.

been dug up and cleared of the leaves, they were strung on a linen cord and dried in the shade.

From the same country also were obtained the *aspalathos*¹ and the wild spikenard,² whose leaf resembled that of the ivy, though somewhat smaller and rounder. The wines of the Adriatic shore were in no great request. That which was called *Prætutian*³ was light and aromatic, and therefore deceived those who drank of it, being powerfully intoxicating and somniferous. The wines of Istria partook of the same character.

From the city of Apollonia⁴ was exported the substance called *pissasphaltos*,⁵ brought down by the river from the Ceraunian mountains, and found in large lumps upon the shore. It exhaled a mingled odour of pitch and bitumen. Great quantities of salt⁶ were made in another part of Illyria, where, during the spring, they took of the water of a stream flowing forth from a cleft in the rock and poured it into shallow pits exposed apparently to the sun and air, where it hardened in about five days into salt. The beans of Apollonia were famous for keeping long.⁷ Other Illyrian commodities were slaves, *ampelitis*,⁸ cattle, and skins, for which the natives received wine and oil, and other productions of civilised countries in return.⁹

The wines of ancient Italy, which formed an important article in the commerce of that country,¹⁰ are so familiar to most persons that it will be sufficient barely to enumerate the principal of them,—as the Falernian, the Cæcuban,¹¹ the Alban, the Surrentine, the Brundusian, and the Antheia, a Thurian

¹ Dioscor. i. 19.

² Id. i. 9.

⁷ Theoph. Hist. Plant. viii. 10.

³ Dioscor. v. 11. Cf. Sarracen. ad loc. p. 105. Plin. Nat. Hist. xiv. 6.

3. The same quality is attributed to the beans of Cyzicos, id. ib.

⁸ Strab. vii. t. i. p. 487.

⁴ Leontinus, ap. Geopon. xv. 8. 1.

⁹ Id. v. l. t. i. p. 346.

⁵ Strab. vii. 5. t. ii. p. 106. Dioscor. i. 100.

¹⁰ Lucian. Navig. seu Vot. § 23. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 331. Didymus, ap. Geopon. viii. 22. 1.

⁶ Strab. vii. 5. t. ii. p. 108.

¹¹ Plin. Nat. Hist. xiv. 6.

wine.¹ Of medicinal herbs and substances, Italy exported considerable quantities, and among them were the hyssop,² the melilot,³ from the country round Nola, the wild spikenard,⁴ the madder,⁵ cultivated in the neighbourhood of Ravenna, and Celtic spikenard from the Ligurian Alps,⁶ which was kept tied up in handfuls, together with its roots. Of this article vast quantities, as much it is said as sixty tons per annum, were in the last century exported from hence into the inland parts of Africa, as Æthiopia and Abyssinia,⁷ where it was chiefly used in softening and rendering shining the skin. Another export of Italy was the Ligurian all-heal,⁸ from the lofty and umbrageous summits of the Apennines, where it flourished chiefly along the edge of the water-courses.

There was in this same mountainous district a species of snail,⁹ furnished with a shell in winter, which appears to have been both eaten and used as a medicine.

In many parts of Italy they still make use of snails for the same purpose, digging them up out of the earth with an iron instrument. The ancients kept tame snails for eating, which they fattened with a mixture of flour and sweet wine.¹⁰ In France they are still fed on vine leaves¹¹ in cages, where

¹ Strab. v. t. i. p. 357. Casaub. Dioscor. v. 10, seq.

² Florent. ap. Geopon. vi. 8. 1.

³ Dioscor. iii. 48. ⁴ Id. i. 9.

⁵ Ἐνθρόδανον. Dioscor. iii. 60.

⁶ Dioscor. i. 7. The leaves of this plant were used as a bait for fish at all seasons of the year. Geopon. xx. 24. 1. Damogeron. ap. id. vii. 13. 4; 24. 4. Florent. ap. id. vi. 8. 1. Columell. de Re Rust. xii. 20.

⁷ Hazelquist, Travels, p. 302.

⁸ Λιγυστικόν. Dioscor. iii. 58.

⁹ Dioscor. ii. 11.

¹⁰ Martin Mathée, Notes sur Dioscoride, p. 118.

¹¹ The Greeks on the coast of the Black Sea still esteem the large vine-snail a delicacy, in which they chiefly indulge during Lent. Pallas, Travels in Southern Russia, iv. 247. These delicacies are probably not in season until they begin to fly the Pleiades and seek the shade of the leaves:

Ἄλλ' ὅπου' ἂν φερέουκος ἀπὸ χθονὸς ἀμφυτὰ βάλῃ,
Πληιάδας φεύγων, τότε δὴ σκάφος
οὐκέτι οἰνέων.

Hesiod. Opp. et Dies, 571, seq.

they attain an immense size. Connoisseurs in snails find a great difference in their flesh, according to the plants and trees on which they pasture. Those which attach themselves to the wormwood plant are bitter, while such as are found among calamint, pennyroyal, and origany, have an extremely agreeable flavour.

Among the delicacies of Italy best known to the ancients, and doubtless exported, were mushrooms,¹ of which several excellent sorts are still produced; those particularly which the Tuscans call Prignoli and Porcini, which, being boiled and afterwards dredged with flour and fried, are exceedingly savoury.² The real Porcini are salted and preserved with peculiar care, to be eaten during Lent and other fasts.

There are found in the kingdom of Naples certain stones,³ which being sunk in the ground, covered with a thin layer of earth, and irrigated with warm water, produce mushrooms in four days. These stones are preserved both at Rome and at Naples in cellars, for the production of mushrooms. Occasionally, however, contrivances of this sort prove fatal. In a convent in France where the nuns cultivated mushrooms on a hot bed in a cellar, the noisome exhalations destroyed several persons sent down to collect them.⁴

It has been seen that the yew-tree of Arcadia was much used by cabinet-makers; but the Italian yew⁵ is mentioned by Greek botanists only for its singular and noxious properties, since the birds, they inform us, which ate of its berries turned black, while men were afflicted with troublesome diseases. Around that of Gaul the imagination had woven a tissue of terrors almost equal to that which modern

¹ Dioscor. iv. 83.

² Martin Mathée, Notes sur Dioscoride, p. 385.

³ Id. ib.

⁴ Valmont de Bomare, Dict. d'Hist. Nat. t. ii. p. 594.

⁵ Dioscor. iv. 80.

times have cast about the upas; for, to sleep, or even to recline, beneath its shade, was supposed to cause dangerous maladies and occasionally even death.

The plant of most deadly qualities known to the ancients grew plentifully in the mountains of the Vestini, neighbours of the Sabines.¹ It was identical in nature with that of Pontos, and many extraordinary circumstances are related of its effects. By the mere touch it was said to possess the power to benumb the scorpion, which again recovered its activity if brought in contact with the hellebore. It was used by hunters in the chace to destroy wild beasts, and by physicians for various purposes. At present it appears to be found chiefly among the recesses of the Rhaetian Alps, from whence it passes to the Papal States and the kingdom of Naples, in both which countries there is a particular class of men whose sole occupation is the extirpation of wolves, and who formerly used to sell this poison openly on the bridge of St. Angelo, at Rome.²

Among the other exports of Italy may be enumerated the squills of Minturnæ,³ which exceeded in size those of Smyrna, and the lobsters of Alexandria: amber, too, and coal, of which there are said to have been mines in Liguria,⁴ found their way into the channels of commerce. The amber of the Po existed only in the regions of mythology.⁵

Calabria supplied pitch,⁶ and bronze from Temessa;⁷ Etruria, resin,⁸ figured gold, plate and articles in bronze,⁹ Thurii, gypsum, and wine;¹⁰ Tarentum, fine

¹ Dioscor. iv. 77, seq.

² Martin Mathée, Notes sur Dioscoride, p. 382.

³ Athen. i. 12.

⁴ Theoph. de Lapid. § 16.

⁵ Lucian. de Electro seu Cygnis, § 1. ⁶ Dioscor. i. 97.

⁷ Gog. Origine des Loix, iv. 223. Hom. Odyss. α. 182, seq. Steph. Byzant. p. 703. d. Εἰθα

ἄριστος γίνεται χαλκός, ἣν καὶ τέμψαν ἄχρη τοῦ νῦν οἱ Καλαβροὶ λέγουσι καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι, ὥσπερ αἰδούμενοι μεταποιῆσαι, καθ' ὁλοκληρίαν τὴν τοῦ Ὀμήρου φωνήν. Tzetz. Schol. in Lycoph. 854. Strab. vi. t. i. p. 393. Casaub.

⁸ Dioscor. i. 92.

⁹ Athen. i. 49.

¹⁰ Theoph. de Lapid. § 64.

gauze-like fabrics; Italy,¹ generally, groats and salt-beef,² whetstones, wax,³ and adarces, used as a dentrifice;⁴ Algidum, transparent radishes;⁵ Apulia, caparis;⁶ Campania, wheat, from which the best gruel was made, zea, and panic.⁷ Northern Italy, which abounded in forests, reared immense droves of pigs, which were fed on acorns, so that Rome was almost entirely supplied from thence with pork and bacon.⁸ It likewise exported millet, pitch,⁹ exceedingly fine wool from the neighbourhood of Mutina and the banks of the Scultenna,¹⁰ long coarse wool from Liguria and the country of the Symbri,¹¹ with a middling sort from the neighbourhood of Padua, with which coats, carpets, with several varieties of shaggy cloth, were manufactured.¹²

This part of Italy, likewise, produced immense quantities of wine, which the inhabitants laid up in tuns as large as dwelling-houses.¹³ Gold mines were anciently worked in the country of the Vercelli.¹⁴

The chief exports of Sicily were wheat,¹⁵ of which

¹ Lucian. Dial. Meret. vii. § 2. Calumn. non Tem. Cred. § 16.

² Athen. i. 49.

³ Dioscor. ii. 194.

⁴ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 47. xvi. 66.

⁵ Id. xix. 26.

⁶ Dioscor. ii. 166.

⁷ Strab. v. t. i. p. 372. Casaub. Plin. Nat. Hist. xviii. 11.

⁸ Αἱ ὕλαι τοσαύτην ἔχουσι βάλανον, ὥστ' ἐκ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν ὑοφορβίων ἡ Πώμη τρέφεται τὸ πλέον. Strab. v. 1. t. i. p. 352. From other parts of Italy a similar supply was obtained. "The forest of Lucania, whose acorns fattened large droves of wild hogs, afforded, as a species of tribute, a plentiful supply of cheap and wholesome meat. During five months of the year a regular allowance of bacon

" was distributed to the poorer citizens; and the annual consumption of the capital, at a time when it had much declined from its former lustre, was ascertained, by an edict of Valentinian the Third, at three millions six hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds." Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, v. 281.

⁹ Dioscor. i. 97.

¹⁰ Strab. v. 1. t. i. 352. Plin. Nat. Hist. viii. 7. Columell. de Re Rust. vii. 2. Martial. xiv. 155.

¹¹ Strab. v. 1. t. i. p. 352.

¹² Id. v. 1. t. i. p. 353.

¹³ Id. v. 1. t. i. p. 352.

¹⁴ Id. v. 1. t. i. p. 353.

¹⁵ Herod. vii. 158. Thucyd. iii. 86. Iorio, Storia del Commercio, t. iv. l. ii. c. iii. p. 229. Demosth. cont. Dionysod. § 3. Theoph. Hist. Plant. viii. 6. 6.

the best and cleanest came from the neighbourhood of Agrigentum;¹ cheese,² which appears to have been made in all parts of the island, as far back at least as the days of Polyphemos; hogs,³ pigeons, and doves,⁴ whose chief haunt was about the temple of Aphrodite⁵ on Mount Eryx; variegated robes,⁶ costly furniture, more particularly plate and pillows,⁷ and superbly wrought chariots.⁸ The Sicilian saffron,⁹ grown in the neighbourhood of Centuripa was of an inferior quality, but seems nevertheless to have been imported into Italy,¹⁰ where it is supposed to have been applied to the dyeing of the cedar beams used in the construction of temples.

The honey of Mount Hybla,¹¹ celebrated through all antiquity, constituted another important article of commerce, as did likewise, more particularly, the Adrian and the Mamertinian.

Among the better known plants of Sicily were the marjoram,¹² and the cactus, the latter of which was eaten, whether fresh or pickled.¹³

From the neighbourhood of Tetras, was obtained a sort of stone which became light and porous in burning so as to resemble the pumice.¹⁴

About the Erinæan promontory a species of jet was found in great plenty, which when burnt emitted a bituminous odour.¹⁵

Sicily likewise exported salt,¹⁶ emeralds,¹⁷ lapis specularis,¹⁸ and agates.¹⁹ An abundant supply of coral

¹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. viii. 4. 6.

² Athen. xiv. 76. i. 49. Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 838. Pac. 249.

³ Athen i. 49.

⁴ Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. p. 167.

⁵ Larcher, Mem. sur Venus, p. 187.

⁶ Athen xiv. 76.

⁷ Id. ii. 29, seq.

⁸ Id. i. 49.

⁹ Florent. ap. Geopon. vi. 8. 1.

¹⁰ Dioscor. i. 25.

¹¹ Diophan. ap. Geopon. xv. 7. 1. Dioscor. ii. 101. Cluver. Sicil. Antiq. i. 11. Sil. Ital. xiv. 200. Varro, de Re Rust. iii. 16. 14.

¹² Dioscor. iii. 47.

¹³ Theoph. Hist. Plant. vi. 4. 10. Athen. ii.

¹⁴ Theoph. de Lapid. § 15.

¹⁵ Id. ib.

¹⁶ Dioscor. v. 126.

¹⁷ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvii. 18.

¹⁸ Id. xxxvi. 45.

¹⁹ This stone appears to have derived its name from a Sicilian

was obtained from the sea around Cape Pachynos, near Syracuse;¹ and from Agrigentum, a liquid bitumen found floating on the clear surface of fountains and burnt instead of oil in lamps, and therefore called by some the oil of Sicily.² Poisons of great force were also found in the island. Among the favourite dishes of the ancients were the lampreys and eels of the Pharo of Messina,³ the bellies of thunnies caught near Cape Pachynos,⁴ snails,⁵ and oysters from Cape Peloros.⁶

The Lipari islands exported sulphur,⁷ alum,⁸ reddle, pumice stone,⁹ crabs,¹⁰ and anchovies;¹¹ Corsica, timber¹² of a superior quality; Sardinia, carnelians,¹³ snails,¹⁴ salt provisions,¹⁵ wax,¹⁶ and honey, which though bitter, because the bee there fed on wormwood, was much used in cosmetics. In this island likewise was found the seseli,¹⁷ the juice of which, extracted from the root, was set to thicken in the shade, because, exposed to the sun, it evaporated altogether. It was esteemed a cure for the toothache. The persons

river : Καλὸς δὲ λίθος καὶ ὁ ἀχάτης ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀχάτου ποταμοῦ τοῦ ἐν Σικελίᾳ, καὶ πωλεῖται τίμιος. Theoph. de Lapid. § 31. Cf. Vib. Sequest. p. 3. Oberlin.

Cernitur egregius lapis hic, cui nomen *achates* :

Hoc dederat fluvius cujus generatur ad undas :

Hanc simulacra vides venis ostendere gemmam.

Priscian Perieg. 502, sqq.

¹ Dioscor. v. 139. On the Coral of modern Sicily see Spallanzani, Travels, Introduction, vol. i. p. 36. Cf. Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 7. 3.

² Dioscor. i. 99.

³ Athen. i. 6. vii. 53.

⁴ Id. iii. 85.

⁵ Dioscor. ii. 18.

⁶ Athen. i. 6. iii. 44.

⁷ Dioscor. v. 124.

⁸ Dioscor. v. 123. Strab. vi. 2. t. ii. p. 39. According to the conjecture of Spallanzani the alum obtained by the ancients from Lipari was the production of the neighbouring island of Vulcano. Otherwise the vein must be lost, since though he traversed every foot of the island he only found some traces or efflorescences of it. Travels in the two Sicilies, iv. 118. Dolomieu, Voyage aux Iles de Lipari. p. 78.

⁹ Spallanzani, ii. 298.

¹⁰ Athen. iii. 64.

¹¹ Id. i. 6.

¹² Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 8. 2.

¹³ Theoph. de Lapid. § 23.

¹⁴ Dioscor. ii. 11.

¹⁵ Poll. vi. 48.

¹⁶ Dydim. ap. Geopon. vi. 5. 8.

¹⁷ Dioscor. iii. 92.

employed in collecting it were careful to anoint their beard and nostrils with oil of roses, in order to escape those pains and vertigoes which would otherwise have been caused by its effluvia. The little island of Elba exported iron ore and a precious stone richly sprinkled with brilliant colours.¹

With Gaul Greece carried on no great trade. The few articles which it thence obtained were hams, reckoned among the best in the ancient world,² pitch,³ larch, resin,⁴ wool; French lavender, from the island of Hieres; wormwood from Xaintonges;⁵ selsi,⁶ whetstones called passernices,⁷ and carbuncles from Marseilles, which were so highly esteemed, that a stone of very small size sold for fifty pieces of gold.⁸ In the environs of Ruscino⁹ a very fine sort of mullet was caught in certain sandy lagoons near the sea. Aquitania produced gold; Belgium a sort of white stone (*pierre franche*) which was sawed into tiles more easily than wood, and used for mosaics.¹⁰

The produce of Spain and Portugal was richer and more varied: merino rams¹¹ for breeding, valued at two hundred and forty pounds, were thence imported into Greece, together with wool of the very finest quality.¹² At an earlier period superior cloth had been manufactured for exportation.¹³ The linen of Emporiæ and of the Saltiæti long continued to be famous.¹⁴ The kermes¹⁵ procured from Spain were of an inferior quality, but they always continued to be an article of commerce,¹⁶ as well as

¹ Strab. v. 2. t. i. p. 361. Plin. Nat. Hist. iii. 12. xxxiv. 41. Vict. Var. Lect. xix. 10.

² Athen. xiv. 75.

³ Id. v. 40.

⁴ Dioscor. i. 92.

⁵ Id. iii. 28.

⁶ Id. iii. 60.

⁷ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 47.

⁸ Theoph. de Lapid. § 18.

⁹ Strab. iv. 1. t. i. p. 292.

¹⁰ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 44.

¹¹ Strab. iii. t. i. p. 213. Casaub. Plin. Nat. Hist. viii. 49. Diod. Sicul. v.

¹² Plin. Nat. Hist. viii. 48.

¹³ Strab. iii. t. i. p. 213. Casaub.

¹⁴ Strab. iii. t. i. p. 213. Casaub. Sil. Italic. iii. 373.

¹⁵ Dioscor. iv. 48. Plin. Nat. Hist. ix. 65.

¹⁶ D. Juan Pablo Canàls y Martí, sob. la Purp. de los Antig. c. v.

the alum,¹ the slate used in medicine, the whetstone,² lapis specularis,³ the sory,⁴ minium,⁵ and palmati, round pebbles having within the figure of a palm-tree, found near Munda.⁶

The cinnabar⁷ of this country was artificial,⁸ and produced from the mixture of a certain ore and argentiferous sand, which being cast into furnaces assumed a most brilliant and flame-like colour. In the mines the above ore emitted so pestilential a vapour that, to protect themselves from it, the workmen covered their faces with a mask of transparent bladders, which at once guarded their eyes and prevented their inhaling it, until by their own breath it had been somewhat tempered. This pigment was used by artists in painting the most costly and gorgeous frescoes.

It has often been remarked that Spain⁹ was to the ancient world what Peru and Mexico afterwards were to Spain. Gold and silver abounded almost throughout the land. The miners in constant working were numerous; the rivers and mountain-torrents rolled down golden sands; and frequently after floods morsels of this precious metal were discovered flashing and glittering among the rocks and stones.¹⁰ Silver was so plentiful, that the natives applied it to the most common uses, and the Phœnicians and Greeks who first touched upon the shore not only freighted their ships with it, but absolutely cast

¹ Dioscor. v. 123. See Don Guil. Bowles, *Introd. à la Hist. Nat. &c., de Espag.* p. 39. Dillon, *Trav. through Spain.* 220. D. J. P. Canals y Martí, c. viii.

² Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 47.

³ Id. xxxvi. 45.

⁴ Dioscor. v. 119.

⁵ Id. v. 109.

⁶ Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 29.

⁷ Sometimes, however, the mineral would appear to have been found in a natural state: *κιννάβαρι... εὐρίσκεισθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰβή-*

ρων ὁμοῦ τῷ χρυσῷ λέγεται. Pausan. viii. 39. 6.

⁸ Theoph. de Lapid. § 58. D. J. P. Canals y Martí, cap. vi.

⁹ Cf. Diodor. Sicul. v. 36, seq. t. i. p. 359. Wesseling. *Iorio, Storia del Commercio*, t. v. l. ii. c. vii. seq. p. 254, sqq.

¹⁰ *Καταφέρουσι δὲ οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ οἱ χεῖμαρροι τὴν χρυσίτην ἄμμον, πολλαχοῦ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀνδροῖς τόποις οὖσαν, κ. τ. λ.* Strab. iii. t. i. p. 216. Casaub. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xxxiii. 4.

away their anchors and supplied their place with masses of silver.¹

The large and opulent province of Bætica, now Andalusia, supplied the ancient world with numerous valuable commodities, among which were wheat,² wine,³ oil,⁴ bees' wax, honey, pitch,⁵ kermes,⁶ vermilion not inferior to that of Sinopè,⁷ rock-salt, and excellent salt-fish.⁸ The thunnies of this part of Spain were said to fatten, like droves of wild hogs,⁹ on the large acorns of the dwarf oak which grew plentifully along the coast, and dipped its fruit into the sea. Hence, too, were obtained numerous species of shell-fish, among which were conchs of enormous size.¹⁰ The congers and murænas, likewise, attained extraordinary dimensions, some of them weighing no less than eighteen minæ, while polypi were found a full talent in weight, and cuttle-fish a yard in length.¹¹

The Spartium, or Spanish broom, principally used in the manufacture of ropes¹² and cables, grew chiefly¹³ along the high and arid plains of Valentia and Catalonia, through which passed the great high road from Italy.¹⁴ Spain exported, besides, cumin, together with wild rocket,¹⁵ which grew chiefly on the shores of the Atlantic.¹⁶ The seeds were sub-

¹ Cf. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 31.

² Plin. Nat. Hist. xvii. 3.

³ Id. xiv. 6.

⁴ Lucian. Navig. § 23. Damogeron, ap. Geopon. ix. 26. Plin. Nat. Hist. xv. 2.

⁵ Plin. Nat. Hist. xiv. 20.

⁶ Strab. iii. t. i. p. 212, seq. Casaub. Plin. Nat. Hist. ix. 41. xvi. 8. Iorio, Storia del Commercio, t. iv. l. ii. c. x. p. 269.

⁷ Justin. xliv. 1. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 7. Vitruv. vii. 8.

⁸ Lucian. Navig. § 23. Athen. iii. 84. Poll. Onomast. vi. 48.

⁹ Strab. iii. t. i. p. 215. Casaub. Athen. vii. 14.

¹⁰ Strab. iii. t. i. p. 215. Casaub.

¹¹ Id. ib. ¹² Athen. v. 40.

¹³ It is now found in gardens on the gulf of Cadiz. "The *Spartium Junceum* (Spanish broom) showed its admirable flowers over a garden-wall which was higher than a man's head. This plant is discoverable at a great distance by its fine smell." Osbeck, Voyage to China, i. 81.

¹⁴ Strab. iii. 4. t. i. p. 275.

¹⁵ Dioscor. ii. 69.

¹⁶ Id. iii. 170.

stituted by the natives for mustard. In fact, we find that it was a common practice among the ancients to use the seed of rocket in seasoning their dishes; and in order to preserve it for constant use they reduced it with milk or vinegar to a kind of paste, which they fashioned into round cakes, and laid up when dry.

CHAPTER XIII.

EXPORTS FROM AFRICA AND THE EAST.

HAVING thus cast a rapid glance over the principal articles, natural or artificial, which commerce derived from Europe and Asia Minor, we shall pass over into Africa, in order, as nearly as possible, to ascertain what that part of the world contributed to the trade of antiquity. We shall then proceed by way of Egypt into Syria and Arabia, and from thence to Persia, India, and the farther regions of Asia, with which we will conclude our view of the commerce of the Greeks. Numerous articles of merchandise of the highest value were, from very early ages, obtained from Africa;¹ as gold in ingots, and gold dust, ivory,² blocks of ebony and black slaves.³ The ancients have remarked, that a piece of green ebony placed near the fire kindled, and rubbed against a stone assumed a reddish colour.⁴ In some parts of the country elephants' teeth were so plentiful, that the very cattle-sheds were enclosed with palings of ivory;⁵ and the present of the Æthiopians to the Persian king⁶ consisted of twelve elephants' teeth, two hundred blocks of ebony, five black slaves, and a quantity of unwrought gold.⁷ From this country

¹ Cf. Demosth. adv. Callip. § 2.

² Philost. Vit. Sophist. ii. 21.
§ 2. Athen. i. 49.

³ Herod. iii. 97.

⁴ Dioscor. i. 129.

⁵ Plin. Nat. Hist. viii. 10.

⁶ Herod. iii. 97.

⁷ From the same country the ancients likewise obtained the

rhinoceros, as well, no doubt, as the giraffe, sometimes paraded in their processions. Athen. v. 32. Didymus, however, supposes the giraffe to have been brought from India. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδίας ἐνεχθεῖσαν ἐθιασάμην ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ καμηλοπάρδαλιν, ap. Geopon. xvi. 22. 9. Agatharchid. ap. Phot. p. 455. b.

were exported linen or flax, medicinal roots, perfumes, and aromatic spices.¹

According to the information furnished to Herodotus by the Carthaginians, there was anciently a lake in the small island of Kerkenna, out of which the young women drew up gold dust with bunches of feathers.² Africa, likewise, supplied alum,³ salt,⁴ sory-stone,⁵ cinnabar,⁶ hexecontalithoi,⁷ blood-stones, eagle-stones, black palmati, and magnets.⁸ Anciently even diamonds are said to have been obtained from certain mines in Æthiopia, lying between the temple of Hermes and the island of Meroe.⁹

A purple, rivalling that of Tyre,¹⁰ was produced from a fish caught along the northern coast. Hence, also, were obtained kermes¹¹ and ostrich feathers, with which the crests of helmets were sometimes adorned. Monkeys¹² were commonly imported from

¹ Philost. Vit. Apoll. Tyan. vi. 2, p. 229.

² Herod. iv. 195.

³ Dioscor. v. 123.

⁴ Id. v. 126. ⁵ Id. v. 119.

⁶ Id. v. 109.

⁷ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvii. 60. Solin. cap. xxxi. Isidor. Orig. xvi. 12.

⁸ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 29. 39. 25. Isidor. Orig. xvi. 4. Marbod. de Lapid. cap. xliii.

⁹ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvii. 15.

¹⁰ Iorio, Storia del Commercio, t. v. l. ii. c. x. p. 268.

¹¹ Plin. Nat. Hist. xvi. 12. xxii. 3. Iorio, Storia, &c., t. iv. l. ii. c. x. p. 269. Colonel Scott, who mistakes the insects for berries, gives the following brief account of the collection and price of kermes in the territories of Abd-el-Kader: "We travelled for the greater part of the day through a barren and mountainous country; but one at the same time abounding in riches, from the circumstance of its

"being covered with the plant
"which furnishes the *kermes*,
"a small berry about the size of
"a pea split in two, and which
"gives a dye between vermilion
"and red, and is an article of considerable trade, selling at from
"a dollar to one dollar and a half per pound in Fez, whilst
"here, during the month of May, which is the season for gathering it, it can be procured
"at from one bougon (1s. 4d.) to one and a half per pound, when bought from the Arabs: but if the proper plan were adopted, which is, to send a party hired by the month, with a superintendent to direct their operations, it might be procured at from eight-pence to one shilling per pound, and would form a most lucrative branch of trade." Journal of a Residence in the Esmaila of Abd-el-Kader, p. 88.

¹² Massinissa inquired of certain merchants, whom he saw

Africa, together with Æthiopian sheep, a species of fowl,¹ and various kinds of locusts² which, eaten by the inhabitants only, figured among the *materia medica* of the Greeks. Dried and burnt, their smoke was snuffed up for certain complaints, and, reduced to powder, they were drunk in Rome as a remedy against the bite of a scorpion.³

Slabs of citron-wood, used principally in the making of tables, seem to have been obtained exclusively from this part of the world,⁴ which, likewise, furnished various kinds of beautiful marbles. Fine carbuncles for seals were obtained from the neighbourhood of Carthage,⁵ as were the emerald and the bastard emerald from a small island called Cothon, opposite that part of the coast.

The gum ammoniac distils in a milky juice⁶ from an umbelliferous plant growing in the desert near the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, as well as on the confines of Cyrenè, whence it appears to have been chiefly exported.⁷

In the same country grew the silphion,⁸ which, according to tradition, was not indigenous to the soil, but sprang up suddenly for the first time after a violent tempest.⁹ If we can rely on this relation

coming to Africa in search of monkeys, whether the women bore no children in their country? Athen. xii. 16. Cf. Plut. Pericl. § 1.

¹ Athen. v. 32.

² Lucian. Navig. § 23.

³ Dioscor. ii. 57. The cicada is spitted, roasted, and eaten at the present day in Affghanistân. Vigne, Ghuzni, Kabul, &c., p. 99. See, also, Hazelquist, p. 230, and Leo Africanus, p. 769.

⁴ Plin. Nat. Hist. xiii. 30. Cf. Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 1.

⁵ Theoph. de Lapid. § 31.

⁶ Plin. Nat. Hist. xii. 49. xxiv. 14.

⁷ Dioscor. iii. 98.

⁸ Supposed to be the prangus by several modern writers. Vigne, Ghuzni, Kabul, &c., p. 100, seq. Cf. Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 3. 1. 1. 5. 2. Athen. vii. 26. Aristoph. Plut. 926. Av. 534. 1578, 1581. Aristot. Hist. Animal. viii. 29.

⁹ At the same time a wood of trees, previously unknown in the country, sprang up. Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii. 1. 6. Cf. on the silphion, Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 891. Plin. Nat. Hist. xix. 3. Dioscor. iii. 94. Athen. i. 49. iii. 58. Geopon. v. 48. 5. ii. 37. 1. xiii. 10. 6.

we must suppose the seed to have been borne thither by the winds, probably from some part of the interior. Both the root and the juice were exported, sometimes adulterated with bean-flowers or gum sagapenum. Marmarica supplied an extremely pungent kind of cappar¹, which, also, was found on the shores of the Red Sea. The wild asparagus flourished abundantly in this country, and attained a great height.²

From Cyrenaica came an inferior sort of saffron,³ with truffles of a very delicate flavour,⁴ some of which were of a reddish hue,⁵ the best white hellebore,⁶ heracleean all-heal,⁷ the herb alysson from Africa generally,⁸ with gum-ladanum,⁹ olive oil,¹⁰ iris roots,¹¹ and terebinth berries.¹² In the country of the Troglodytes, on the western part of the Red Sea, were groves of myrrh trees, the gum of which was of a palish green, pellucid, and of a biting taste.¹³

The euphorbium,¹⁴ which received its name from Euphorbius, physician to king Juba, who discovered the virtues of its juices, is found on Mount Atlas, and in most parts of northern Africa. In procuring this substance they spread a number of sheepskins round the shrub, which they then pierced with darts or lances from a distance, in order to avoid the penetrating noxious vapours which exhaled from it at its first coming in contact with the air. The same precaution, according to a modern traveller, is still practised.

Carthage traded generally in all the productions of the ancient world, her exports consequently were numerous, and among these were magnificent ta-

¹ Dioscor. ii. 204.

² Athen. ii. 62. Cf. Sibth. Flor. Græc. tab. 337. Dioscor. ii. 152.

³ Dioscor. i. 25.

⁴ Athen. ii. 60. Plin. Nat. Hist. xix. 13.

⁵ Dioscor. ii. 200.

⁶ Id. iv. 150.

⁷ Id. iii. 56.

⁸ Dioscor. iv. 180.

⁹ Id. i. 128.

¹⁰ Florent. ap. Geopon. ix. 3. 1. Plin. Nat. Hist. xvii. 19.

¹¹ Dioscor. i. 1.

¹² Id. i. 91.

¹³ Id. i. 77.

¹⁴ Id. iii. 96. Cf. Leo. African. p. 770. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxv. 38.

pestry and richly figured pillows.¹ From the same part of Africa were exported a superior kind of snails.² Horses, hides,³ and hams cured in a particular manner, were supplied by Cyrenè,⁴ together with the best unguent of roses.⁵ This country was likewise famous for its fragrant violets and saffron flowers.⁶ The horns of the oryx were exported to Phœnicia, where they were employed in constructing the sides of citharæ.⁷ The scink, whose flesh was used as an antidote and in aphrodisiacs, was exported from the neighbourhood of mount Atlas, where it attained the length of four feet and a half.⁸ The Carthaginians, who sailed down the western shore of Africa to the gold coast, used to trade with the natives without personal communication. Landing from their ships they deposited a quantity of merchandise on the ground and retired on board, where they kindled large fires, that their coming might be announced by the smoke; upon this the natives approached, and laid close by what they conceived to be the value of the articles in gold. If what they brought satisfied the Carthaginians, they took away the gold and left the merchandise; if not, they suffered the whole to remain; upon which the natives added a quantity of the precious metal, until the strangers were satisfied.⁹ Similar rules are observed by the Moors in trading with the negroes in various parts of this continent.

On nearly the whole coast of northern Africa flourished the lotus tree, the fruit of which constituted the principal subsistence of some of the natives, who likewise made from it a kind of wine

¹ Athen. i. 49.

² Dioscor. ii. 11.

³ Athen. i. 49. iii. 58.

⁴ Id. i. 12.

⁵ Id. xv. 38. The moss roses of Cyrenè were renowned in antiquity for their fragrance. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vi. 6. 6.

⁶ Id. xv. 29.

⁷ Herod. iv. 192.

⁸ Id. *ibid.* Dioscor. ii. 71.

⁹ Herod. iv. 96. Circumstances of a like nature are described by Philostratus, (Vit. Apoll. Tyan. vi. 2, p. 229,) in the commerce carried on by the Egyptians with the inhabitants of Ethiopia.

which could not be exported, since it turned sour in three days. The nourishing quality of this fruit was experienced by the army of Ophella,¹ which proceeding across the desert, to attack the Carthaginians, was reduced to subsist upon it entirely for several days. It is about the size of a white cherry and straw-coloured, excepting on the side next the sun, which has a ruddy blush: the best are said to be without stones, but those which are produced in the Saïd have very large ones. Whether it has yet been introduced into England I know not; I myself, however, made the attempt in pots placed in a warm room; but on the first frosty night of autumn the plants perished entirely, with all the silk trees I had planted at the same time. From the same part of the country was obtained the lotus plant, used in cosmetics and medicines.²

From Egypt, which we shall here consider apart from the rest of Africa, the most valuable exports were undoubtedly wheat³ and rice,⁴ after which, in later ages, the wines of Lake Mareotis,⁵ and several cities along the Nile, deserve to be enumerated. The seeds of the bitter cabbage of Egypt⁶ were exported to be employed in medicine. Marjoram, too, was obtained from this country,⁷ together with the odoriferous rush;⁸ the creeping inula,⁹ cœrulescent wormwood,¹⁰ the arisaron,¹¹ garlic,¹² the

¹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 3.
² Vid. Diod. Sicul. xx. 42.
 Plut. Dem. § 14. Palmer. Excercitat. p. 594.

² Dioscor. iv. 112.

³ Demosth. cont. Dionysod. § 9. Plut. Pericl. § 37. Athen. ii. 10. 13. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 301. Geopon. iii. 3. 11. Theoph. Hist. Plant. viii. 4. Plin. Nat. Hist. xviii. 12. Cf. Spanh. ad Callim. Hymn in Cerer. 2. t. ii. p. 657.

⁴ Athen. iii. 75.

⁵ Id. i. 60. Geopon. xx. 15. Strab. xvii. t. ii. p. 1151. Cassaub. — Vibius Sequester, p. 24. Virg. Georg. ii. 91. Plin. Nat. Hist. xiv. 3. Isidor. Orig. xvii. 5. Horat. Od. i. 37. 14.

⁶ Dioscor. ii. 146.

⁷ Id. iii. 47.

⁸ Damogeron, ap. Geopon. vii. 13. 4.

⁹ Dioscor. i. 26.

¹⁰ Id. iii. 27.

¹¹ Id. ii. 178.

¹² Id. ii. 182. Sibthorp, Flor. Græc. Tab. 313.

acacalis, or berry of a certain shrub used in remedies against ophthalmia,¹ myrobalans,² amomum,³ cumin,⁴ gum-acacia, transparent as glass,⁵ and the leaves and flowers of the Eastern privet.⁶

It is possible, that the sensitive plant was introduced into Greece from Egypt, since this appears to be the native country of all the acacia tribe, to which the sensitive plant belongs; and we find it to have been plentifully produced in the neighbourhood of Memphis.⁷ Both the seeds and flowers of the tamarisk were used in medicine,⁸ and of its wood were made cups, which were supposed to impart a medicinal virtue to whatever was drunk out of them.

From dill,⁹ which was exported from Egypt and other countries, a perfume was made, which was supposed to mitigate the acuteness of the headache. Other kinds of perfume¹⁰ were likewise manufactured in this country,¹¹ of which that called metopion, chiefly composed of galbanum,¹² and the unguent of lilies may be regarded as the principal.¹³

Egypt, likewise, exported paper,¹⁴ sails, curiously

¹ Dioscor. i. 118.

² Id. iv. 160.

³ Prosp. Alpin. De Medicin. Egypt. iv. 10, p. 300, seq.

⁴ Dioscor. iii. 68. On the cumin of Æthiopia, Id. Theriac. c. xix.

⁵ Τὸ δὲ κόμμι τῆς ἀκάνθης διαφέρει τὸ σκωληκοειδὲς ὑελίζον, διανγές, ἄξυλον, εἶτα τὸ λευκόν. Dioscor. i. 133. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vi. 11. 15.

⁶ Κύπρος, Dioscor. i. 124.

⁷ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 2. 11.

⁸ Dioscor. i. 116.

⁹ Ἄνισον. Dioscor. iii. 65.

¹⁰ Athen. xiv. 50.

¹¹ Philost. Vit. Soph. ii. 21. § 2.

¹² Dioscor. i. 71.

¹³ Δοκεῖ δὲ διαφέρειν τὸ ἐν Φοινίκῃ καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γινόμενον ἄριστον δὲ εἶναι αὐτοῦ, τὸ ὄζον κρίνων. Dioscor. i. 62.

¹⁴ Lucian. de Syria Dea, § 7. Athen. i. 49. Ἡ βίβλος ψιλὴ ῥάβδος ἐστὶν ἐπ' ἄκρου ἔχουσα χαίτην. Ὁ δὲ κύαμος κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη φύλλα καὶ ἄνθη ἐκφέρει, καὶ καρπὸν ὅμοιον τῷ παρ' ἡμῖν κυάμφ, μεγέθει μόνον καὶ γεύσει διαλάττοντα. Strab. xvii. t. ii. p. 1151. Casaub. — Iorio, Storia del Commercio, t. iv. l. xi. c. xii.

wrought linen breastplates,¹ linen² and cotton³ cloths, jars,⁴ salt, lobsters, Canopic muscles, Venus's ears,⁵ the shad,⁶ dates, mustard,⁷ vinegar,⁸ palm wine,⁹ and salt provisions.¹⁰ The scink, or land crocodile, was likewise furnished by Egypt.¹¹ The game-cocks of Alexandria, which appear to have been held in the highest estimation were doubtless exported.¹² The Egyptian oil stunk because no salt was used in the making of it.¹³ Upon the fields of Egypt, at the period of the inundation, was found in great plenty the nymphaea lotus, with its white flower, which was said to remain open so long as the sun continued above the horizon, but closed at the approach of twilight, and dipped its whole head beneath the water, where it remained concealed till sunrise, when it rose and spread its petals to the dawn. The roots of this plant, about the size of a quince, and in taste like the yolk of an egg, when cooked, were

¹ Philost. Vit. Soph. ii. 21. § 2.

² Iorio, Storia del Comm. e della Navig. t. iv. l. ii. c. xiii. p. 275.

³ It appears to be perfectly clear, notwithstanding the arguments of Palmerius, (Exercitat. in Auct. Græc. p. 17, sqq.,) that the wool-bearing trees described by Herodotus, (iii. 106, cf. ii. 86, vii. 181,) and Theophrastus (Hist. Plant. iv. 7. 7,) were no other than the perennial cotton shrubs. Palmerius was led into the mistake he has committed by having been informed, that the cotton was an annual plant, whereas, as is now well known, there are two species of cotton shrub, the one annual, the other perennial, and it was evidently the latter that flourished in India and the island of Tylos. Pollux, who speaks distinctly of cotton,

relates, that it was produced in Egypt. (Onomast. vii. 75.) Belon, (Observat. ii. 6,) seems to imagine that the ancient authors above cited, speak of the silk tree, which is found growing at the present day on the banks of the Nile, in Upper Egypt and Nubia.

⁴ Athen. xi. 11.

⁵ Fab. Column. De Purpur. xviii. 3. Athen. iii. 40.

⁶ Σιλούρος, Paxamus, ap. Geopon. xiii. 10. 11. Athen. vii. 18.

⁷ Pelagon, ap. Geopon. xvi. 17. 1.

⁸ Athen. ii. 76.

⁹ Athen. xiv. 50.

¹⁰ Poll. vi. 48. Athen. iii. 93.

¹¹ Dioscor. ii. 71.

¹² Εἰσὶ δὲ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῇ πρὸς Αἴγυπτον ὄρνεις Μονόσιροι, ἐξ ὧν οἱ μάχιμοι ἀλεκτρῶνες γεννῶνται. Florent. ap. Geopon. xiv. 7. 30.

¹³ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 2. 9.

eaten by the Egyptians, who with its seed made also a kind of bread.¹

Among the minerals and precious stones obtained from this country were the sory,² the bloodstone,³ the emerald,⁴ and the carbuncle. Lapis lazuli was manufactured in Egypt,⁵ the secret of imitating nature in the produce of this substance having been discovered by one of its kings. In the neighbourhood of Memphis was found a sort of variegated pebbles, which, being broken and reduced to powder, were used by surgeons when about to apply the knife or the cautery in dulling the sense of pain, which it effected completely without danger.⁶

The morochthos,⁷ likewise used in medicine, was a species of Egyptian clay applied to the bleaching of linen. From Æthiopia came the stone called thyites,⁸ which, though green like the jasper, being dipped in water, imparted to it the colour of milk, and rendered it a cure for ophthalmia. The nitre⁹ of Egypt was superior to that of Lydia.¹⁰ Aloes, likewise,¹¹ and the fine sand for the gymnasia were supplied by this country.¹² The best burnt copper was exported from Egypt, where it was prepared as follows in the neighbourhood of Memphis.¹³ Taking a number of copper nails from ships decayed and fallen to pieces, they piled them in unbaked jars, alternating with layers of earth and sulphur of equal weight, which, having been well luted, were then placed in red-hot furnaces, where they were kept until the jars were thoroughly baked.

¹ Dioscor. iv. 114.

² Id. v. 119.

³ Αἱματίτης. Id. v. 144.

⁴ Athen. iii. 46.

⁵ Σκευαστὸς δὲ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος (κυάνος) καὶ οἱ γράφοντες τὰ περὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ τοῦτο γράφουσι, τίς πρῶτος βασιλεὺς ἐποίησε χυτὸν κύανον μιμησάμενος τὸν αὐτοφυῆ. Theoph. de Lapid. § 55.

⁶ Dioscor. v. 158.

⁷ Id. v. 152.

⁸ Id. v. 154.

⁹ Id. v. 130. Florent. ap. Geopon. vi. 16. 6. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxi. 10.

¹⁰ See Hazelquist, Travels, p. 275.

¹¹ Dioscor. v. 123.

¹² Plut. Alexand. § 40.

¹³ Dioscor. v. 87.

In lieu of salt and sulphur alum was sometimes substituted.

Others, without adding any of these substances, burnt the nails for several days; while a fourth method was, previously to smear them with a mixture of alum, vinegar, and sulphur, and afterwards to burn them in unbaked jars. Copper thus calcined assumed a red colour, and, when pounded in Theban mortars and repeatedly washed with rain water, resembled cinnabar or minium.¹ It was usually kept by physicians in boxes of bronze. The marbles of Egypt, used by ancient artists, were generally green and red porphyry.² All kinds of glass vessels, it is well known, were exported from Alexandria.³

In the commerce of ancient Syria, one of the principal articles was dates,⁴ whether dried in the ordinary manner or pressed together and fashioned into square masses. Figs,⁵ likewise, with prunes,⁶ and walnuts,⁷ and pomegranates,⁸ and apples, and nuts,⁹ and almonds,¹⁰ came from thence. With respect to the exports of Phœnicia we can say but little in this place, as it collected together the wealth of the whole ancient world, which it again distributed according to the tastes and wants of various countries. Thus, we find, that from Egypt the merchandise borne to Tyre consisted of fine linen, with brodered work, which was used in sails on her galleys; blue and purple from the Ægæan; silver, iron, tin, and lead,¹¹ from Cilicia; slaves and brazen vessels from Javan, Tubal, and Meschech; horses and mules from Kùrdistân; ivory and ebony

¹ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 23.
Sarracen. ad Dioscor. v. 87.

² Winkel. Hist. de l'Art. t. i.
p. 176.

³ Athen. xi. 28.

⁴ Herod. i. 193. Cf. iv. 172.
Athen. i. 49.

⁵ Lucian. Dial. Meret. § 14.

⁶ Dioscor. i. 174.

⁷ Cf. Theoph. Hist. Plant. iii.
6. 2.

⁸ Apsyrtius, ap. Geopon. xvi.
8. 2.

⁹ Cf. Plin. Nat. Hist. xv. 24.

¹⁰ Prosper. Alpin. iv. 3. p. 266.

¹¹ Bochart. Geog. Sac. Pt. i. l. iv.
cap. xxxviii. p. 356.

from the shores of the Persian gulf; emeralds, purple and brodered work, fine linen, coral, and agates, from Syria; wheat of Minnith and Pannag, honey, oil, and balms, from Judea; and white wool and the wine of Helbon from Damascus. Among the other exports of Tyre were bright iron, cassia, and calamus; Arabia furnished her with lambs, rams, and goats, spices, precious stones, and gold, blue cloths and brodered work, and chests of rich apparel, bound with cords and made of cedar.¹

From this country was first obtained the Marocco leather which is no other than goat's-skin tanned with the bark of the pomegranate-tree.² The frankincense³ laid up in vast quantities in the sea-ports of Syria to be conveyed to every country on the shores of the Mediterranean, not having been the growth of the country, will be described elsewhere; but various other odoriferous substances, whether gums, oils, or unguents, were the produce of their land.⁴

Among these was the balm of Gilead,⁵ which exuded from a tree originally introduced from Arabia Felix. The gardens, two in number,⁶ in which the balsam trees were cultivated lay in the valley of Jericho, flanked on both sides by continuous ridges of lofty mountains,⁷ and were of small dimensions, the larger not exceeding twenty acres. The tree itself, at present found to flourish in several regions of the East, resembled in size that of the pomegranate, spreading into numerous branches and covered with an evergreen foliage, in form like the leaves of rue, though in colour lighter. Its fruit resembled the terebinth-berries both in hue and size. The gum, for which alone it is valued, is

¹ Ezekiel, xxvii. 7, sqq.

² Athen. iii. 66. See Villebrune, French Translation, t. i. p. 414.

³ Herod. iii. 107. Athen. i. 49. Plut. Alexand. § 25.

⁴ Lucian. Dial. Meret. § 14.

⁵ Dioscor. i. 18.

⁶ Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 6. 1. Strab. xvi. t. ii. p. 1107. Casaub. Busbequius, Epist. iv. p. 359. Prosp. Alpin. de Balsamo, cap. ii.

⁷ Justin. xxxvi. 3.

produced in extremely small quantities, but exhales the most delicious odour.

The season for gathering it in old times was during the extremest heat of the dog-days, when an incision being made with certain iron claws towards the upper part of the trunk, the balsam trickled forth slowly so as scarcely to fill a single shell during the whole day, as was more particularly observed during the visit of Alexander to this valley. The produce of the large garden during the whole year did not exceed six choes, that of the smaller one a chous. The balsam, when it issued from the tree, was liquid, somewhat resembling milk in colour, and about the consistence of oil. It was sometimes collected on flocks of wool and squeezed into small horns, from whence it was transferred to fictile vases. This substance was so fragrant that the smallest particle perfumed the atmosphere to a considerable distance. It is now seldom found unadulterated in Europe. Pompey carried the balsam-tree in his triumph at Rome, and Vespasian afterwards brought another specimen into Italy.¹

The Syrian costus bore the third rank in the estimation of the ancients, and the superior kinds were adulterated with the roots of a species of inula, growing in the district of Comagena.² Another Syrian export was galbanum³ which appears to have been produced only in this country; another, the speckled wake-robin,⁴ the roots of which were eaten like parsnips, while the leaves were salted and used to season dishes. This appears to have been one of the plants which formed the garland of Ophelia, to which the queen alludes in the following words:

¹ Plin. Nat. Hist. xii. 34. Dioscor. i. 18. Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 6. Annot. p. 734, seq. Tacit. Histor. v. 6. Pausan. ix. 28. 3.

² Dioscor. i. 15. Cf. Theoph. Hist. Plant. vi. 7. 4.

³ Dioscor. iii. 97.

⁴ Arum maculatum, Sibthorp. Flor. Græc. Prodrom. 2279. t. ii. p. 245. Dioscor. ii. 197.

There with fantastic garlands did she come,
Of crow-flowers, nettles, daisies, and *long purples*,
That liberal shepherds give a grosser name,
But our cold maids do dead men's fingers call them.

With the roots of the wake-robin the Italian ladies made a wash, which, under the name of gersa, renders their skin fair and shining.¹ Numerous other medicines, plants, and substances, were exported from Syria, among which were the cyperus comosus,² mountain spikenard,³ cardamums from the district of Comagena,⁴ and aspalathos,⁵ used in thickening unguents; crocomagma, a species of perfume,⁶ elæomel,⁷ a sweet oil distilled from the trunk of a tree near Palmyra, gum-styrax, produced particularly in the neighbourhood of Gabala and Marathos, from which was prepared a costly ointment, used in medicine, and called styracinon,⁸ terebinth-berries,⁹ pistachio-nuts,¹⁰ gingidion,¹¹ southernwood,¹² the root of the anchusa,¹³ sison, a kind of spice,¹⁴ silphion,¹⁵ the magadaris,¹⁶ papaver spinosum,¹⁷ of which the leaves were dried in a half-cold oven and then pounded to extract the juice; the most fragrant kind of lilies,¹⁸ the androsaces, a remedy against gout,¹⁹ madder from Galilee,²⁰ and the berries of the wild vine, which were kept in unglazed jars.²¹

The calamus and sweet rush, found in many other countries, appear to have been most fragrant in Palestine, where they grew in stagnant waters among

¹ Mart. Mathée, Annot. sur Dioscor. ii. 159.

² Dioscor. i. 124.

³ Id. i. 8.

⁴ Id. ii. 185.

⁵ Id. i. 19.

⁶ Id. i. 26.

⁷ Ελαιόμελι κατὰ Παλμυρᾶ τῆς Συρίας ἔκ τινος στελέχους ἔλαιον μέλιτος παχύτερον ῥέει, γλυκὺ τῇ γεύσει. Dioscor. i. 37.

⁸ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxiv. 15, Dioscor. i. 79.

⁹ Dioscor. i. 91. Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 3. 2.

¹⁰ Dioscor. i. 177.

¹¹ Id. ii. 167.

¹² Id. iii. 29.

¹³ Theophrast. de Odor. § 31. Sibthorp. Flor. Græc. tab. 166.

¹⁴ Dioscor. iii. 64.

¹⁵ Id. iii. 94.

¹⁶ Theoph. Hist. Plant. vi. 3. 7.

¹⁷ Dioscor. iii. 100.

¹⁸ Id. i. 62. iii. 116.

¹⁹ Id. iii. 150.

²⁰ Id. iii. 160.

²¹ Id. v. 5. iii. 135.

the marshes bordering on Lake Gennesareth.¹ These marshes, in summer dry, occupied a space of about four miles in length, which seems of old to have been thick with reeds and rushes. From the green plants no perfume exhaled, but when they were cut down and laid to dry in the sun there issued from them a delicate fragrance which impregnated the whole air, and, as some fabulously pretended, could be detected by mariners approaching the shore at a distance of more than a hundred and fifty stadia.²

The cucumbers of Antioch were celebrated.³ From Syria was obtained the best terebinth-wood blacker than ebony, used in making dagger-handles, and turned into cups,⁴ together with an artificial kind of gypsum made by burning parget stones.⁵ Near Seleucia there were mines of an earth called ampe-litis,⁶ of which the black was the most excellent, resembling pitch; fine charcoal used, mixed with oil, for blackening the eyebrows and dyeing the hair. People likewise smeared with it the stems of vines to protect them against the depredations of insects.

The best bitumen⁷ was obtained from the environs of the Dead Sea, in Palestine, and sometimes adulterated with pitch.⁸ In Judæa also was found the singular stone called by Pliny and the Greek physicians leucolithos, in magnitude about the size of an acorn, of a milk-white colour and marked with a number of parallel bands, regular as if produced by the turning lathe. Reduced to powder it was exhibited as a medicine.⁹

The articles of merchandise supplied to commerce

¹ Strab. xvi. t. ii. p. 1095.
Plin. Nat. Hist. xii. 22.

² Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 7. 1.
Schneid. Annot. t. iii. p. 737.

³ Athen. ii. 53.

⁴ Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 3. 2.

⁵ Theoph. de Ign. § 66.

⁶ Strab. vii. 5. t. ii. p. 106.
Theoph. de Lapid. § 49. Dioscor.
v. 181.

⁷ Dioscor. i. 99.

⁸ Cf. Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix.
2. 3.

⁹ Dioscor. v. 155.

by the peninsula of Arabia,¹ were rather curious and valuable than numerous.² Of these one of the most extraordinary was that white and transparent gem, in search of which they went forth into the desert at midnight, when the stone was discovered by its brightness reflecting amid palm-trees and sand hillocks the refulgence of the moon, whose several phases it was supposed to imitate in form, being circular at times and at times semicircular. For this reason it obtained the name of aphroselenon or moonstone.³ From a belief in its hidden virtues women wore it about their necks as an amulet against enchantment. It was likewise suspended upon trees to augment their bearing. Eagle-stones⁴ were also a production of Arabia, together with certain fine white stones which when calcined were used as a dentrifice.⁵

Hence too was obtained a beautiful diaphanous marble resembling the phengites, which, when sawed into thin laminæ, served instead of glass for window-panes.⁶ Near certain islands on the coast of Arabia, in the Persian gulf, was a pearl-fishery which, though inferior in value and celebrity to that of Serendib, still furnished Greece and the whole western world with a large quantity of pearls.⁷

The plains of the Arabian wastes have in all ages

¹ Cf. Huet. Hist. of Commerce, p. 13.

² We find, however, that the nomadic tribes sometimes exported sheep. Athen. v. 32.

³ Dioscor. v. 159.

⁴ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 39. Geopon. xv. 1. 30.

⁵ Id. xxxvi. 41.

⁶ Id. xxxvi. 46.

⁷ Id. ix. 54. Ælian. de Animal. x. 13. See in Nieuhoff an elaborate account of the pearl-fishery in the Persian gulf. This traveller gives, from the traditions of the natives, a fabulous

explanation of the origin of the pearls, which is exceedingly fanciful and poetical: "It is generally
"believed that these pearls are
"progenerated by the May dews,
"during which month the oysters
"rise up to the surface of the
"waters, and opening themselves
"receive a small quantity of dew,
"which, being coagulated, afterwards produces these pearls.
"Certain it is, that, if these oysters are opened before June, the
"pearls are soft and pliable like
"pitch." Churchill's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii. p. 196.

been covered at intervals with forests of palm-trees. Dates, therefore, from the earliest times, have been among the exports of the peninsula. The manner of climbing the trees in the fruit season was much the same in antiquity as at present. The person about to ascend made with a cord a loop inclosing both his own body and the tree, which warping up as he mounted enabled him to rest at intervals.¹

But the soil, sandy and arid, exposed almost perpetually to a burning sun, delights above all things in the production of thorny shrubs and trees, whose gum and resin, from the united virtues of the climate and the earth, are nearly all fragrant and medicinal.² Of these some are still in use, while others have disappeared from commerce, or are known under different names. Among the latter was the camon, a strongly odoriferous gum used by physicians, introduced into the manufacture of odoriferous unguents, and mingled with myrtle and styrax for perfuming apparel.³ Among the former were the ladanum,⁴ the myrrh, and the frankincense,⁵ of which the ancient naturalists have left us an interesting account. It was produced, they say, in the territory of the Sabæans about Mamali, Citibaina and Adramytta, now Hadramaut. Both the frankincense and the myrrh trees grew partly on the mountains, partly on private grounds at their roots, where they

¹ Lucian. de Syr. Dea, § 29.

² Cf. Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 7. 2.

³ Id. i. 23.

⁴ Dioscor. i. 128. Herod. iii. 107. Thom. Magist. v. θύμα, p. 462.

⁵ Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 4. 1, sqq. Philost. Vit. Soph. ii. 21. § 2. Ammon. v. λίβανος, p. 89. This gum is now of very inferior quality and value, and was sent in the last century in vast quantities into Muscovy to tan Russia leather. Hazelquist, Travels, p.

297. Of old it seems to have been sacred exclusively to the gods and was daily burnt as a morning sacrifice on their altars. Goettling, ad Hesiod. p. 162. In the ages preceding the discovery of frankincense, people made use of rosemary for the same purpose. Apuleius, de Virtut. Herb. cap. lxxix. Cf. Fabric. Biblioth. Lat. p. 126. Lomeier, de Lustrat. Vet. Gent. c. xxiv. p. 298. On the plants, fruits, and trees, used in sacrifice, see Saubert. de Sacrificiis, cap. xxiv.

were cultivated, while the others, apparently, were left to the superintendence of nature. The favoured ridges adorned by these aromatic plantations are said to have been extremely lofty, covered with woods and clad above with snow, while from their slope and summits numerous streams poured down to the plains.

The tree¹ which produces this most precious gum attains no great height, sometimes not above seven or eight feet; but throws out exceedingly numerous branches and expands itself in breadth. The foliage, though more diminutive, resembles in form that of the pear-tree, but its verdure approaches the light colour of the rue. In smoothness the bark everywhere, both on trunk and branches, resembles that of the laurel. The myrrh-tree is still smaller, and more like a shrub. Its stem clothed with a smooth bark, and about the thickness of a man's leg, is extremely tough and twisted towards the root. In character its foliage has at once been compared to the elm and the scarlet oak,—rough, pointed, and uneven, and armed at the edges with thorns.

Of myrrh there were various kinds, deriving their different qualities from the nature of the soil or from the manner in which the gum was obtained from its tree, some being thick and unctuous, and abounding in that sweet oil called *stactè*,² while other kinds were light, clean, and transparent. These accounts appear to have been obtained from eye-witnesses. Certain mariners, we are told, setting sail from the gulf of Heroes, now Suez, and arriving in the frankincense country, landed in search of water.³ During this excursion they advanced as far as the mountains, where they observed the appearance of the trees and the manner of collecting the gum. Incisions, they related, were made in the trunk and the branches, some large, as with a hatchet, others smaller.

¹ Cf. Diodor. Sicul. l. v. t. i. p. 364. Wesseling.

² Dioscor. i. 79.

³ Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 4. 7.

From some of these the frankincense rained upon the ground, while in other parts it issued forth more slowly, thickening as it flowed. Mats of palm leaves were by some proprietors spread on all sides under the tree, which thus appeared to spring from a carpeted floor, while others merely levelled the soil and swept it.¹ The frankincense, however, which fell upon the mats was more pure and pellucid than the other, which necessarily attracted some particles of earth. What remained sticking to the trees was severed with a knife, on which account it sometimes contained small splinters of bark. The superior kinds were generally found in commerce of a globular form, into which it was said to have run at the first. In colour it was white, unctuous when broken, and immediately kindled at the approach of flame. That which was brought from India in colour somewhat yellow and livid, was manufactured into grains by art; for, having been pressed into a mass, it was cut into small square pieces which were cast into a vessel and shaken until they assumed a round form.

The same observer affirmed, that the whole of this mountain tract was divided among the Sabæans, who were the lords of that part of the country, and distinguished for their justice, on which account the trees required no watching. They were further informed, that both the myrrh and the frankincense when collected were conveyed on camels to the Temple of the Sun, the holiest place in the country of the Sabæans, and continually guarded by armed men. When the precious merchandise had been borne thither, each person piled his own property in a separate heap, on the top of which placing a tablet declaring its weight and value, they committed it to the care of the temple wardens.

When the merchants arrived they inspected the

¹ See also Dioscor. i. 77. A fable concerning the collection of the frankincense occurs in Herod. iii. 117.

tablets, and if satisfied with the price took possession of the merchandise, leaving the value in its place. The transaction being concluded, the priest, according to some authorities, appropriated one-third of the proceeds to the service of the gods; but others speak with more probability of a tenth, which seems, everywhere in the ancient world, to have been consecrated to the service of religion. The remainder was kept for the owners until they arrived to claim it.

The frankincense produced by young trees was of a pale white colour, but less fragrant than the gum of older trees, which was of a deep yellow. The former probably was what was called Amomites, which possessing little consistence easily melted like gum-mastic, by the touch of the hand. On the way to Greece it was frequently adulterated with fine resin and common gum; but the imposture was easily detected because the gum refused to burn, and the resin resolved itself into smoke, whereas the frankincense yielded a clear flame. In the opinion of many the best kind was brought from Arabia, though in colour it was deemed inferior to the produce of the neighbouring islands. Connected with the natural history of this production, a circumstance is related which seems to have been viewed by the ancients in the light of a prodigy. In the grounds of a temple near Sardis¹ a species, of frankincense tree sprang forth spontaneously from the earth, having a smooth bark like the laurel, and shedding a gum resembling that of the Arabian perfume.

The numerous groves of frankincense trees which covered the hills and valleys of southern Arabia, constantly distilling their sweet gums, are said to have impregnated the whole atmosphere with their delicious fragrance, which, when the breezes prevailed off the land, was wafted out many leagues

¹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 4. 7.

from the shore. To this Milton alludes in the well known lines :¹

As when to them who sail
Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past
Mozambic, off at sea north-east winds blow
Sabæan odours from the spicy shore
Of Araby the Blest : with such delay
Well pleased they slack their course, and many a league
Cheer'd with the grateful smell, old Ocean smiles.

Nor is this to be regarded as a mere poetical figure of speech. Sir Thomas Herbert,² sailing up the Persian gulf on his return from the East Indies, found the atmosphere of the ocean perfumed by the spirits issuing from the flowers of Arabia, and observes, that mariners while yet out of sight of land have discovered where they were by the prevalence of these odoriferous gales. The same effect has been observed in other parts of the world. Pernetty³ relates, that, on approaching the island of St. Catharine on the Brazil coast, the fragrance of its aromatic herbs and flowers may be detected at more than three leagues. In dark nights, or hazy weather, the dogs on board a ship will smell the land at considerable distance, so as in such cases to serve instead of a telescope.

From a district of Arabia Felix, as well as from Petra in Idumæa, was obtained that gum in globules, called bdellion,⁴ alluded to in the second chapter of Genesis, — “and the gold of that land is good; there is bdellion and the onyx stone.” Arabia likewise exported preserved ginger,⁵ though not apparently till a comparatively late period. In the country itself they seasoned their drinks and

¹ Paradise Lost, iv. 159—165.

³ Voyage aux Isles Malouines, t. i. p. 155.

² Some years' Travels into Africa and Asia, p. 102. Cf. Chandler, i. 6.

⁴ Dioscor. i. 80. Plin. Nat. xii. 19.

⁵ Dioscor. ii. 19.

potages with the green leaves, as the Greeks usually did with rue.¹

Among the other exports of Arabia was cassia² of various qualities, together with cinnamon,³ respecting the gathering of which the following mythological narrative was delivered to strangers. The trees producing this sweet and fragrant bark grew, they said, in a certain valley, inhabited by innumerable serpents, to guard themselves against which, those who came to gather cinnamon had their feet and hands carefully covered with boots and gloves.

The spice being collected was divided into three parts, of which one belonged to the Sun. To prevent the god from being defrauded of his due share, lots were drawn, and the portion which thus fell to him was piled up in a heap upon the sand. The Arabs then departed, but, having reached a certain distance, usually turned back, when they were sure to behold the portion of the sun on fire, and sending up its flames and smoke towards the god to whom it appertained.⁴ It is clear from this, that the natives of the Arabian peninsula had already begun to collect materials for "The Thousand and One Nights."

Another fragrant production of this country was the wood of aloes,⁵ which seems to have found its way, in great quantities, to the west, together with capers,⁶ costus,⁷ carpobalsamum,⁸ cardamums,⁹

¹ Dioscor. iii. 52.

² The shrub is twelve feet high and flowers in May. Hazelquist, Travels, p. 247. Cf. Dioscor. i. 12.

³ Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 5. 1. Dioscor. i. 13. Prosper. Alpin. de Medicin. Ægypt. iv. 9, p. 304. Hen. van Rheede, Hortus Indicus Malabaricus, p. 107, sqq. Carletti, who travelled towards the close of the sixteenth century, gives a lively description of

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the cinnamon tree, the leaves of which he compares to those of the peach tree. Viaggi, &c., t. ii. p. 231. Baldæus, Description of Ceylon, chapter iv.

⁴ Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 5. 2.

⁵ Dioscor. i. 21.

⁶ Id. ii. 204.

⁷ Id. i. 15.

⁸ Prosper. Alpin. de Medicin. Ægypt. iv. 9, p. 302.

⁹ Dioscor. ii. 185. Bontius, In Ind. Archiat. de Medicin. Indor. p. 16. "The shrub which

aloes,¹ gum-ladanum,² myrobalans,³ terebinth-berries,⁴ and the odoriferous rush;⁵ the scink, of which we have already made frequent mention, was likewise obtained from Arabia.⁶ Broth made of the flesh of this animal is taken as an aphrodisiac by the Arabs, and its flesh dried and reduced to powder was still exported in the time of Hazelquist,⁷ through Alexandria to Venice and Marseilles.

The island of Tylos, now Bahrein,⁸ on the coast of Lahsa, in the Persian gulf, is said to have furnished excellent timber for ship-building, which in the water would last upwards of two hundred years.⁹ Could this have been a species of teak?¹⁰ Here, also, as well as on the continent grew the cotton tree in great abundance, from which the natives manufactured coarse calicoes and fine muslins. Another production of the island was a tree bearing inodorous flowers resembling the white violet, though four times as large. Here, too, was found another tree with leaves like the rose, which being fully expanded at noon contracted as the day advanced, and closed entirely at night, when the tree, by the natives, was said to sleep. The same thing, by the people of India, is at present predicated of the Averrhoa Carambola.

"bears this spice is very pleasant
"to behold, of a light green colour, with white flowers tipped
"with purple, red at the extremities." Nieuhoff, p. 266.

¹ Dioscor. iii. 25.

² Id. i. 128. Plin. Nat. Hist. xii. 37.

³ Id. iv. 160.

⁴ Id. i. 91.

⁵ Id. i. 16.

⁶ Id. ii. 71.

⁷ Travels, p. 228.

⁸ Cf. Gosselin, Recherches sur la Géographie des Anciens, t. iii. p. 104, sqq. Plin. Nat. Hist. xii. 21. On the pearl fisheries of this island, see vi. 33. See in Bochart a long and learned in-

quiry respecting the name, situation, and ancient history of Tylos, Geographia Sacra, pt. ii. l. i. c. xlv. p. 766, seq.

⁹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. v. 4. 7.

¹⁰ "This wood," says William Marsden, "is in many respects
"preferable to oak, working more
"kindly, and equal, at least, in
"point of duration; many ships
"built of it at Bombay, continuing to swim for so many years
"that none can recollect the period
"at which they were launched." History of Sumatra, p. 130.

The fertility of this island may be compared with that of Thasos. Here grew in abundance the date palm, the vine, the olive, the apple, and most kinds of nuts, with fig trees which never shed their foliage. No value was set upon the moisture derived from the clouds; on the contrary, when any showers fell, the inhabitants were careful immediately afterwards to irrigate their plantations, as if to wash away the rain. With this they were, in fact, enabled to dispense, on account of the number of fountains and streams of water which there abounded.¹

From Mesopotamia, Persia, Armenia, and the adjacent countries, the Greeks obtained a number of valuable commodities, of which far too meagre an account has been left us by the ancients. Of these the most curious, however, may be said to have been the naphtha, or rock oil, which springs forth spontaneously from the earth in several parts of those regions lying between the Caspian and the Persian gulf.² The most remarkable of their oil springs was found of old near Ecbatana, now Hamadan, where Alexander was smitten with astonishment at beholding a torrent of flame ascending perpetually out of the earth.

¹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 7. 7, seq. At the present day, the water actually found on the island is brackish, while the sea is thought by some to have gained so far upon the land as to cover certain springs which supplied the ancient inhabitants with excellent water. Even now, however, the produce of these fountains is not wholly lost though doubtless deteriorated by the admixture of sea-water. "There are certain springs," observes Nieuhoff, "arising in the bottom of the sea, at three fathoms and a half deep. Near the city of Manama, certain divers go early in the morning in boats, about

"three musket shots from the land, and dive to the bottom of the sea, fill their earthen or leathern vessels with the water that issues from the springs, and so come up again and return to the shore." Churchill's Collection, Vol. ii. p. 196.

² For example, near the Oxus, where a Macedonian, named Proxenos, in the act of pitching Alexander's tent, discovered a spring of pure oil. Even the waters of the Oxus were supposed by the ancients to contain oily particles. Plut. Alexand. § 57. On the Persian sulphur, Polyæn. Stratag. iv. 6. 11.

This everlasting fire was supplied through subterraneous channels with naphtha, which in the vicinity welled forth from the soil and formed a small lake. This naphtha, clear, when pure, as fine oil, is, perhaps, the most inflammable substance known, kindling by the invisible gases which surround it considerably before it comes into actual contact with fire. Several experiments illustrative of its qualities were performed for the amusement of the son of Philip. In the first place certain Persians sprinkled with it the street leading to the royal quarters, and then applying a torch to the earth at the farther end of it, the flame ran along with the rapidity of thought, so that in an instant the whole street seemed to be converted into a channel of fire.

On another occasion one Athenophanes, a profligate buffoon who had abandoned the sweets of freedom at Athens to attend on the Macedonian tyrant, being along with his master in the bath, advised him in the true spirit of a courtier to make a cruel experiment of the power of the naphtha on a poor youth named Stephanos, of homely person and comic expression of face, but gifted with a magnificent voice, and who used apparently to divert Alexander while bathing.

“ Shall we try the force of this substance on Stephanos? For, if it kindle and prove difficult to be extinguished on him its powers may truly be said to be altogether strange and irresistible!”

The youth readily consented to encounter the peril. As soon, however, as he had been anointed with it and brought near a fire the naphtha¹ in-

¹ Strab. Casaub. xvi. t. ii. p. 1078. Sir Thomas Herbert's account of the Persian naphtha is not exactly consistent with that of Plutarch. “ This naphtha,” says he, “ is an “ oily or fat liquid substance, in “ colour not unlike soft, white “ clay; of quality hot and dry,

“ so as it is apt to inflame with “ the sunbeams, or heat that “ issues from fire, as was mirth- “ fully experimented upon one of “ Alexander's pages, who, being “ anointed, with much ado es- “ caped burning.” Some Years' Travels, p. 182.

stantaneously kindled, and his whole body was sheathed in flame to the extreme perplexity and terror of Alexander. He would, in fact, have been reduced to ashes had there not been at hand many persons bearing vessels of cold water for the baths, which pouring over him they with extreme difficulty extinguished the flames. He, nevertheless, felt severely the effect of his royal master's inhuman curiosity.¹

Certain writers, desirous of giving an historical explanation of the legends of the mythology, suppose the golden crown and veil sent by Medea to Creüsa, which utterly consumed her in the presence of her family, to have been smeared with naphtha;² for the flames burst not forth spontaneously from the ornaments themselves, but a fire burning near, they, by a subtle power, attracted its seeds and were kindled invisibly.³

It was believed by the ancients that the country of Babylonia was pervaded throughout by veins of fire, which maintained a perpetual inflammation in the earth and produced towards the surface a species of pulsation. For, according to them, grains of barley being cast upon the soil would leap up and rebound, for which, however, other causes might be assigned. But the heat of the climate is undoubtedly prodigious, and, to mitigate it, we are told, the ancient inhabitants were accustomed to sleep on skins filled with water. Harpalos, who was made governor of the province by Alexander, laboured to acclimate there the trees and plants of Greece, and succeeded in everything excepting

¹ Plut. Alexand. § 35.

² Eurip. Med. 1183, sqq. Plin. Nat. Hist. ii. 109. Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. x. p. 15, note 18, where, in speaking of the Greek Fire, the historian touches incidentally on the qualities of naphtha.

³ In the mountains near Dera-

bad, in Affghanistân, a kind of naphtha is obtained by placing flocks of wool on the places where it oozes from the earth. It contains a mixture of bitumen, supposed to be mumia, and is less pure than the Persian. Vigne, Affghanistân, p. 61, seq. Masson, Balochistân, &c. i. 115.

ivy which, delighting in a cold soil, could not be reconciled to the "temper of that fiery mould."¹

There was obtained from Persia a gum of singularly healing qualities, which on this account received the name of sarcocolla,² or flesh-glue, as, also, kermes,³ cardamums,⁴ pistachio nuts,⁵ artichokes,⁶ amomum,⁷ hemlock,⁸ silphion,⁹ and citrons. Persia likewise exported gold solder,¹⁰ onyx shells,¹¹ whetstones,¹² and jaspers,¹³ one kind of which was intersected with white veins. Amulets of this stone were much used in incantations. From the province of Bactriana emeralds of great beauty, but of small size, were procured for the studding of costly cups or goblets. They were found in a sandy and desert tract of country, the one apparently which separates Khorasan from Balkh and Khawaresmia during the prevalence of the Etesian gales which, unsettling and shifting the sand, kept constantly laid open fresh spots which were, in many cases, strewn with gems. The search for these emeralds, a hardy and laborious undertaking, was performed by horsemen who, by fleet riding, could scour the wilderness in a brief space of time, bending their keen glances hither and thither as they moved along.¹⁴

In a region beyond Bactria a species of corn was found which must unquestionably have been maize, since the grains are said to have been as large as

¹ This expression is Dr. Langhorne's, t. v. p. 239. Plut. Alexand. § 35. Sympos. iii. 2. 1.

² Dioscor. iii. 99.

³ Id. iv. 48. ⁴ Id. i. 5.

⁵ Athen. xiv. 61.

⁶ Id. ii. 82. ⁷ Dioscor. i. 14.

⁸ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxv. 95.

⁹ Dioscor. iii. 94.

¹⁰ Id. v. 104. ¹¹ Id. ii. 10.

¹² Theophrast. de Lapid. § 44.

¹³ Dioscor. v. 160. Sword and dagger handles, and mouth-pieces for pipes, are carved from the jasper-agate of Yarkund. Vigne,

Affghanistân, p. 209. It is reported that silver, copper, iron, lead, antimony, lapis lazuli, (cf. Osbeck, Voyage to China, i. 244,) and asbestos are found in different parts of the mountains around Kabul. The sand of the Kirman stream is washed for gold, Id. p. 208. For a full account of the lapis lazuli, as known to the ancients, see Gemme Fisica Sotteranea, l. iii. c. viii. t. i. p. 416. Tournefort, Voyage du Levant. t. iii. p. 128.

¹⁴ Theoph. de Lapid. § 35.

olive stones,¹ and to maize only can we apply Herodotus's description of the wheat found in Babylonia, the straw of which was encircled by leaves four inches in diameter, and its return from two to three hundredfold. Now, in wheat, I believe, so prodigious an increase is all but impossible, whereas a still greater return might be obtained from the Indian corn. A lady whom I knew at Thebes counted eighteen hundred grains in one ear of Syrian maize which was, probably, not less than nine inches in circumference; and from such grain the return mentioned by Herodotus² is not at all extraordinary.

The millet and sesamum of Babylonia are likewise mentioned, though it is probable that, owing to the difficulty of carriage, it only exported small quantities to be used as seed. Barn-door fowls were introduced into Greece from Persia, and always continued to be known by the name of the Median birds.³ Peaches, too, and various other kinds of fruit, as we have already mentioned in the book on Country Life, were brought to Greece from the Persian empire.

This country likewise exported the oil of white violets used in the bath, and the odour of which they enjoyed during their repasts;⁴ shaggy winter cloaks seem to have been obtained from northern Persia, together with dyed leather,⁵ resembling the shagreen and marocco of present times, brought partly from Babylonia, partly from Persia Proper, which likewise supplied the world with carpets exquisitely variegated with figures of animals.⁶

¹ Theoph. Hist. Plant. viii. 4. 6. There is still, however, in this part of the world a very large-grained wheat called camel's tooth. Vigne, Affghanistân, p. 170. On the extraordinary fertility of Hyrcania, &c., see Strab. xi. 7. t. ii. p. 426, and cf. on the

nutritive qualities of maize, &c., Bacon, Sylva Sylvarum, i. 49.

² l. i. § 193.

³ Athen. xiv. 69.

⁴ Dioscor. Notha. p. 442.

⁵ Beckmann, History of Inventions, iv. 206.

⁶ Athen. v. 26. Cf. Plut. A-

The Persians also imported furs, but do not appear to have exported them, the use of these articles being little known to the Greeks.¹

Respecting the commerce carried on with India the notions of the ancients were confused, chiefly because the various commodities passing through other countries were often confounded with their indigenous productions. We know, however, that from this rich land came many of the spices and precious stones in use among the Greeks, — as the diamond, the ruby, the sapphire,² and the finest kind of pearls,³ the most fragrant spikenard,⁴ with costus,⁵ and amomum,⁶ and cinnamon,⁷ and cassia,⁸ and odoriferous reeds.⁹ Thence also was obtained a kind of cyperos,¹⁰ whose juice was bitter, and of yellow colour, and appears to have been used for removing hair from the skin.

gesil. § 12. We still find that, for richness of colouring and softness of texture, the carpets of Persia are quite unrivalled. Fowler, *Three Years in Persia*, i. 81. Gibbon, in his rich and picturesque style, has given a description of one of these carpets found by the Arabs in the dwelling of the Persian monarch: "One of the apartments of the palace was decorated with a carpet of silk, sixty cubits in length, and as many in breadth; a paradise or garden was depicted on the ground; the flowers, fruits and shrubs were imitated by the figures of the gold embroidery and the colours of the precious stones, and the ample square was enriched by a variegated and verdant border." *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. ix. p. 370.

¹ Beckmann, *History of Inventions*, iv. 204, sqq.

² Carletti, *Viaggi*, t. ii. p. 231.

³ Ælian. *Hist. Animal.* x. 13. xv. 8. Athen. iii. 44, seq. Theoph. de Lapid. § 36. Huet, *Hist. of Commerce*, p. 19. Iorio, *Storia del Commercio*, t. iv. l. ii. c. ix. p. 264, sqq. Nieuhoff, *Voyage to the East Indies*, in Churchill's *Collection*, vol. ii. p. 248. Balæus, *Description of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel*, c. xxii.

⁴ Dioscor. i. 6.

⁵ Bontius, *In Ind. Archiat. de Medic. Ind.* p. 21.

⁶ Dioscor. i. 14.

⁷ Id. i. 13.

⁸ Damogeron, ap. *Geopon.* vii. 13. 4.

⁹ Prosper. Alpin. de *Medicin. Egypt.* iv. 10, p. 297. Dioscor. i. 17.

¹⁰ Dioscor. i. 4.

Another Indian export was the bark called narpapthon,¹ which, together with wood of aloes obtained from the same country, was used as a perfume.² Black, white, and long pepper,³ were likewise among the productions of India, which found their way to the west, together with sugar, the art of manufacturing and refining which appears to have been known to the Hindûs from the remotest antiquity. The whiteness of the Indian sugar, as well as that it was loafed may be inferred from a passage of Dioscorides, who compares it to salt, and says, that it broke easily beneath the tooth.⁴

There was in India, moreover, a kind of myrrh produced from a thorny shrub, of which no exact description is given.⁵ But one of its most celebrated productions was the spikenard, which is said to have grown upon a mountain at the foot of which flowed the Ganges. The malabathron,⁶ another export of the Indian peninsula, was from the similarity of its odour by some of the ancients confounded with the leaf of the spikenard, as it appears to have been by the moderns with the piper betel, or the *Canella Silvestris Malabarica*. But from the description of Dioscorides, it is clearly neither the one nor the other; for, while the betel is a parasite cultivated on terra firma, like the vine and the *Canella Silvestris*, the malabathron was, we are told, an aquatic plant, floating on the surface of lakes, or the waters of morasses, without the slightest connexion with the soil beneath, like the little lentil of the marshes: its leaves when gathered were strung on a linen thread, and in that man-

¹ Dioscor. i. 22.

² Bontius, In Ind. Archiat. de Medicin. Indor. p. 11. Dioscor. i. 21.

³ Dioscor. ii. 189. Carletti, Viaggi, t. ii. p. 218. Marsden, History of Sumatra, p. 117, sqq.

Bontius, p. 15. Forbes, Oriental Memoirs, i. 349.

⁴ Dioscor. ii. 104. Plin. Nat. Hist. xii. 17, cum not. Dalecamp. et Hard. Lucan. iii. 237. Indor. Orig. xvii. 7.

⁵ Theoph. Hist. Plant. ix. 1. 2.

⁶ Dioscor. i. 11.

ner hung up to dry, after which they were laid by for exportation. Occasionally, during the heats of summer, the malabathron lakes were dried up, upon which the natives were accustomed to scatter heaps of brushwood over their whole site and set them on fire, so that the entire surface of the earth might be burned, without which, it was supposed the plant would no more appear. Among the uses of the malabathron was the sweetening of the breath, which was done by placing a leaf under the tongue. Thrown into coffers or wardrobes it communicated a perfume to raiment, and preserved it from the moth. The uses to which the wood of aloes was put were in some respects similar, as it was kept in the mouth to sweeten the breath, and sprinkled, when reduced to powder, over the body to repress perspiration.

A coarse kind of bdellion,¹ and a species of lycion were reckoned among the productions of India.² From an island on the coast was obtained a precious bark called macer,³ of great medicinal virtue; aloes, too, was thence exported in abundance. The artichoke⁴ was plentifully produced on the banks of the Indus, as well as in the mountains of Hyrcania and Khawaresmia. The substance denominated onyx shell,⁵ procured from a fish resembling the myrex, was found in certain Indian marshes, where a species of spikenard is said to have flourished. On the drying up of the waters in the great heats of summer, these shells were found strewed over the soil, and exported for their odoriferous and medicinal qualities. The great lizard, called the land crocodile,⁶ has likewise been enumerated among the productions of India. Other Indian commodities were fine muslins,⁷ ivory, and tortoise shell,⁸ from

¹ Dioscor. i. 80.

² Id. i. 132. Plin. Nat. Hist. xii. 15.

³ Dioscor. i. 93. Galen. de Facult. Simpl. Med. p. 205. Plin. Nat. Hist. xii. 16.

⁴ Athen. ii. 82. Galen. de Aliment. Facult. cap. li.

⁵ Dioscor. ii. 10. ⁶ Id. ii. 71.

⁷ Lucian. de Sacrif. § 11.

⁸ Lucian. Musc. Encom. § 1. Cf. Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 77.

Taprobana,¹ a rich species of marble,² steel of the finest quality,³ peacocks,⁴ and a large, beautiful breed of white oxen.⁵

Two kinds of indigo, employed both in painting and dyeing were exported from Hindûstân.⁶ Of these the one is said to have been a natural production which exuded from certain canes and hardened in the sun, the other was artificial, consisting of the substance which adhered to the copper vessels wherein artificers dyed blue. Having been scraped thence it was supposed to be dried and introduced into commerce. These accounts have already, by other authors, been shown to be erroneous, but they prove at least that indigo was in common use among the ancients, though we understand nothing of the means by which it was produced, or how it was cultivated.⁷

The cotton tree appears to have been grown in India⁸ from the remotest antiquity, where the natives manufactured from it the finest fabrics, as calicoes, and chintzes, and muslins, regarded even as superior to the manufactures of Greece.⁹

Another production of Eastern Asia, which was imported into Greece much earlier than is generally believed, was silk,¹⁰ of the origin and natural history of which they had but an imperfect and confused knowledge. It was understood, however, to

¹ Strab. ii. 1. t. i. p. 114. Cf. Diod. Sicul. ii. 37. t. i. p. 169. Wesseling.

² Athen. v. 39.

³ Beckmann, Hist. of Inventions, iv. 247.

⁴ Lucian. Navig. § 23. As the Brahmins looked upon the parrot as a sacred bird, they did not perhaps permit it to become an article of commerce, although they had already begun to employ their leisure in teaching it to imitate the human voice. Ælian. de Nat. Animal. xiii. 18.

⁵ Athen. v. 32.

⁶ Dioscor. v. 107. See the Asiatic Researches, vol. iii. p. 414.

⁷ Beckmann, History of Inventions, iv. 101, seq. Cf. Asiatic Researches, iii. 414. Hen. van Rheede, Hortus Indicus Malabaricus, p. 102.

⁸ Theoph. Hist. Plant. iv. 7. 7.

⁹ Lucian. de Musca, § 1. Herod. iii. 106.

¹⁰ Pausan. vi. 26. 6, sqq.

be created by the labour of an insect with eight feet, called ser, about twice the size of the largest beetle. In other respects it was compared with the spider which suspends its web from the boughs of trees. These insects they kept in houses, the temperature of which was regulated according to the change of the seasons. The fine thread spun by the ser was found twisted about its legs. They fed them during four years upon the leaves of common panic, but on the fifth, because they knew they would live no longer, they gave them green reeds to eat, which was the food in which the creature most delighted. On this it fed so greedily, that it burst itself, upon which store of fine thread was found in its bowels.

The country whence this substance was obtained is said to have been a kind of delta, situated in a deep recess of the Indian ocean, and inhabited by a mixed race, half Indian and half Scythian. In this account there is we see some truth, mingled with a great deal of error. The greatest care is still taken in China to regulate the temperature of the houses in which the silkworms are bred, as well as to remove them beyond the reach of all noises and offensive smells.¹ With respect to the figure and food of the insect Pausanias had been misinformed, though he might have obtained more correct knowledge by passing over into the island of Ceos, where the silkworm had been found from time immemorial.²

In later ages the merchandise of India, and central Asia was chiefly conveyed to the countries on the Mediterranean by way of Arabia and the Red Sea, but at an earlier period it came wholly overland. The exact course pursued by the caravans in these remote times has not been accurately described to us; but as the nature of the country has

¹ Hazelquist, Travels, p. 234.
Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 428.

² Aristot. Hist. Animal. v. 19.

always remained unchanged, it is to be presumed, that they pursued exactly the identical tracks which they at present follow. Occasionally some few of the commodities of Central Asia may have found their way into Greece by the desert, north of the Caspian, but the more common route lay through Khawaresmia and Syria, whence they were distributed to the rest of the western world by the Phœnicians.

The produce of India was probably transported across the Indus at Attock,¹ and from thence through one of the nine passes into Persia, by way of Candahar and Herat, after which the caravan fell into the road leading to Susa,² Ecbatana, or Persepolis, according as its destination was the northern or southern part of Mesopotamia. Sometimes commerce followed the course of rivers, down the Indus for example, thence along the coast of Persia, and up the Persian gulf and the Euphrates or the Red Sea. On most of the roads mentioned there appear to have existed in those ages caravanserais, as at present, where merchants and travellers were accommodated with lodging, water, and fuel, being expected to carry along with them whatever provisions they required. Into this part of the subject, however, it is not my purpose to enter at any length, since to investigate it thoroughly would require a separate volume.

¹ Here the ferry-boats, in the present day, are built of hill-cedar, fastened together with clamps of iron, and ornamented with carvings. Vigne, *Affghanistan*, p. 32.

² When certain articles of this

merchandise, as pepper, for example, reached Athens, the merchants were sometimes denounced by sycophants as spies of the great king, and threatened, at least, with the torture. Antiphon. ap. Athen. ii. 73. Casaub. *Animadv. t. vi. p. 445.*

CHAPTER XIV.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

HAVING now gone through the whole circle of private life among the Hellenes, we shall consider them in the hour of death, and during the ceremonies with which dust was committed to dust. From a great variety of causes, the dissolution of the body was regarded by the pagans of antiquity with less terror and apprehension than modern nations experience. Their belief in the continuance of existence was not perhaps more unshaken than that of pious men in Christian countries, but the life to come was contemplated as more nearly resembling the present; and they imagined that, by the performance of certain rites and ceremonies, and through the favour of the gods in various ways obtained, they might easily secure to themselves a blissful immortality, which, according to their creed, was denied to none but the incorrigibly flagitious. In earlier times, moreover, before the birth of the sceptical systems of philosophy, no chilling doubts had been thrown on the doctrine of immortality. Ignorant they might be of the Divine nature, of the relations of man to his Creator, of the true duties, obligations, and rules of life; but they were so fully convinced of the existence of a race of superior beings, that they might almost be said to feel its truth as they did that of their own existence. These beings they believed to be everlastingly occupied with human, or rather with Hellenic, concerns; for it seems evident that most of the gods were looked upon more as the parents and guardians of the Grecian race than as remote and general watchers over

the whole universe. To pass out of life, therefore, was but to pass out of the domains of one god into those of another; to exchange the protection of the celestial for that of the infernal Zeus. Everywhere and on all occasions Gods were supposed to attend their footsteps, but more especially at the moment of their decease, when a cloud of heavenly messengers hovered around them, some to accomplish the separation between soul and body, others to lead and protect the spirit in its descent to the subterranean world, and others again to watch over its happiness while there, sharing along with it the same dwelling-place, and bearing the same relation to it as a monarch does to his subjects.

Possessed firmly by persuasions of this kind, it is little to be wondered at that the ancient Greek experienced less reluctance to enter upon the domains of the dead than is now too commonly felt.¹ He had, besides, another motive to cheer his departure. It was his firm expectation to be welcomed on his entrance to the Elysian fields by his parents or friends or companions, by all, in short, whom he had loved in life, and who had preceded him to that sacred and serene abode. Thinking and feeling thus, death seemed scarcely death, but a mere shifting of the scene or change of locality. It was but falling asleep in one place to wake in another where their happiness could know no change; where God would wipe away tears from all eyes, and where there should be no more trouble or sorrow or suffering for ever.

These, nevertheless, must be regarded as the habitual convictions of the mind, which, however they might influence the actions and resolutions of men, could by no means stifle their feelings, or prevent that sorrow and regret which must always be experienced by persons about to be separated from those they love. Hence the death-bed of the Greeks

¹ Plat. Tim. t. vii. p. 121, sqq.

presented not a scene of stoical indifference. All the tenderness and sympathy of which the human heart is capable was usually awakened. The friends, and more especially the women of the family, crowded about the couch to press the dying hand, and catch the last breath as it fluttered in broken murmurs from the lips.¹ Most persons, when about to bid an eternal adieu to the world, desired to lay some command on their sorrowing friends, not as an imperious task but as a labour of love, by performing which they might be reminded of the departed. Such commands as these the Grecian women were most anxious to receive, that they might treasure them up in their souls, and by pondering on them incessantly, day and night, keep vividly alive in their memory the idea of those who had once been all in all to them. Nor when the spirit had departed did they forsake the corpse, nor abandon it to the care of menials. With their own hands they closed the beloved eyes,² and tied up the mouth from which words of kindness or comfort were never more to sound. Putting a severe restraint upon their feelings, they straightened,³ laved, anointed, and laid out the corpse,⁴ covered it with costly garments,⁵ and placed crowns of flowers upon its head: it was then borne to the vestibule of the mansion and laid with the feet towards the door,⁶ to intimate that it was about to proceed on its last journey, and take up its abode in the house prepared for all living. Vessels of lustral water⁷ were then placed beside it; that, being accounted unclean, all those who passed in or out and might be supposed to be

¹ Il. ω. 743. Kirchman. de Funer. Romanor. p. 34.

² Odyss. λ. 425. Eurip. Phœn. 1465. Virg. Æn. ix. 486.

³ Eurip. Alcest. 160. Gal. de Method. Medend. xiii. 13. Plat. Phæd. t. v. p. 123.

⁴ Eurip. Hyppol. 786, seq. Il. ο. 350.

⁵ Ælian. Var. Hist. i. 16. Eurip. Troad. 1134.

⁶ Il. τ. 211, sqq. Τοὺς νεκροὺς οἱ ἀρχαῖοι προετίθεισαν πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν καὶ ἐκοπτοντο. Sch. Aristoph. Lysist. 611.

⁷ Eurip. Alcest. 99.

reached by the effluvia which exhaled from the dead, might sprinkle and purify themselves. Branches of laurel and acanthus, with locks of hair, were suspended over the doorway, each being a symbol speaking to the imagination of that lively people. While thus exposed the corpse was watched day and night by its natural guardians, until the moment arrived for bearing it forth to the funeral pile or the grave. It was then laid in a coffin, generally of cedar or cypress-wood,¹ which, being placed upon a bier,² was borne away, the mourning friends and family attending.

At Athens³ this ceremony took place immediately before day-break,⁴ numerous individuals bearing the mortuary torches, preceding the bier,⁵ and lighting up its melancholy way. The men next of kin marched silently in the rear of the coffin to intimate that they should shortly follow in the same track, and the women who kept together in a body,⁶ closed the procession, weeping and lamenting as they went. Stationed here and there in the crowd, were certain funeral musicians playing airs solemn and sad, but with an intermixture of enthusiastic notes, upon Lydian or Phrygian flutes. Sometimes the company was mounted in chariots or upon horses, but when especial honour was intended to the dead, everybody accompanied the hearse on foot. And surely a group like this, moving along by night through the narrow winding streets of Athens skirting the rocks of the Acropolis, flitting across the agora, between its silent booths and stately plane-trees, and issuing forth through the city gates into the sepulchral suburbs of the Cerameicos, where a

¹ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxiv. 5. Thucyd. ii. 34. Horat. Od. ii. 14. 23. Epod. v. 18. Meyer. p. 12. Cf. Dem. adv. Bæot. § 11. Euripid. Orest. 1052.

² Cf. Hesych. v. κλιματηφόρος.

³ Demosth. adv. Macart. § 15.

⁴ Cf. Theocrit. xv. 132.

⁵ The same practice still prevails in modern times. Chandler, ii. 153.

⁶ Terent. Andria. i. 1. 90, seq. Lys. de Cæd. Eratosth. § 2.

forest of tombs stretched a considerable distance along the said way, to deposit, as if by stealth, the dust of a human being in the bosom of the earth, must have exhibited a striking and a solemn spectacle; more particularly if we suppose that, roused by the mournful music, thousands of neighbours and fellow-citizens hurried to their casements to behold their countryman carried to his long home. Having reached the destined spot, the body, if to be interred, was laid in the grave with its face looking towards the west.¹ The earth was then thrown upon the coffin, and a monument, in most cases, speedily erected over it. If by special desire of the deceased, or for any other reason, cremation² was preferred, they constructed a funeral pile of unctuous and odoriferous woods upon which oil and sweet unguents were commonly poured.

On the summit of this the corpse was then placed, and a torch having been applied to the pyre by some near relation of the dead, the whole was reduced to ashes. Before, however, the flames were quite extinguished, custom required that a little wine should be cast upon them, after which if any bones of the dead remained unconsumed they were carefully collected together with the ashes, and deposited in an urn, which in Greece was usually committed to the earth.³ All the surviving relations now returned mourning to their dwelling, where, towards evening, a funeral feast was celebrated in honour of the dead.⁴ Twice during the same month were sacred rites performed at the tomb, and afterwards for ever on the anniversary

¹ They likewise sacrificed to the ghosts of the dead with their faces towards the west, to the Uranian gods, with their faces eastward. *Scol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 589.*

² Cf. *Plut. Themist. § 8. Schol. Thucyd. ii. 34.*

³ Numerous bassi-relievi repre-

senting these funeral banquets have been preserved both at Athens and in the island of Chios, where the custom has prevailed in modern times of fixing such pieces of antiquities in the walls, over doors and gateways. *Chandler, ii. 39.*

⁴ *Kirchman. p. 502, sqq.*

of the deceased's birth, as well as on a certain day of the festival of Anthesteria, when unfading flowers were strewed around, and heaps of crowns and garlands suspended on the monument. The outward tokens of the grief felt inwardly consisted of black garments,¹ heads partially shorn and a sad and neglected countenance.

In nearly all parts of the world, the moment death sets the impress of his seal on the human clay it appears to acquire an awful and mysterious sanctity, which none but the hardened and base will consent to violate. Belonging to the grave, its everlasting calm and silence seem already to brood over it. It presents itself to our eyes like the inhabitant of another world, and therefore though voiceless it reveals to us, as it were, some particulars respecting a state of being of which we know nothing, but feel necessarily the most devouring curiosity. Besides, when the deceased has been dear to us in life, we regard his corpse as the deserted mansion of a friend, as the tabernacle of a soul scarcely different, though divided from our own. On this account the ancient Greeks, a people beyond most others pious, imaginative, and affectionate, cultivated with peculiar care the duties which we owe the dead. Ancient writers abound with illustrations of this truth. When the Thebans, after the defeat of Adrastus and Polyneices refused burial to the fallen Argives, it was considered by the Athenians a sufficient cause for declaring war against Bœotia. It was not pretended that the invaders had been engaged in an honourable war; but having expiated their transgression by death, their remains had passed under the protection of the infernal deities, and to refuse them the rites of sepulture was not so much to insult them as Pluto, and the other gods of Hades, whose subjects they were now become. The unburied corpse was, moreover, a pol-

¹ Quintil. Declam. x.

luting object which defiled the temples of the celestial divinities, and therefore they also were interested in watching over the rights of the dead; for dogs and beasts of prey might carry their flesh or bones into the faues, and thus render them unclean. And this sentiment, which constituted one of the most amiable parts of the Greek character, tended likewise to confer imperishable beauty and interest on the Hellenic land. For, the numerous tombs, public and private,¹ which clustered over and hallowed its surface, addressed themselves still more powerfully to the heart than to the eye. Everywhere the devotion of the people clung around them. They were at once the creations and the monuments of human love, of public gratitude, of holy reverence for intellect and virtue.

The same observation, indeed, applies universally. The pyramid, the solitary barrow, rising like a hillock on the plains of Asia, the crowded cemetery, the vast suites of sepulchres excavated beneath the surface of the earth, each and all of these must ever be regarded by men of sensibility and unsophisticated understanding as so many unequivocal tokens of the ineradicable goodness of human nature. Examples without number might be adduced in illustration. When a North American chief was urged to cede to the European invaders the hunting-ground of his tribe, he stated his objection in these words: "How can we abandon the country "in which all our ancestors lie interred? Shall we "say to the bones of our forefathers, 'Arise, and "go along with us into a strange land'?" In many countries a more absorbing interest attaches to the abodes of the dead than to the habitations of the living. Who, for example, can traverse, without the most profound emotion, those suites of subterraneous palaces at Thebes denominated the Tombs of the Kings? You seem, in these vast painted

¹ Cf. Demosth. adv. Call. § 4.

halls and dusky passages, to hold actual converse with death. The grave unfolds its mysteries on all sides around. The imagination is kindled and takes a colour from the unearthly creations presented to it, and you return with something like reluctance to the glare and turmoil and busy passions of the world. Among the Greeks, as we have observed, the dead were invested with a sanctity which all good men esteemed inviolable, and this persuasion acquired additional force from the belief, that, though separated, the spirit and the body were not yet wholly independent of each other. For, upon the treatment experienced by its remains the state of the soul was in some measure regulated in the realms below. If these received the rites of interment, the spirit was allowed freely to traverse that stream, dusky and inviolable, which surrounded the realm of Hades. If not, the ghost, cold and desolate, wandered along its hither shore during the space of a hundred years; after which, the laws of Orcus relented, and permitted it to taste of happiness amid the groves of Asphodel,¹ and those blissful bowers where poets and sages devoted the circle of eternity to the culture and pure delights of wisdom. From this persuasion, the ghosts of persons denied the rites of sepulture² are represented by the poets hovering around their corse and presenting themselves in visions to their surviving friends, requesting them to sever, by the performance of their obsequies, the sad links which still bound them to their dwellings of clay. Thus Homer introduces Elpenor³ conjuring Odysseus to perform this last sad office for his remains. Often when, by shipwreck or murder, the body was cast on some solitary shore, or abandoned in the recesses of some forest or mountain, inhumation was solely dependent on chance. But if fortune conducted any

¹ Hesiod. Opp. et Dies, 169, sqq. Pind. Olymp. ii. 70, sqq.

² Cf. Lys. Epitaph. § 4.

³ Odyss. ξ. 66, sqq.

stranger to the spot, it was considered incumbent on him to discharge, in one way or another, the ties of humanity to the dead. But, because he might not be able to dig a grave or consume the body on a funeral pile, it was reckoned sufficient to cast three handfuls of dust upon the corpse, of which one, at least, was to be sprinkled on the head. Thus we find, in Horace,¹ the manes of the Pythagorean philosopher, Archytas, intreating the mariners, who had found his body on the beach, to honour it with this rite :

*Quamquam festinas, non est mora longa, licebit
Injecto ter pulvere curras.*

*Though great thy haste, this will not much delay ;
Cast thrice the dust, then hasten hence away.*

In order the more certainly to secure this act of humanity from the passer-by² persons about to perish by shipwreck were accustomed to tie around their body gold, or jewels, or whatever else they possessed of value, that it might defray the expenses of their interment, and reward him who undertook it.

There were, however, certain classes of men who, by their open or secret wickedness, were supposed to be placed beyond the expansive circle of human sympathy, on whom it would have been criminal to lavish sepulchral rites. These were, in the first place, individuals struck by lightning, whom the gods were believed thus to have destroyed,³ from a knowledge of their guilt, though hidden from all other eyes. Corpses of this kind were usually covered with earth where they lay without the slightest ceremony, unless they happened to have fallen in some public temple, or agora, or highway, under which circumstances a hook was fastened to the

¹ Od. i. 28. 36. Quintil. Declam. v. 6. Cælius Rhodiginus, xvii. 20. Potter. ii. 166.

² Meurs. in Lycoph. Cassand. 367.

³ Artemidor. ii. 8. Eurip. Suppl. 945. Persius, ii. 27.

body, by which it was dragged and cast into some pit. On other occasions the carcase was hedged round and so left. Men guilty of suicide were likewise denied the honours of burial, but more especially those of the funeral pile. Their carcases were simply thrown into a pit and covered over, to prevent their becoming a nuisance to the living. Villains who committed sacrilege, and traitors to their country were not suffered to enjoy in death the protection of those divinities whom they had outraged, or the refuge of a grave in a country which they had basely betrayed to the enemy.¹ Their dishonoured bones were cast beyond the borders, nor was it permitted any citizen to celebrate for them the rites of burial. Thus King Pausanias, who sought to enslave his country to the Persians, was treated by the Lacedæmonians, Aristocrates by the Arcadians, and Phocion by the people of Athens,² though in this last case, perhaps, through error and misapprehension. The last and worst class were tyrants³ equally objects of hatred to gods and men, who usually when overcome by their subjects expiated their guilt by the most unheard-of torments, while, in the nether world, the worst pangs of Tartarus were reserved for them. To deposit in the bosom of the earth the carcases of malefactors so heinous would of itself have been esteemed a crime of a very deep dye. The remains were, therefore, trodden under foot, subjected to every other species of indignity, and then cast forth to be devoured by the dogs and vultures. Nay, if we may interpret the expression of Plato literally, the punishment of men who even aimed at tyranny in a free state and failed in the attempt was tremendous: they were tortured and mutilated, had their eyes burned out, suffered every imaginable insult and injury, and at last crucified, or covered with pitch and burned alive: their wives and children suffered the same punishment

¹ Diod. Sicul. xvi. 6.² Plut. Phoc. § 37.³ Odyss. γ. 256.

—the innocent being confounded with the guilty. To protect their ashes from insults such as the above, the kings of Egypt who erected the pyramids and were in character fierce and tyrannical, are supposed by Herodotus not to have entrusted their bones to the keeping of those structures. A wild story is also related of Periander of Corinth,¹ who, conscious of having ruled his countrymen with a rod of iron, dreaded the effects of their resentment on his corpse. Effectually to conceal the place of his interment he is said to have directed two of his satellites to go forth at night on a certain road and kill and bury clandestinely the first man they should meet. Four others were despatched to execute the same vengeance upon them, and another crowd of assassins received orders to exterminate and bury these four. Periander, then old and infirm, presented himself to the first murderers, was slain and buried, and the place, from the sudden death of all who might have known it, thus remained undiscovered for ever.

Most opposed to these were those honourable citizens² who fell for their country in defence of its liberty and laws, whom their fellow-citizens followed to the tomb with every conceivable mark of public gratitude and honour, and whose names future generations were taught to reverence like those of gods. In some sense, indeed, they were actually deified. Rites and ceremonies and sacrifices were performed annually in their honour, and by their great and heroic spirits future generations swore as by the most ancient inhabitant of Olympos. Some-

¹ Diog. Laert. i. 96.

² Thucyd. ii. 34. Cf. J. D. H. Meyer. *Pericl. ap. Thuc. Orat.* p. 10, sqq. On some occasions the bodies of the dead were followed with great pomp to the grave, accompanied by the sound of many instruments and voices.

Athen. xiii. 67. The bodies of the dead were at other times, apparently in the field of battle, stretched out on beds of leaves or rushes, and a festive banquet with drinking cups was placed before them, and crowns upon their heads. § 2.

times, as on the plain of Marathon, the remains of the warriors were collected together, and with holy rites enclosed in one common barrow, calculated by its dimensions to be co-lasting with the world. On other occasions their remains were brought to the city and buried there. Thus, at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, the first citizens who fell received the distinguished honours of a public funeral. Their remains were enclosed in coffins of cedar, and laid in open hearses, drawn by horses carefully caparisoned, and covered with garlands, were conveyed to the Cerameicos, the whole population of the state attending. When they had been there committed to the earth, Pericles, the greatest statesman and orator of those times, ascended a bema, and, in words which must thrill through the hearts of all posterity, pronounced on them an encomium to merit which most brave men would cheerfully have bartered life.

The modes of sepulture prevalent in different ages among the Hellenes were various in like manner as the monuments erected in honour of the dead. Originally, when public security was weak, men buried their dead within the walls of their own dwellings, where alone, perhaps, they could hope to preserve their resting-place inviolable. In accordance with this pious feeling a law was anciently enacted at Thebes in Bœotia, that whoever built himself a house should construct within or adjoining it a repository for the dead. But when states grew up and acquired strength, and the shadow of their protection fell around far and wide, it was found practicable to consult the public health without infringement of the reverence due to the divinities of Hades, and the habitations of the departed were erected, like a sacred circle, round the city walls.

Afterwards, in the period of Grecian decrepitude, the cities once more opened their gates to their ancestors, and permitted that they should share with

themselves the imperfect security which was the lot of all in those degenerate times.

Much has been said on the custom which obtained among both Greeks and Romans, of extending their cemeteries along the high roads leading countrywards from the city gates.¹ Their object appears to have been twofold: first, by erecting the monuments of deceased friends in sight of all persons entering or quitting the city to render their memory more enduring; secondly, that by witnessing the honours paid to the brave and good of past times, those who came after them might be incited to imitate their example.

But no place was deemed too sacred to admit the remains of good or great men, which were occasionally enshrined within the precincts of temples or sacred groves.² Thus the children of Medea were buried in the temple of Hera, Œdipus found a tomb in the grove of the Eumenides at Colonus,³ and Hesiod, whose body comes floating to the shore while the Samians are engaged in the performance of sacred rites, is honoured with a funeral in the grove of the Nemean Zeus.⁴ Euchides, likewise, who died in consequence of the extraordinary celerity with which he performed the journey to and from Delphi in quest of the sacred fire, was interred by the Plataeans in the temple of Artemis Euclea. Among the Spartans the practice commonly prevailed of burying around sacred edifices; nor did they, even in later times, banish their dead to the suburbs; the design of this departure from the fashion elsewhere established being to eradicate from the mind of youth all apprehensions of spectres, and reluctance to move, whether by night or by day, among tombs and graves. In all parts of Greece, families, at least when above the humblest in rank, possessed each their burial grounds, whether

¹ Cf. Xenoph. Hellen. iii. 2. 14.

² Eurip. Med. 1378.

³ Soph. Œdip. Col. 1584, sqq.

⁴ Plut. Sept. Sap. Conv. 19, and see Lobeck, Aglaopham. p. 281. Goëttling. Pref. Hesiod. ix.

standing wholly apart in orchards or gardens,¹ or forming so many separate portions of the general cemetery.² But nowhere does so great stress appear to have been laid on this distinction of families in death as at Sparta, as may be inferred from the account of that battle in which, animated by the songs of Tyrtaeos, the youth bound about their right arms tablets inscribed with their own names and those of their fathers, that so, should they all perish, their friends might be able to select from among the heaps of slaughter the bodies of their relatives, and inter them with scarlet mantles and olive-leaves in the cemeteries of their clans.³

Frequently the remains of distinguished persons were consigned to the dust in picturesque situations, remote from towns and the habitations of men, where chapels were in many instances erected to their memory. Thus we find the heroon of Androcrates⁴ shrouded in thick copses and trees amid the spurs of Mount Cithæron, on the western extremity of the field of battle of Plataea. In a situation very similar stood the tomb and temple of Amphiaraos, and the heroon of Drimacos in the island of Chios. Among the Cretans, likewise, the sepulchre of Zeus occupied the lofty summit of a mountain, where its ruins are still pointed out to the traveller. A poetical sentiment, moreover, has, in modern times, given rise to the persuasion that the ruins of Themistocles' tomb are still to be seen amid that line of ancient sepulchres which run along the surf-beaten rocks near the point of Cape Halimos. On this supposition is based the well-known passage of Byron :

No breath of air to break the wave
That rolls below the Athenian's grave ;

¹ Dem. adv. Call. § 4.

² The tombs in these burial-grounds were often so many flat slabs with inscriptions. Chandler, ii. 123.

³ Ælian. Var. Hist. vi. 6. Plut. Lycurg. § 27.

⁴ Plut. Aristid. § 11.

That tomb which, gleaming o'er the cliff,
 Just greets the homeward-veering skiff,
 High o'er the land he saved in vain : —
 When shall such hero live again ?”

But the learning of Colonel Leake has clearly shown, that the monument of this illustrious statesman stood within the horns of the great port of Aphrodisium. In the city of Magnesia, where he died, his tomb stood in the agora, which was customary when extraordinary honour was designed the dead.¹ Thus the monument of Timoleon,² surrounded by porticoes and other public buildings, was erected in the agora of Syracuse; and that of Harmodios and Aristogeiton occupied the same place in the city of Athens, where, in more ancient times, the tombs of distinguished personages were hewn out in the face of the cliffs, lined with marble, and otherwise sumptuously adorned. Solon, however, sought to repress the luxury of cemeteries³ by ordaining that no tomb should have an arched roof, or require more labour than could be performed by ten men in three days. But this law, in all probability, was never strictly observed; for the Cimonian sepulchres, still seen high amid the rocks overlooking the hollow valley which divides the Areiopagos from the Pnyx, seem to have been of dimensions too spacious to have been hewn out within the legal term.⁴ Afterwards, moreover, mortuary monuments of extraordinary magnificence were erected at Athens, as that, for example, of the hetaira Pythonicè. But it was in barbarous countries that funereal structures exhibited the greatest splendour, which reached possibly its acmè in the tomb of Mausolos, king of Caria, an edifice consisting of a pyramid erected on a square basis, adorned on all sides with sculptured figures in relief, and surmounted by a chariot drawn

¹ Chandler, vol. i. p. 143.

² Plut. Timol. § 39.

³ Cf. Cicero, de Leg. ii. 64.

⁴ Chandler, vol. ii. p. 99.

by four horses. The tomb of the mistress of Gyges, though for materials inferior, probably exceeded in dimensions this seventh wonder of the world. It was erected, too, as a memorial of affection; for, when the woman who, during her life, had ruled both him and his kingdom, had been removed from earth, that shepherd king collected together, we are told, the whole of his subjects, and threw up so vast a barrow over her remains, that, in whatever part of his realm he might be, within Mount Tmolos, he might enjoy the melancholy pleasure of beholding her grave.

In the structure of their tombs, as well as their mode of interment, the various nations of antiquity observed each a different style. Thus, in the purification of Delos, the monuments of the Carians were easily distinguished from those of the Greeks by the manner in which their remains were deposited in the grave. Certain sepulchral mounds, found in Peloponnesos, were distinguished by some characteristic features from those of the natives, and denominated the Tombs of the Phrygians; and the burying places of certain foreigners on whom the Greeks bestowed the name of Amazons, exhibited as long as they endured some distinctive marks¹ by which they were known to cover the ashes of some barbarous people. Over the tomb of Hippolyta, indeed, a pillar was erected in the Grecian manner; but at Chalcis, where there was an Amazonium, the structure would appear to have exhibited some peculiar features, as well as the tomb of these warlike ladies, which was shown in the Megaris, between the agora and a spot named Rhus, in the form of a lozenge,² resembling their shields. Similar in shape, likewise, were probably the Amazonian monuments found near Scotussa in Thessaly, as well as those on the banks of the rivulet Hermodon, in the neighbour-

¹ Plut. Thes. § 27. Paus. i. 41. 7. Petit, de Amazon. p. 185.

² Plut. Thes. § 27.

hood of Cheronæa.¹ On the plains of Troy the Amazon Myrinna reposed under a vast barrow.²

The structures thus erected in honour of the dead might have proved more durable but for the practice common among the ancients, of interring jewels, gold, precious vases,³ and other treasures with the corpse, which afterwards roused the cupidity of profligate men, and tempted them to rifle the last houses of their forefathers; for it is one of the most odious and debasing features of civilisation, at certain stages of it, that death is habitually desecrated, and the grave ceases to be a refuge. Thus the tombs of the Macedonian kings were plundered by the Gauls⁴ in the alliance of Pyrrhos. Again, the colony of Roman freedmen sent to raise Corinth from its ashes, discovering by chance that the catacombs contained bronze and fictile vases of great beauty, rifled the whole cemetery, and filled Rome with the spoils, which were denominated Necrocorinthia. Even the obolos⁵ placed beneath the tongue, and the simple ornaments of the humbler dead, proved sufficient to excite the avarice of a certain class of robbers, denominated from their practices tomb-spoilers.⁶ When, however, the dust of the departed has reposed in its cerements for many ages, to disturb and plunder it becomes the pursuit of learned men, and is regarded as a branch of the science of antiquities. Thus the sepulchres of the Egyptian kings have been spoiled and polluted by travellers, who have burned by thousands the wooden gods of the Pharaohs in their kitchens,

¹ Petit, de Amazon. p. 313. 184.

² Hom. Il. ε. 814.

³ Hence the idea of the vast riches of Charon subsisting in the legends of the East. Vigne, Trav. in Affghanistân, p. 206.

⁴ Plut. Pyrrh. § 26.

⁵ Suid. v. καρκαδοντα. t. ii. p. 1374. e. Hesych. v. δανάη. Etym. Mag. v. δάνα. Aristoph. Ran. 141. Besides the piece of

money, a honey cake is said to have been put into the mouth for Cerberus. Suid. v. μελιτοῦττα. t. ii. p. 126. a. Aristoph. Lysist. 601. Virg. Æneid. vi. 417.

⁶ Arg. ii. in Dem. Mid. Growing bold by degrees, sacrilege at length broke into the temples, and shore the golden tresses from the very statues of Zeus himself. Luc. Jup. Trag. § 25. Cf. § 10.

sawed off the faces of pillars, dragged forth bodies and coffins from their last hiding-place in order to pilfer the golden ornaments suspended around the necks of the dead. In Etruria, too, the same scientific havoc has been carried on, and the museums of Europe have been enriched by what was once a capital offence. Even in our own country, barrows have been habitually opened, and the bones of our ancestors dislodged from their homes. Very curious relics of antiquity, however, have thus been brought to light. Similar tumuli in the East, denominated *topes*, have been examined in Affghanistân. Beneath the centre is usually a well, in which the ancient remains, consisting of metallic vases, small cylinders of gold, rings, jewels, and gold pins, appear to be found.¹

It was customary among the Greeks, not only while their grief was yet new, but habitually for many years, to visit the graves of the dead, to suspend garlands and crowns and fillets of wool upon their head-stones, or possibly, as is still the custom in Burgundy, to place wreaths or other ornaments of pure wool upon the grave itself,² and to protect them by a trellis-work of willow boughs. Hither, too, were brought baskets full of all fair and fragrant flowers, more particularly roses, myrtles, amaranths,³ and lilies, to be strewed upon the beloved spot. Sometimes graves were covered by a netting of wild thyme,⁴ which, like those characters that are ennobled by affliction, yielded forth a delicious perfume beneath the foot of the mourner. In cool and shady spots, graves were sometimes adorned with the small everlasting,⁵ and the white flower called *pothos*.⁶

¹ Vigne, Ghuzni, Cabul, &c., p. 141.

² Varro, Ling. Lat. l. vi. ap. Kirckman. de Funer. Rom. p. 500.

³ Philost. Heroic. xix. 14. p. 741. Eurip. Electr. 324. Vict.

Var. Lect. xvi. 2. Mag. Miscell. ii. 17.

⁴ Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 168.

⁵ Dioscor. iv. 90, if we read *τάφοις* for *τάφροις*.

⁶ Theoph. Hist. Plant. vi. 8 3.

Public cemeteries were likewise, in many places, beautified by trees, selected in some cases for their thick foliage and spreading form, as the elm; in others, for their graceful shape and evergreen leaf, as the poplar and the cypress. Other trees, also, whether planted by the hand of man or springing up spontaneously, covered the walks or spots of green sward found in the cemeteries of Greece, supplying in abundance that sombre shade into which grief loves to retire, and where the sepulchral plants chiefly delight to grow.

Such spots so shaded, so verdant, and full of fragrance, so consecrated to silence and repose, probably first suggested the idea of the Elysian Fields or Islands of the Blessed, which the poets of Greece assigned to be the abode of happy souls. At first perhaps the ghosts were believed to dwell in the cemeteries, retiring by day to the depths of the tombs and issuing forth during the dark and tranquil hours of night to enjoy, by the light of the moon or the stars, the sight of the world they had partially quitted. From this notion flowed all the modifications observable in the internal structure of tombs. First, care was taken that the earth should not press heavily on the corpse, somewhere within the dimensions of which the ghost was supposed¹ habitually to reside. Sentiments not greatly dissimilar still survive among ourselves. I once remember to have read on the gravestone of a little girl standing near the stile by which you enter the shady churchyard of Newport, in Monmouthshire, the following epitaph, in which this idea is clearly embodied:

Here a pretty baby lies,
Sung asleep with lullabies;
Pray be silent, and not stir
The easy earth that covers her.

¹ Among the Mohammedans of Persia like notions are found to exist. "I often saw groups of " people uttering the most doleful " lamentations and bedewing with " their tears the dry sod which

Secondly spacious and elegant chambers were frequently constructed for the spirit's use, where food was likewise placed, and lamps were kindled which, furnished with wicks of amianthos¹ and supplied with inexhaustible fountains of oil, were believed to burn on everlastingly. A similar notion leads many Mohammedan nations to turn a small arch in the stone basement of their tombs to accommodate the ghost with free ingress and egress. Connected also with this article in the creed of the ancients² was the opinion, that spirits might often be seen gliding in shadowy shapes among the tombs, which may be regarded as a notion almost co-extensive with humanity itself.

In their modes of sepulture the barbarous nations³ of the ancient world differed widely from each other and from the Greeks. The Syrians, Egyptians, and even Persians, wholly eschewing the funeral pile, buried their dead, having first embalmed them with various conservative and aromatic substances, as myrrh and aloes, and cedar-gum,⁴ and honey, and salt, and wax, and asphaltus, and resin, mingled with perfumes and precious unguents. Among the Pythagoreans, who adopted foreign rites in preference to those of their country, it was customary to wrap the dead in leaves of myrtle, poplar, and aloes, and thus to commit them to the earth. The Albani put money into the coffins with the corpse; the Taxilli, the Brahmins, and the Thracians, like the modern Parsees, exposed the bodies of their relations to be devoured by vultures; the Barchæi, a people inhabiting the borders of the Black Sea, followed

"they surrounded. They imagine the dead to be capable of hearing but not of answering their plaints." Fowler, *Three Years in Persia*, i. p. 31.

¹ Kirchman. de Funer. Rom. l. iv. 4.

² Cf. Hesiod. Opp. et Dies, 122, sqq.

³ Alex. ab Alex. iii. 2. p. 114. a. sqq. Kirchman. de Fun. Rom. append. 2. p. 590.

⁴ Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxi. 19. xxiv. 5. xxii. 24. Herod. ii. 86, sqq. i. 140. Xenoph. Hellen. v. 5. 19. Dioscor. i. 105. Kirchman. de Funer. Rom. l. i. 8.

the customs of these nations in the case of such of their countrymen as fell in war; but when they happened to be so effeminate as to die peaceably in their beds, they were condemned to the flames. Dogs and carnivorous birds constituted the sepulchres of the Parthians, Magians, Hyrcanians, and other savage nations, who, however, were careful to inter the bones which were left undevoured. Among these philosophical people no thought was more habitual than that of death, since men walked daily beside their graves; for persons of condition, who could afford to be luxurious in matters of this kind, fed and pampered huge dogs for the express purpose of being devoured by them after death, such mode of interment being among them esteemed the most honourable. The Essedones, the Calantii, the Massagetæ, the Derbices, and the Hybernians, on this point very strongly resembled in taste and habits the Battas of Sumatra, the custom among them having been to honour their parents and friends with a far superior sepulchre to that of the foregoing people, since they ate them themselves. It is remarked, however, in the case of the Essedones, that the skulls were carefully cleansed, gilded, and laid by, to be produced on their solemn annual festivals. The Derbices somewhat improved upon the method of their neighbours; for, when their old people were found to live too long, they hastened the approach of death in the case of the men, by slaughtering them like victims, and in that of the old women, by strangling them.

Among the Hyperboreans the practice was, when old people lived so long as to be thought troublesome, to give them a farewell feast, and then, having crowned their brows with chaplets, to pitch them over steep cliffs into the sea. The Caspians adopted a different method of bringing down the population to a level with the means of subsistence; for, when their parents and friends exceeded the age of seventy, they either exposed them in remote and desolate

places, as infants in many countries were, or shut them up in huts to perish of hunger and thirst. The mode of disposing of the dead adopted by one of the Scythian nations was, to bind their corpses to the trunks of trees, where they remained a long time, congealed in the midst of ice and snow: to have interred them in the earth they would have regarded as a crime. Not greatly dissimilar was the Phrygian mode, according to which the dead were placed upright on ranges of stones fifteen feet high. A large cemetery of this kind, having many ranges of rude columns, each with its corpse or skeleton, viewed by the dubious light of the moon, with flights of ravens or vultures preying upon the bodies recently set up, must have presented a terrific spectacle. The Nasamones, a people of northern Africa, buried their dead in a sitting posture, which, as I am informed by General Miller, is still the custom among the Araucanian Indians, who, binding the corpse in the necessary posture with cords, excavate for it a grave beneath their own beds. In some parts of the world, as in Thrace, for example, and India, persons greatly advanced in years, more especially such as were distinguished for the cultivation of wisdom frequently ascended voluntarily the funeral pile, like the Yoghee Calanos, and Perigrinos who affected the airs of a philosopher, terminated their existence with composure, or even an appearance of gaiety in the flames. A certain tribe said to have inhabited the coast of the Red Sea, beyond the Æthiopians and the Arabs, interred their friends in the sand, within high-water mark, so that their graves should constantly be overflowed by the surge. The Æthiopians either cast the bodies of the deceased into the Nile, or enclosed them in glass coffins, through which the mouldering form might ever be contemplated. In some parts of Upper Nubia a similar practice still prevails; for the corpse being laid on the sand, a wall of loose rocks is built up around it, and secured with a slab atop. Through numerous

apertures in the sides, of dimensions to admit light but exclude the jackals, the skeleton may easily be seen.

According to a tradition preserved by Ælian,¹ Belos was interred in a glass coffin, which, when Xerxes caused his tomb to be opened, was found nearly filled with oil, wherein the body lay floating. Beside it stood a small column, on which was this inscription, "Woe to him who having broken into "this sepulchre shall fail to fill my coffin." At this Xerxes was troubled, and immediately gave orders that oil should be poured into the sarcophagus, but to no purpose; for, though they made the attempt once and again, it rose no nearer to the brim than before. Conceiving that some grievous calamity was impending over him, the king at length desisted, and quitted the monument in the deepest dejection. He shortly afterwards, adds the historian, undertook his unhappy expedition into Greece, at the conclusion of which, flying back to his own country, he was there assassinated, as believed, by his own son.

The Pœonians cast their dead into marshy pools; the Ichthyophagi into the sea. Very different was the custom of the Troglodytæ, who, tying their corpses neck and heels with the twigs of some flexible shrub, in this manner carried them forth, and raising over them heaps of stones, as the Phœceans did over Laïos and his servants, fixed, with laughter and merriment, the horns of goats upon the tumulus. Similar tombs exist at this day in Affghanistân, in which are stuck sticks bearing wreaths and shreds of cloth, together with tusks of the moufflon, the ibex, and markhur.² In China, at the annual festival in honour of the dead, the sepulchres are decorated with streamers of red and white paper. Dead bodies, in the Balearic isles, were jointed, cut up, and stowed in urns on which huge piles of rock were thrown. The Panebi, a people of Libya, had

¹ Var. Hist. xiii. 3.

² Vigne, pp. 88, 89.

a custom resembling in part that of the Essedones : on burying the bodies of their kings they gilded their skulls, and suspended them in their temples as ornaments. The Sindi, a people of Scythia, doubtless a branch of the Ichthyophagi, used to bury in the graves of their warriors a small fish for every enemy he had slain in battle, which must, doubtless, if they were a brave people, have rendered their cemeteries anything but odoriferous.¹

From the enumeration of these fantastic and barbarous rites we may perceive how striking was the contrast between the manners of the Hellenes and those of most other ancient nations. At one time, however, a practice, little inferior in atrocity to those above described, is said to have prevailed in the island of Ceos,² where men on reaching sixty years of age were constrained to drink hemlock or opium, in order to economise the means of subsistence. But this law, if it ever existed, must be thrown back to very remote times, it being wholly inconsistent with even the smallest advances of civilisation.

The ceremonies and symbols by which among the Hellenes sorrow was expressed for the loss of friends were numerous and significant. In the first place, all tokens of pleasure and enjoyment were suppressed, that affliction might seem to have extinguished every spark that might thereafter have kindled joy. From wine and sumptuous viands and whatever else brings gratification to the mind at ease, they abstained as though wholly unworthy to be honoured with even the semblance of a capacity to mitigate their sorrow for the departed. They banished all instruments of music which happened to be in the house, to intimate that they thenceforward renounced the delights derivable from sweet sounds.³ The same

¹ The remains of shell-fish are at this day found in great abundance in the barrows of Guernsey. See Duncan's History of that island.

² Strab. x. 5. t. ii. p. 387. Val. Max. ii. 6. 8.

³ Eurip. Alcest. 354.

practice precisely prevailed among the Arabs under the Kalifat. Thus "Haroon-er-Raschid, wept, we are told, over Shemselnihar, and, before he left the room, ordered all the musical instruments to be broken." They excluded the light from their chambers, and retired to sob and lament in gloomy recesses, as different as possible from the spots which in the company of the beloved and lost object they were accustomed to frequent. They neglected the care of their persons, suffered in some places the hair and beard to grow, or disfigured themselves by cutting off a portion of their locks, casting ashes on their heads, and wrapping themselves in coarse and black apparel.¹ In consequence we find, that the very manes² of their mules and horses were shorn. Alexander, during the paroxysm of his grief for the loss of Hephæstion,³ even demolished the battlements of cities, and, exaggerating the cruelty and barbarism of remoter ages, crucified the physician who had attended the youth, prohibited all music in his camp, and undertaking an expedition against certain tribes hitherto unsubdued, offered up whole hecatombs to the manes of his minion.⁴ The mourning of the Lacedæmonians on the death of their kings partook largely of the spirit of barbarism. As soon as the event occurred, horsemen were despatched to make it known throughout the Lacedæmonian territories, while crowds of women paraded up and down the city, beating or sounding kettle-drums. From every family two persons, one of either sex, were then selected, who were compelled under grievous penalties to smear and disfigure themselves.⁵ In fact, assembling in great numbers, Spartans, Lacedæmonians, and Helots, together with their wives, they

¹ Il. ψ. 135. Eurip. Orest. 128, 451.

² Plut. Aristid. § 14.

³ Plut. Alex. § 72.

⁴ Cf. Luc. Calum. non Tem. Cred. § 17. Xenoph. iii. 3. 1.

⁵ This was forbidden at Athens. Cf. Plut. Solon. § 21. Eurip. Orest. 691. Androm. 826. Hom. Il. τ. 288. Eurip. Hec. 655. Klausen, Comm. in Æschyl. Choeph. p. 86.

beat their foreheads and uttered strange howlings, ever and anon affirming, amid their well-acted grief, that the last king was the best. When the prince happened to fall in battle, his effigy was borne home on a bier sumptuously adorned, and to this the same honour was paid as to the real corpse. During the ten days immediately succeeding the funeral no public business was transacted. For private individuals, the Lacedæmonians scarcely mourned at all, their system of ethics requiring them to suppress every more tender feeling of the heart.

The ceremonies designed to perpetuate the memory of brave men can scarcely perhaps be regarded as envious, but the glory which was like the Shekina on their land, appeared to purify and ennoble their descendants by inflaming them with the love of country and liberty. Grecian manners abounded with rites of this kind, but none seem more worthy of commemoration than those observed annually by the Plataeans, in honour of the warriors who fell around their city. It is well-known that the Greeks regarded the spirits of good men of former ages as guardian genii, to whom belonged religious veneration amounting perhaps to worship. Their gods, in truth, were in many cases colonists from earth, which can surprise no one who observes, that among them the principle of life was deified, and this, derived from gods to mortals, resided for a time on earth, and then, by continuing to move on in the circle, returned to the heavens from which it sprang. They seem to have regarded the earth as a sort of nursery-ground in which the seeds of divinity were sown, to be afterwards transplanted and bloom elsewhere. But among the offspring of earth none appeared to them so nearly akin to deity as those in whom courage and energy shone preëminently, who loved passionately the soil from which they sprang, and who sought cheerfully in its breast a refuge from dishonour. Hence the apotheosis and adoration of the brave; hence the Plataean ceremonies, which, down even to Roman times,

inspired the youth of Greece with admiration for their ancestors, and called to their mind those glorious days when their country teemed with freemen ready at any moment to shed their blood for the institutions and the land which those institutions alone rendered holy.¹ These anniversary rites were celebrated on the sixteenth day of the month Maimacterion, the Alalcomenios of the Bœotians. The procession moved forth from the city in the grey of the morning, having at its head a trumpeter sounding the signal of battle. Numerous chariots followed, filled with myrtle-branches, and wreaths, and garlands, succeeded by a black bull. Vessels of wine, and jars of milk, and vases of oil and odoriferous essences were borne next by a number of free youths, no slave being permitted to take part in these solemnities performed in honour of men who had died for liberty. Last in the procession came the archon, habited in a scarlet robe and armed with a sword, though on all other occasions he was forbidden the touch of steel, and went clad in white. In his hand he bore a water-jar taken from the Hall of Archives. In this he drew water from a fountain, and having laved therewith the pillars which surmounted the tombs, he perfumed them with the essences: next slaying the bull at the altar, and addressing his prayers to Zeus and the Chthonian Hermes, he invoked to partake of the funeral repast and the streams of blood, the spirits of those valiant men who had fallen for their country. Then, filling a goblet with wine and pouring it forth in libations, he concluded with these words: "I drink to the warriors who died for the liberties of Greece."²

¹ See the description of a tomb of honour in Plat. de Legg. xii. t. viii. p. 292, where Suidas seems to suppose the arch to have been built

of precious stones, v. ψαλίδα. t. ii. p. 1165. c.

² Plut. Aristid. § 21.

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